JINNAH PAPERS

THE VERDICT FOR PAKISTAN
1 August 1945–31 March 1946

SECOND SERIES
Volume XII

Editor-in-Chief

Z. H. ZAIDI, S.I.
M. A., LL.B. (Alig.), Ph.D. (London)

QUAID-I-AZAM PAPERS PROJECT
CULTURE DIVISION
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

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MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
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Foreword

Volume XII of the *Jinnah Papers*, subtitled *The Verdict for Pakistan*, covers the period from August 1945 to March 1946, and is third in the second series and twelfth in the overall sequence, the first volume being in two parts.

In the aftermath of the failed Simla Conference, the volume recapitulates Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's unremitting efforts at gearing up the League for the impending general elections. In the event, the League won all thirty Muslim seats in the Indian Legislative Assembly in December 1945. The stunning victory, celebrated by Muslims across the country, dramatically vindicated the League's claim to being the sole representative of Muslim India and the demand for Pakistan. Jinnah's clarity of vision and dynamic leadership had made the phenomenon possible. It was rather like a dream come true.

Of the eleven volumes so far published, the first nine, covering the period from 20 February 1947 to 30 September 1948, constitute the first series. The period from 15 August 1947 to 30 September 1948 covers Jinnah's Governor-Generalship of Pakistan. During this period, the country was confronted with daunting challenges of spiralling communal violence and huge refugee influx. The foundations of the nascent State were firmly laid nonetheless. Despite the demise of Quaid-i-Azam on 11 September 1948, the nation faced up to the challenge to move forward. The last two volumes (VIII & IX) in the first series focus on issues relating to the Indian princely states.

The second series commences from October 1943, when Wavell replaced Linlithgow as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and covers the period up to the eve of British Government's statement of 20 February 1947 in Parliament. Vol. X deals also with Wavell's interaction with the leadership of the Muslim League and other political parties. Volume XI covers, *inter alia*, the abortive Jinnah-Gandhi talks as well as the Simla Conference which ended in failure as well.

The present volume comprises 614 primary documents, supplemented by an appendix on the zealous role of students of the Muslim University, Aligarh, in particular, in the election campaign. The students of other provinces also worked with devotion and zeal for the election work of the Muslim League. Most of Jinnah's press statements and speeches on contemporary political issues, already published by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad,[1] Waheed Ahmad[2] and Khurshid Ahmad Khan,[3] have not been included. Primary documents, as well as those included in the appendix, have been arranged in chronological order and numbered sequentially. These have been referred to in the text by identifying the source or repository notation, followed by the number of the relevant file or volume, and where available, the page numbers.

Most of the documents included in the volume have been selected from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (*QAP*) (e.g. F. 830/148-9), held by the National Archives of Pakistan, and the *Shamsul Hasan Collection* (*SHC*) available with the Quaid-i-Azam Academy. Where necessary or expedient, material from contemporary newspapers relevant to the issues has been drawn upon. Documents from the *Transfer of Power 1942-7* and the previous volumes of the *Jinnah Papers* have been referred to by document number, volume and page number(s) (e.g. No. 613, *TP*, V, 1252 & No. 565, Vol. XI, 643-4, respectively).

Material of repetitive nature, requests for financial assistance, employment, or other such personal objectives have generally not been included. Likewise, long-drawn-out discourses have been abridged.

We are grateful to Madam Dina, Quaid's daughter, for her continuing keen interest in the publication of papers of the Father of the Nation.

Z. H. ZAIDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project,
Culture Division
Islamabad
25 July *2005*

[1]Not available.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, Karachi, 2000, 191-568.
[3]See Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, III, Lahore, 1996, 2030-143. Also see ibid., IV, 2147-262.

Introduction

This volume covers the period August 1945 to March 1946 which came in the wake of Simla Conference held from June 25 to July 14, 1945. Jinnah had apprehensions regarding the prospects of this Conference because of the Congress' intransigence in denying the Muslim League's claim as the sole representative of Indian Muslims and refusing to concede to the demand for Pakistan.[1] Congress, on the other hand, blamed the deadlock on Jinnah's persistent opposition to nomination of any non-League Muslim to Viceroy's Executive Council.[2] Thus the main challenge for Jinnah was to prove, through a convincing victory in the elections that Muslim India was united behind the Muslim League in its demand for Pakistan.

* * * *

Jinnah had set the preparations for elections in motion by initiating a campaign for collection of funds in July 1945.[3] In addition to large number of contributions mentioned previously,[4] some donations to Election Fund were also received during the period under review from Indian Muslims including those living abroad. Donors varied between weavers of Tinnevelley,[5] the Punjabi leather merchants from Madras,[6] transporters from Kaira, Gujarat, (India)[7] and others. A collection was also made by the Jinnah Purse Committee, Mombasa, East Africa.[8]

Jinnah made all the allocations from Election Fund himself, sent the cheques to properly designated individuals and ensured in each case that the amount was properly utilized and accounted for. He wrote to Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman and Amir Haider Khan (Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad) that he had given Rs. 50,000 to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and remarked that it was "...not a small sum for U.P." stating that demands from other provinces were pouring in.[9] He provided a large amount of Rs. 200,000 to Bengal, appointing a committee to control the expenditure and keep proper accounts.[10] These allocations were in addition to the money made available to various student bodies for election work.

A Parliamentary Board had been set up in each province but the Central Parliamentary Board was the final appellate authority in allocation of Muslim League tickets for election. Since Jinnah always upheld the rules and procedures of the Party, he never interfered with the work of the Parliamentary Boards nor did he intercede on behalf of any aspirant. In his strict impartiality, he made no exceptions. For instance, when Azizul Haque, a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, sought Jinnah's endorsement to his candidature from Burdwan,[11] the terse reply was, "...it is the Central

Parliamentary Board that alone can deal with the applications of prospective League candidates, and I cannot do or say anything which is likely, directly or indirectly, to influence them in the discharge of their duty."[12] Hassan Ispahani was so dissatisfied with the composition of the Bengal Parliamentary Board that he intended to resign from treasurership of the Election Fund and membership of the Provincial Working Committee. He was however, persuaded to continue working by his brother Ahmed Ispahani[13] to whom Jinnah remarked "The vital issue is Pakistan. It is not a question of who gets the ticket and who does not, and who will be the Chief Minister or Minister.... every Musalman is to support the man who finally gets the League ticket, even though, to put it bluntly and emphatically, he be a lamp-post."[14] To a complaint from a Bannu MLA against Parliamentary Board that it had given tickets to its favourite members and ignored the real and sincere workers,[15] he responded "I have no power to interfere with your Provincial Selection Board or with the Central Parliamentary Board."[16]

Jinnah urged on the Leaguers to concentrate exclusively on the elections. In a message to a student organisation in Ajmer, he wrote: "...support the Muslim League and let us have a thumping verdict in favour of Pakistan.... All other matters must stand over."[17] In a telegram to medical students of Calcutta, he advised: "Establish complete unity, face elections with grim determination. Issue life-death. Every vote for League means rescue of hundred million Musalmans, Islam, Pakistan".[18] At the behest of Yusuf Haroon, he wrote to the leader of the Punjabi settlers in Sind, "...it is very important not only for Sind, but for Muslim India, that we should secure a clear verdict for Pakistan" for which "we are fighting tooth and nail."[19]

Coordinating multifarious preparations for elections throughout the vast Indian subcontinent was no easy task and required a Herculean effort. Jinnah, who had recently come out of the tiring and frustrating negotiations during the Simla Conference, was thoroughly exhausted. Yet, he marshalled every ounce of his energy to tie up the loose ends that came to his notice from various parts of the country.

* * * *

As pointed out earlier, the Muslim minority provinces had rallied round the League flag and had wholeheartedly supported the demand for Pakistan.[2] Ironically, the Muslim majority provinces, which were to benefit most from the creation of Pakistan, presented major problems to Muslim League. In Sind and Bengal, the League leaders were pulling in different directions in furtherance of their personal ends. In the Punjab,

politics continued to be dominated by the Unionists whose Muslim ministers paid only a lip service to the demand for Pakistan. In NWFP, the League had to face the uphill task of winning popular support in face of a well-entrenched Congress set-up. In this minefield of disunity and conflict, Jinnah manoeuvred with amazing finesse and surety. It was possible due to unquestioned trust that the nation reposed in him. All the regional League leaders, quarrelling amongst themselves, reverted to him as a father-figure with a towering personality and sagacity unequalled by any other statesman of his era.

* * * *

Dissension and disunity amongst Sind politicians seem to have been of a chronic nature. "The League was crippled as a result of internal divisions".[21] The inflated ego of political leadership resulted in a relentless contest for power amongst the major landed families. Highlighting this aspect of rural Sind, the compilers of 1931 Census Report remarked "The big local zamindar or 'Wadero' likes to be the king of his own little territory exercising often a sway that is completely feudal".[22]

During the year 1945, the rift between the Sind Premier, Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and the President of Sind Muslim League, G. M. Sayed had reached the point of acute confrontation.[23] By then, Jinnah had built up the Muslim League as the predominant political organisation of Muslim India and he came to be accepted as its undisputed leader. In this scenario, even the feudal chieftains could not afford to side-track the prestigious personality of Jinnah. In fact, each leader avowed allegiance to him but pursued his personal political objectives regardless of the Muslim League agenda. This is evident from M. H. Gazdar's letter to Jinnah wherein he lamented the disunity amongst Sind Muslim Leaguers. He remarked: "This is bound to lead to disruption of Muslim League in Sind. It shall also be fatal to the cause of Pakistan". Describing the situation in detail, he stated that M. A. Khuhro was supporting only those candidates who would endorse him as Premier, Mir Ghulam Ali was working for a Baloch and Mir domination, G. M. Sayed was trying to create a Sayed bloc and Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah was manipulating to stay in power.[24] From Nawabshah, S. N. Pirzada referred to "...the disease of contention and rivalry, which is gnawing [at] the very vitals of Sindhi Muslims".[25]

Being frustrated in his personal designs, G.M. Sayed resorted to precipitate action and adjourned the meeting of the Provincial Parliamentary Board, citing a requisition by twenty-five members of the Provincial League Council as a basis. He also reported to Jinnah

certain malpractices by the members of the Provincial Board.[26] M. A. Khuhro challenged these allegations by stating that the Parliamentary Board had worked smoothly and had by then allotted League tickets for three districts but G.M. Sayed adjourned the meeting of the Board just because his favourites had not been selected.[27] Jinnah warned that "...the only issue before us is Pakistan versus *Akhand* Hindustan and if Sind fails, God help you. There will be nothing left. All the individual dreams and cliques and groups will evaporate and Sind Muslims will stand discredited and paralysed".[28] He accused G. M. Sayed of having "...stabbed the Muslim League organization in the back" at the most critical moment. The episode ended with the expulsion of G. M. Sayed from the Muslim League by the Committee of Action.[29]

* * * *

A contest for power raged within Bengal Muslim League also. Hassan Ispahani reported to Jinnah in October 1945 "The game of pull devil, pull baker is being played by Sir Nazimuddin and his henchmen on one side and Suhrawardy and his lieutenants... on the other. Each wants to be the next leader and Premier of Bengal."[30] He also informed him that Suhrawardy had outmanoeuvred Khwaja Nazimuddin to win all the five provincial Council seats.[31] The infight between the two leaders prompted Khwaja Ahmed, advocate who requested Jinnah to advise the leaders "...to make up their differences at this most vital moment of Muslim destiny."[32]

* * * *

Since 1937, the Unionist party had been at the helm of affairs in the Punjab.[33] However, there was a wind of change in favour of the League throughout the subcontinent as an aftermath of Simla Conference. Wafts of this wind were also discernable in the Punjab where leaders not so far associated with the League were keen to join it. Firoz Khan Noon, Defence Member of Viceroy's Executive Council decided to resign[34] and join the League. He suggested to Khizar Hayat Tiwana, the Punjab Premier, that it would be desirable for all Muslims to seek elections on the Muslim League ticket.[35] In October 1945, Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, an eminent Punjab politician who had been expelled from Muslim League for having accepted membership of the War Committee requested to rejoin the League[36] and was allowed by Jinnah to do so.[37]

On the other hand, antagonism of the Unionists against Muslim League is evident from many complaints regarding harassment of the League

workers by the bureaucracy.[38] Daniyal Latifi, Office Secretary, Punjab Muslim League reported that Mustafa Shah Geelani, a prominent League leader from Rawalpindi, had been arrested a year before under the Defence of India Rules on a false pretext. He also complained against the prosecution of Muslim National Guards for parading.[39] Iqbal Masud also drew Jinnah's attention to the "nefarious activities" of the Ministry, in conjunction with the Governor "...in order to thwart the attempts of the Muslim League to sweep the polls" and complained that the League meetings were being banned on various pretexts, its workers were harassed by the police and coercion and bribery were used for the success of the Unionist and Ahrar candidates. He also mentioned that the Provincial League had requested the British Government to recall the Governor, Bertrand Glancy because of his partiality.[40] Viqarun-Nisa Noon wrote to Jinnah that the Governor of the Punjab was against the demand for Pakistan.[41] Ghulam Bhik Nairang, President District Muslim League, Ambala reported that, at the behest of the Governor "...the entire official machinery from top to bottom" had been working ceaselessly in support of the Unionist Party.[42]

In his address at Habibia Hall, Lahore, on January 17, 1946, Jinnah declared that "...Muslims—man, woman and child—are prepared to shed their blood for Pakistan? Because if we don't achieve Pakistan, Islam and Muslims will perish in India". He attacked "the Glancy-Khizar Axis", accusing the bureaucracy—from *Zaildars* to Commissioners—of working in a tyrannical way and interfering in the elections.[43]

* * * *

In NWFP, the Congress Party led by Dr. Khan, had formed a Government on March 16, 1945.[44] However, Mohammad Zaman, an advocate from Charsadda reported on August 15 that the "People have started condemning the Congress and its administration" and the Pathans had been awakened by "the memorable stand" taken by Jinnah at the Simla Conference[45] i.e. acceptance of the principle of Pakistan and of Muslim League as sole representative of Indian Muslims.[46] In mid-August 1945, a prominent Congress leader and its MLA in the Central Assembly from NWFP, Abdul Qaiyum Khan conveyed to Jinnah "the most momentous decision" of his life after "anxious heart-searching" to join the Muslim League,[47] thus lending great strength to the Party in NWFP. Jinnah appreciated Qaiyum's decision and hoped that others would follow his example "...at this critical juncture and serve selflessly national cause of Muslim India".[48]

To the chagrin of many old Leaguers, the League Assembly Party in

NWFP was led by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, a highly controversial figure. Sadullah Khan, a League MLA reported to Jinnah that the decline of the League was due to the "personality and character of the Premier" who had "dragged the name of the League into dust".[49] Nawab Ismail Khan, the Chairman of the Committee of Action reported that the League Government had put up "a bad show" during the opportunity given to them to run the Government and that no minister had been free from blame.[50] Faizullah Khan, League MLA from Bannu, being convinced that the "...continuance of Aurangzeb in office was injurious to the interests of the League" had voted against the Ministry.[51] To organise and expedite the election campaign, the AIML Central Parliamentary Board set up a special Committee of Action for NWFP under the presidentship of Qazi Mohammad Isa.[52]

* * * *

Leaguers in the Muslim minority provinces had to struggle against the hostile Congress ministries. The hurdles that Muslim League had to surmount in these provinces are typified by the complaint of Abdus Sami, President, Bijnore District Muslim League that "...nothing was left undone by the Hindus, the Jami'at and the Congress; money was squandered like water, the entire official machinery was in league with the Congress".[53] However, Muslims of these provinces responded spontaneously to Jinnah's call for rallying round the Muslim League, staking their everything for the attainment of Pakistan. Their spirit of devotion is reflected in a letter from Abdus Sattar Ishaq Seth, MLA and a prominent Leaguer from Bombay. Referring to the role of descendants of Arabs settled in Malabar, he remarked "...Moplas have given a glorious account of themselves in this election.... Voters—very old people among them—came walking for miles together to vote for the League. Even *purdah*-observing ladies came out in large numbers to record their votes".[54] After establishment of Pakistan, Jinnah paid glowing tributes to the Muslims of minority provinces for their key role in the Pakistan movement: "I recognize that it is the Muslim minority provinces... who were the pioneers and carried the banner aloft for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan. I shall never forget their support, nor I hope the majority Muslim provinces... will fail to appreciate that they were the pioneers in the vanguard of our historic and heroic struggle".[55]

* * * *

Muslim students throughout the subcontinent rallied to the cause of

Pakistan even before the rest of the community, setting an example in sacrifice and devotion. Students from Muslim minority areas were in the vanguard of the struggle for Pakistan and the most active part was played by those from Muslim University, Aligarh whose contribution has been chronicled in detail in Appendix I. Aligarh was the 'arsenal' of Muslim India. This was proved by the part played by students of Muslim University, Aligarh in the elections of 1945-6. Jinnah suggested to Professor A.B.A. Haleem to constitute a committee for this purpose and promised assistance from the Central Election Fund.[56] Jamilud Din Ahmad, a staunch and committed supporter of the League organised groups of Aligarh students in the campaign for Central Assembly elections. He remarked: "They travelled third class; in rural areas, they travelled on bullock carts and *ekkas* [horse-driven carriage] but for the rest part they walked on foot. They have set a new record of endurance and self-sacrifice".[57] In recognition of the services which Aligarh University had rendered since 1937 throughout India, the institution was granted the status of a City League in 1945.[58] Liaquat Ali Khan expressed his "...grateful appreciation of the excellent work which the University student workers did in the Central Assembly elections."[59] By January 13, 1946, a batch of 128 trained students had been sent to Sind who later visited rural areas of the Punjab for election work.[60]

Although, the role of Aligarh students was pre-eminent, Muslim students from institutions in other parts of India also made important contribution to the cause of Pakistan. Zamin Jan Mahsud, a student of 10th class from South Waziristan, wrote to Jinnah in August 1945 that although he was not rich enough to contribute monetarily, he would volunteer for any service in the national cause.[61] To express their devotion, Muslim Students' Federation of Budaun (U.P.) declared in a resolution: "...we pledge to place our entire services and resources at the disposal of the League".[62] In his report to Jinnah in December 1945, Secretary, Muslim Students' Federation, Islamia College, Lahore conveyed the students' pledge "...not to rest till they sound the trumpet of Pakistan in every corner of the province".[63] This Students Union contacted League candidates and sent over two hundred students to various constituencies.[64] The All Bengal Muslim Students' League trained five hundred workers at Calcutta and Dacca who toured various districts of Bengal for election work.[65] Mohammad Ikram Bajwa writing to Jinnah from Delhi summed up the contribution of the students in these glowing words: "Muslim students, one and all, have rendered unprecedented service to the Muslim League and it will not be false to say that the League successes in the

elections... are solely due to the untiring efforts of the student community".[66]

* * * *

Although support to the Pakistan movement was common to majority of Muslim households in India, the part played by women did not get the same limelight because of the social segregation prevailing at the time. This was also due to the lower level of literacy amongst Muslim women. However, large number of young Muslim ladies had joined the Women National Guard, a subsidiary of the Muslim League. Mrs. M. Ali Khan, a 25-year old housewife from Bihar, wrote that under Jinnah's guidance, the future of Indian Muslims would be very bright, provided the educated Muslim women set an example for others in the national cause.[67] Ladies Muslim League, Bombay passed a resolution expressing "heartfelt gratitude" to Jinnah for "...galvanizing the Muslim nation into an effective political force.... pulsating with new life and vigour in its endeavour to achieve its political goals".[68] In response, Jinnah urged on Muslim women to play their due part in nation-building and in "the renaissance of Muslim India."[69]

* * * *

Indian Muslims living abroad also took keen interest in the political developments in the subcontinent. Besides contributing generously to the election fund as mentioned earlier,[70] they lent robust support to Jinnah and the League's programme. The India Muslim League of America declared whole-hearted support to All India Muslim League.[71] In Great Britain, Indian Muslims had established a Muslim League Branch for projection of the political aims of Muslim India. They had also started a fortnightly pamphlet *Pakistan* to further those aims.[72] Muslims in Burma, who had passed through a period of "degradation and despair" during the Japanese occupation, retained their pro-Pakistan leanings and reconstituted the Burmese Muslim League soon after the Japanese departure.[73] Indian Muslims living in Mombasa, East Africa expressed unshakable faith in Jinnah to "deliver the goods".[74] Students of a Muslim school in Natal, South Africa went from door to door reciting pro-Pakistan poems and collecting contributions for the League Fund.[75] Muslims from Negri Sembilan, Malaya (now Malaysia) expressed their full support for the Muslim League, placing complete confidence in Jinnah's leadership.[76] From Penang, a major city of Malaysia, United Muslims' Association conveyed that "...Muslims of Malaya stand solidly behind

All India Muslim League".[77]

* * * *

Jinnah's clarion call for Muslim unity, which had galvanised an overwhelming majority of Indian Muslims, had also fallen on some deaf ears. A number of Muslims were still active in the Congress; some prominent leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President and Dr. Khan, the Premier of the NWFP were still available to Congress to lend it the semblance of a national rather than a Hindu party. There were some nationalist Muslims outside the fold of the Indian National Congress also who were members of religious parties with a political agenda like Jami'at al-Ulema-i-Hind and Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam. The leaders of these parties included eminent Muslim clerics like Hussain Ahmad Madani and Ataullah Shah Bukhari who generally towed the Congress line. Despite their claims of popularity, these parties commanded limited following.[78]

Another Muslim organisation which had become very active was the Khaksar Movement. It was founded by an accomplished educationist, Allama Inayatullah Mashriqi who had graduated from Cambridge University with honours in Mathematics. He was influenced by the German martial tradition and had structured his movement as a semi-military organisation. Its volunteers wore Khaki uniform and, with spades on their shoulders, paraded to the beat of drums under the cautions of *Chap/Rast* (Persian for left / right). Their mottos were *Akhuwwat* (brotherhood), *Khidmat-i-Khalq* (public service) and *Ghalba-i-Islam* (primacy of Islam). These slogans fired the imagination of young Muslims who flocked to Khaksar Movement in considerable numbers. As stated by a Khaksar leader, Malik Ahmad, they had their organisation "in each and every town of India."[79] At one time, the movement claimed amongst its members many prominent people like Bahadur Yar Jung who later joined the Muslim League.

Starting as an advocate of Islamic primacy, Allama Mashriqi later became a proponent of Hindu-Muslim unity and during the Jinnah-Gandhi talks in 1944 took upon himself the role of a facilitator for bringing about an agreement between the two leaders. When demand for Pakistan gained momentum, Jinnah invited Muslims belonging to other parties to join the Muslim League. He had no rancour against Khaksars despite an attempt by a Khaksar on his life[80] and held the doors of the League open to Khaksars although he considered them to be hostile to Muslim League.[81] Outwardly, Allama Mashriqi gave the impression of

being in favour of Pakistan but actually he had his own interpretation of the concept and promised support to Jinnah only on his terms. The two leaders gradually drifted apart and the tone of Mashriqi in his letters to Jinnah became ever more vitriolic. He even started blaming the Muslim League for disturbing his meetings at the connivance of Jinnah.[82] He came up with an impractical proposal that several small Muslim parties disband their organisations and fuse together to form an "All-India Azad Muslim League". He even made an audacious suggestion to Jinnah to merge the Muslim League with the proposed new party.[83]

* * * *

Jinnah and All India Muslim League had all along espoused the Muslim causes throughout the world, particularly that of the Palestine Arabs. Tewfiq Saleh Husseini, the Acting Chairman of Palestine Arab Party had solicited Jinnah's support for Arab demands i.e. an end to the immigration of non-Palestinian Jews into the area and establishment of an independent Arab State there.[84] Jinnah's telegraphic response was that "Muslim India has always supported and will whole-heartedly support Palestine Arab national demand".[85] In another communication, when Husseini requested that a Palestine Day be observed by the Indian Muslims,[86] Jinnah informed him that the Muslim League observed October 26, 1945 as Palestine Day.[87] In a cable to Clement Attlee, the British Prime Minister, Jinnah warned that appeasement of Jewry at the cost of Arabs would be vehemently opposed by Muslim India and will have disastrous consequences.[88] In a telegram to Jinnah, Uzzuldin Al-Naqib, Vice-President, Iraqi Chamber of Deputies pointed out the rank partiality of Harry S. Truman, US President, towards the Jews.[89] Jinnah assured him of full support by Muslim India to Palestine Arabs and condemned the damaging Truman proposals.[90] The Muslim League passed several successive resolutions in support of the Arabs. Similar feelings prevailed in the rank and file of the Party including women, as reflected in a letter from the Calcutta Women's League Sub-Committee expressing "...its deep sympathy with their Arab brethren of Palestine".[91]

Mohamed Amin Alhuseini, the Grand Mufti of Palestine, addressing Jinnah as "Dear brother, the great Muslim" thanked him for his continuous "valuable efforts" in the service of Islam and affirmed that "The voice of our Indian Muslim brethren ... had the greatest effect". He hoped that Indian Muslims would continue to support the Palestinian

cause.[92] Ahmad Hilmi, Chairman, Arab National Fund, also thanked Jinnah for his "...unremitting efforts to support the Palestine case" [93]

* * * *

Closer home, the plight of Indian National Army (INA) was agitating the minds of people in India. This Army had been raised out of those prisoners of War from the British Indian Army who had been captured by the Japanese when Burma and surrounding areas fell to their forces. The Japanese had elevated the collaborating officers to high ranks, established a Provisional Government of India and installed, as its head, Subhash Chandra Bose, former President of Indian National Congress. After reoccupation of these areas by the British Army, the officers and men of INA were interned and charged with treason. The Congress had come out very strongly in favour of the INA men and had set up a panel of lawyers to defend them in various courts and tribunals. The attitude of the Indian Muslims was however divided between deep sympathy and indifference.

Hafizur Rahman Malik wrote to Jinnah "It is very sad and shameful on the part of the Allies to count these brave hearts as war criminals"[94] and added "You are the man, one of the greatest lawyers the world possesses, who can save these precious lives from guillotine".[95] Sardar Bahadur Khan, a prominent Muslim Leaguer requested Jinnah to "...take the matter in hand and play a leading part in saving these valuable lives".[96] In response, Jinnah referred to his statement wherein he had asked for lenient treatment of INA personnel and promised maximum Muslim League support to safeguard their interests.[97] Jinnah's attitude was sympathetic although the Muslim League did not subscribe to the agenda of Subhash Chandra Bose and was against the Congress attempt to use the Japanese occupation for furtherance of their objective of a united India.[98] Similar views were expressed by T. M. A. Wahid from Trichinopoly, who considered the intended occupation of India by INA under Subhash Chandra Bose to be in conformity with the Congress slogan of 'Quit India' which was aimed at establishing a united government in India.[99]

Most of the INA officers were being given full support by the Congress. Capt. Rashid who had declared his sympathy with Muslim League was tried and awarded 7 years rigorous imprisonment.[100] In his telegram to Viceroy, Jinnah asked that further trials of INA men be abandoned and Capt. Rashid's sentence be remitted.[101] The Viceroy, however responded that remission of sentence was out of question and assured him that there had been no discrimination in dealing

with different INA officers.[102]

* * * *

Muslim League had all along been working under the serious handicap of scant press coverage compared to Congress. Of course, prior to this period, English newspapers *Dawn* and *Star of India* had started publication from Delhi and Calcutta respectively[103] and supported League's programme. However many parts of the country had no such papers at all. This small Muslim press was inadequate to counter the massive propaganda by the widely spread network of Congress and Hindu newspapers. It was the constant endeavour of Jinnah to augment the small Muslim press and he took personal interest in its development.

To Muslim League's advantage, Azizul Haque was the Member in-Charge of publications in the Viceroy's Executive Council. He helped out with grant of registrations and the issue of newsprint which was then a controlled item. At Jinnah's behest, he had increased the quota of newsprint for *Vatan* and *Morning News*, permitted the publication of *Tanvir* and *Mohammadi* and conversion of *Chandrika* into a daily.[104] When *Chandrika* started publication as a daily, Jinnah sent a message of felicitations and acknowledged its role in guiding the Muslims of Malabar and creating unity amongst them.[105]

In January 1946, I. I. Chundrigar drew Jinnah's attention to the urgent need for an English weekly in Bombay to propagate the Muslim League's point of view.[106] Jinnah endorsed the publication of a weekly and consented to be named as its founder provided a properly constituted committee was set up to run the paper. He, however, declined to accept any responsibility for its management[107] and sent an encouraging message on inauguration of this weekly named *Star*.[108]

Supporters of Muslim League all over India kept on bringing to Jinnah's notice, the need of pro-League papers in various regions and different languages. T. S. Abdur Rahman pointed out that there was no Tamil paper in South India, while the Congress press completely blacked out Muslim news and maligned the Muslim League.[109]

* * * *

About five months after the failure of the Simla Conference, held in June-July 1945, another initiative was launched by the British Government to unravel the Indian political tangle. R. Stafford Cripps, Member, India and Burma Committee informed Jinnah on

December 19, 1945 of the proposed visit of a British Parliamentary Delegation assuring him that "...I and many of my friends are most conscious of the claims and wishes of the Muslims in India".[110] On December 21, Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India wrote that the members of the Delegation would come as individuals with no powers to act on behalf of the Government.[111] The Delegation comprising ten members of the British Parliament under the leadership of Professor Robert Richards[112] arrived in India on January 5, 1946[113] to assuage the political tension in India.

After free and frank discussions with the Parliamentary Delegation, Jinnah wrote to Pethick-Lawrence emphasising that the British Government should make an immediate and unequivocal declaration accepting the Muslim demand for Pakistan. He felt that setting up of an Interim Government was unwarranted as the World War II had ended and no tentative arrangement was necessary. He made it clear that any set-up within the framework of an all-India Government was not acceptable to the Muslims.[114]

In a farewell talk to pressmen, the Delegation leader expressed the opinion that India had "at last attained political manhood" and could "...take her place among the free nations of the world".[115] There being no submission of a formal report to the Government by the Delegation, one of the members, R. W. Sorensen sent his individual recommendations to the Secretary of State.[116] Amongst these were early declaration of Indian independence and initiation of discussions regarding establishment of Pakistan, provided 60% of population in the proposed areas opted for it through a plebiscite.[117]

The elections to the central and provincial assemblies held in 1945-46 were the acid test to demonstrate the overwhelming popularity of the Muslim League amongst the Muslims of the subcontinent. The results of the elections to the Central Assembly gave Muslim League a sweeping victory as it captured each one of the Muslim seats. In the provincial elections, it obtained an overwhelming majority of Muslim seats in Muslim minority provinces—82% in UP, 85% in Bihar, 92% in Assam, 93% in CP, and 100% in three provinces namely Bombay, Madras and Orissa.[118] Amongst the Muslim majority provinces i.e. Bengal, the Punjab and Sind, the Muslim League bagged nearly 94%, 88% and 80% of the Muslim seats respectively.[119] There were, however, a few setbacks.

In the Punjab, Muslim League could not win an absolute majority with its 75 seats in a house of 175, and could not dethrone the Unionists who, with 21 of their own seats could muster support from Congress with 51

seats and Sikhs with 23 seats.[120] The position of the Muslim League in the NWFP, the province with the highest percentage of Muslim population, was even more precarious. Here, out of a total of 38 Muslim seats in a house of 50 members, it could win only 17. Its disadvantage was even more obvious because the Congress had bagged 19 out of 38 Muslim seats.[121]

* * * *

During this period, Jinnah had to make the last run over the steepest path to the coveted summit—Pakistan. Although, he made the best possible use of his trusted lieutenants like Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan, Hassan Ispahani and Qazi Mohammad Isa for the organisational work of the Muslim League, he had to undertake the overall planning of the Party activities and conduct tedious negotiations on behalf of the nation. He had minimal personal secretarial staff which left him with the stupendous task of going through heaps of correspondence and responding to most of the letters himself. Such a gruelling work-load would have been unbearable even for a young man in robust health, but here was an ageing and frail Jinnah who stood his post against heavy odds and did not relent till the attainment of his objectives. His ability to draw on the very last reserves of his energy was no less than miraculous. He did however, mention in the passing to Abdul Qaiyum Khan "I was really exhausted after the Simla Conference and on my arrival here, I was far from well".[122] Nevertheless, he continued to maintain the hectic pace of work which included extensive travelling, addressing meetings and coordinating the work of the Party all over India.

Besides amazing stamina for work, Jinnah had many exceptional qualities of head and heart which made him the undisputed leader of Muslim India and its "Sole Spokesman". One of these was not to be incensed with criticism and respond to his detractors with cool courtesy. The Editor of a little known publication house pointed an accusing finger at Jinnah by pronouncing "...you love to live like a grand Moghul in palaces where poor Muslim masses cannot reach you."[123] He patiently explained that he had "the fullest sympathy for the poor" and that "Muslim League is a people's party".[124]

Jinnah strongly believed in the rule of law and claimed no special privileges for being the Quaid-i-Azam. While he could have obtained the Muslim League ticket for the Central Assembly with a nod of head, he submitted an application (facsimile below) to the Muslim League

Parliamentary Board as per procedure laid down for ordinary candidates.[125]

Legislative Assembly.

(See rule II.)

NOMINATION PAPER.

Name of the Constituency for which the candidate is nominated	Bombay City Muhammadan Constituency (urban
Name of candidate	Mohamed Ali
Father's name	Jinah
Age	68 (Sixty Eight) Years (born 15/
Address	Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill
*Denomination (*state whether non-Muhammadan, Muhammadan, Sikh or European*) ..	Muhammadan
Constituency on the electoral roll of which the candidate is registered as an elector ...	Bombay City Muhammadan urban
†No. of the candidate in the electoral roll of the constituency in which he is registered as an elector	D ward 194
Name of proposer	Mahomed Haji Ahmed.
†No. of the proposer in the electoral roll of the constituency	1491. B. ward.
Signature of the proposer	Mahomed Haji Ahmed
Name of the seconder	Mahomed Bada Toffi
†No. of the seconder in the electoral roll of the constituency	1484 B ward.
Signature of the seconder	Mahomed Bada Toffi

DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE.

I hereby declare that I agree to this nomination.

Date

Mohamed Ali Jinnah
Signature of Candidate.

Jinnah's sincere, sagacious and inspiring leadership earned him genuine admiration which was not confined to Muslims. A member of Parliamentary Delegation, R.W. Sorensen, writes about Jinnah in his monograph, *My Impressions of India*: "He is a sword of Islam resting in a secular scabbard.... He is in a far different mental world and category than any other Indian public man".[126] Dr. Krishnaswami, a barrister belonging to Scheduled Caste wrote to Jinnah "...how grateful the non-Brahmins are to you for the inestimable service you have rendered them by raising your powerful voice against Congress tyranny".[127] In his article in *Liberator,* he wrote "Mr. Jinnah's worst opponents cannot charge him with lack of moral courage or of judgement".[128]

Of course, the Indian Muslims themselves showered him with many tributes but all of them cannot find a place here. Dr. A.H. Kazi wrote from Bombay "You are so indispensable to Muslim India. Only through your able leadership we shall ... reach our destined goal".[129] Shah Nawaz Pirzada requested Jinnah for a message for a book, in his own hand-writing explaining "Your hand-writing will simply be placed on their eyes ... by your countrymen .... for you are the undoubted seer and sage of the Muslims of India".[130] An anonymous writer went to the extent of saying "...in the entire Muslim world a great man like you has not been born so far".[131] A student of Mysore University expressed his wish to Jinnah "...to see you in person—your stately face and grand personality—before my death".[132] A group of students from Lucknow University complimented Jinnah for bringing the Indian Muslims round the League banner "in a miraculously short time".[133] S. A. Ashraf, a Magistrate and Collector prayed for Jinnah to live long to guide the nation which he had "...brought from the mire of obscurity to the blaze of limelight" and which he had "lovingly fondled" in his arms.[134]

Devotion of Indian Muslims for Jinnah took unusual forms. A soldier serving in an army workshop in South East Asia prayed that all the years of his life, except ten, be added to that of Jinnah. During the remaining ten years, he hoped to see Pakistan come into being.[135] Qazi Asadul Haq, an advocate from Abbottabad praised Jinnah's "...boundless sincerity, matchless honesty, flawless character and peerless prudence".[136] Muslims of Durban, South Africa established a special committee to celebrate Jinnah's birthday.[137] In Penang, Malaysia on the occasion of Jinnah's birthday "...the whole male Indian population marched ...with band playing, banners flying".[138] Syed Hasan Bhatkaly, a student from Madras called Jinnah a "saviour" who had come forth at the psychological moment when the nation was "...in dire need of a capable leader.... With marvellous skill and consummate political sagacity you set about reorganizing and reviving the degenerate Muslims".[139]

Mohammad Noman from Hyderabad, Deccan proclaimed "Your name will go down in history as the greatest Muslim who saved his nation from ruin and annihilation".[140] K.M. Meeran Moideen from Tinnevelley, Madras wrote to Jinnah "...we heartily and sincerely consider you as a light house on the rock".[141]

As it was humanly impossible for Jinnah to deal with so many diverse issues and problems, he coped through a sharp sense of priorities. For instance, after planning a visit to Hyderabad, Deccan over a long period, when he actually received an invitation from the Nizam, he courteously declined stating "...at present it is very difficult for me to give up my

immediate work which is of vital importance to Muslim India".[142]

Jinnah was a true constitutionalist. When informed that a constitution had been framed by the Khaksars, he emphasised that a constitution could only be framed by the people's representatives.[143] He also had a clear perception of national objectives. Writing to an Englishman in November 1945, he enunciated these objectives unequivocally "The only solution to India's problem is a division of it into Pakistan and Hindustan .... the sooner the British Government make up their mind definitely the better it would be for all concerned".[144] Despite being extremely busy, Jinnah had the ability to appreciate the contribution made by the Muslim League leaders and workers. He wrote to the *Salar* of NWFP Muslim National Guards "I congratulate your very efficient and well-disciplined body, whose services I had the good fortune to witness with my own eyes".[145]

Unlike the traditional politicians, he shunned time-consuming and costly celebrations in his honour. When Hakim Syed Hussen offered to throw a grand dinner for Jinnah and Bombay Provincial League leaders in the renowned Taj Mahal Hotel,[146] his polite reply was "...we are all absorbed in facing these elections, and my advice to every Musalman now is to work. The time for rejoicing will come later". He advised the gentleman to contribute the cost of the proposed dinner at Taj to the League Fund.[147]

Jinnah never minced his words and always expressed his views in a forthright manner. In an interview in December 1945, he remarked "The deadlock in this country is not so much between India and the British. It is between the Hindu Congress and the Muslim League". He added "First, we must get agreement on Pakistan".[148] In the same interview, he declared that with "...real statesmanship, and real effort" the problem could be settled in no time.[149]

The unique position Jinnah occupied in the Muslim League organisation was far above that held by the president of any other political party. He was looked up to as a Messiah who had a panacea for every malady. He was also considered to be a lodestone whose very presence would magnetise the surroundings. Being almost completely engrossed in the preparations for elections, Jinnah could not oblige all his admirers with personal visits but, in all cases, he promptly thanked them for their enthusiastic invitations and explained the reasons for his inability to come. Where warranted, he sent appropriate messages which were read at the functions, in which he could not participate.

Jinnah's unmatched qualities of leadership, his towering confidence and his irrefutable logic came into full play to convince the Hindu majority, the British Government and the world at large that he alone

held the key to the Indian riddle. Jinnah was able to demonstrate that the dream of Indian freedom would not become a reality without a settlement between the two major communities inhabiting the country. No lesser a person could have obtained an agreement for partition from Hindu leadership which had been vehemently rejecting the 'vivisection' of India and the British Government whose representative, Archibald Wavell considered the subcontinent to be one geographical and administrative unit.[150]

Notes

[1]Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. IV, Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi, 2000, 150.
[2]Archibald Wavell to Leopold Amery, Telegram, 14 July 1945, Nicholas Mansergh, ed., *The Transfer of Power 1942-7 (hereafter referred to as TP)*, 1976, No. 604, Vol. VI, 1247.
[3]Appeal by M. A. Jinnah, 16 July 1945, *Jinnah Papers (hereafter referred to as JP)* App. II.1, Vol. XI, 672.
[4] See Appendix II, *JP*, XI, 672-772.
[5]V. A. Shaul Hameed to M. A. Jinnah, 24 August 1945, No. 51.
[6]M. A. Jinnah to Fazal Karim, 21 September 1945, No. 127.
[7]Namdar Mian A. Malek & Others to M. A. Jinnah, 27 October 1945, No. 231.
[8]Haji Ibrahim Haji Ishak to M. A. Jinnah, 23 February 1946, No. 522.
[9] M.A. Jinnah to Khaliquzzaman & Amir Haider Khan, 2 February 1946, No. 469.
[10]M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani & Others, 9 March 1946, No. 558.
[11]M. Azizul Haque to M A. Jinnah, 9 September 1945, No. 99.
[12]M. A. Jinnah to M. Azizul Haque, 27 September 1945, No. 151.
[13]M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah, 1 October 1945, No. 161
[14]M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani, 11 November 1945, No. 269.
[15]Mohammad Zaffar Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 24 November 1945, No. 298.
[16]M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Zaffar Khan, 25 November 1945, No. 299.
[17]M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Ashfaq Siddiqi, 25 November 1945, No. 301.
[18]M. A. Jinnah to Mofizur Rahman, Telegram, 5 December 1945, No. 324.
[19]M. A. Jinnah to Maher Mohammad Ali, 14 December 1945, No. 350.
[20]See Introduction to *JP*, XI, xxii.
[21]Z. H. Zaidi, "Patterns and Trends of Sind Politics (1936-1940)" in *Contemporary South Asia*, (Journal), 1996, 19.
[22]Ibid., 24.
[23]See Introduction to *JP*, XI, xvii.
[24]M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah, 21 August 1945, No. 37.
[25]Shah Nawaz Pirzada to M. A. Jinnah, 27 August 1945, No. 55.
[26]G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 3 October 1945, No. 174.
[27]M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah, 3 October 1945, No. 175.
[28]M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro, 13 October 1945, No. 203.
[29]M. A. Jinnah to Yusuf A. Haroon, 8 January 1946, No. 423.
[30]See note 13 above.
[31]Ibid.
[32]Khwaja Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah, 5 December 1945, No. 319.
[33]Humayoon Adeeb, *Tehreek-i-Pakistan: Punjab Aur Mamdot*, (Urdu), Society Books, Lahore, 1987, 79.
[34]Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah, 21 August 1945, Enclosure 2 to No. 35.
[35]Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah, 21 August 1945, Enclosure 1 to No. 35.
[36]Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz to M. A. Jinnah, 6 October 1945, No. 187.
[37]M. A. Jinnah to Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, 17 October 1945, No. 211.
[38]Humayoon Adeeb, *op. cit.*, 209.
[39]Daniyal Latifi to M. A. Jinnah, 28 August 1945, No. 61.
[40]Iqbal Masud to M. A. Jinnah, 24 September 1945, No. 134.
[41]Viqarun-Nisa Noon to M. A. Jinnah, 10 October 1945, No. 196.
[42]Ghulam Bhik Nairang to M. A. Jinnah, 24 December 1945, No. 382.
[43]Waheed Ahmad, *op. cit.*, IV, 393-4.
[44]Muhammad Anwar Khan, *The Role of N.W.F.P. In the Freedom Struggle*, Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore, 2000, 180.
[45]Mohammad Zaman to M. A. Jinnah, 15 August 1945, No. 25.

[46]See Introduction to *JP*, XI, xiii.
[47]Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 16 August 1945, No. 28.
[48]M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Qaiyum Khan, 20 August 1945, No. 33.
[49]Sadullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 1 September 1945, No. 74.
[50] Mohamed Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 1 October 1945, No. 167
[51]Faizullah Khan to Abdul Qaiyum Khan (Copy to M. A. Jinnah), 30 October 1945, No. 236
[52]Resolution by AIML Central Parliamentary Board, 7 December 1945, No 332.
[53]Abdus Sami to M. A. Jinnah, 19 March 1946, No. 582.
[54]H. Abdus Sattar H. Ishaq Seth to M. A. Jinnah, 4 December 1945, No. 315
[55]*Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements as Governor-General of Pakistan 1947-8*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Islamabad, 1989, 58.
[56]M. A. Jinnah to A. B. A. Haleem, 23 November 1945, Appendix I 1.
[57]Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah, 1 December 1945, Appendix I 3
[58]Manzar-i-Alam to M. A Jinnah, 3 December 1945, Appendix I. 7.
[59]Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah, 3 December 1945, Enclosure to Appendix I. 8.
[60]Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah, 13 January 1946, Appendix I. 30.
[61] Zamin Jan Mahsud to M. A. Jinnah, 31 August 1945, No. 69.
[62]Resolutions passed by Budaun Muslim Students' Federation, 30 September 1945, No. 158
[63]M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Razzaq, 30 December 1945, Annex to No. 400.
[64]M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Razzaq, 30 December 1945, Annexure to Annex to No. 400
[65]Shah Mohammad Azizur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah, 7 March 1946, No. 554.
[66]Mohammad Ikram Bajwa to M. A. Jinnah, 17 March 1946, No. 576.
[67]Mrs. M. Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 10 October 1945, No. 198.
[68]Khadija Shuffi Tyabji to M. A. Jinnah, 25 December 1945, Enclosure to No. 386.
[69]Khadija Shufti Tyabji to M. A. Jinnah, 25 December 1945, Annex to No. 386.
[70]See Introduction to *JP*, XI, xv-xvi.
[71]M. A Jinnah to Mubarek Ali Khan, 28 September 1945, No 152.
[72]Ali M. Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 8 November 1945, No. 254.
[73]Ismail E. Kaka to M. A. Jinnah, 30 November 1945, No. 307.
[74]See note 8 above.
[75]Abdul Kader Ismail Bayat to M. A. Jinnah, 22 March 1946, No. 587.
[76]Indian Muslims Association, Negri Sembilan to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 28 March 1946, No. 604.
[77]United Muslims Association, Penang, to M A. Jinnah, Telegram, 29 March 1946, No. 605.
[78]Malik Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah, 15 August 1945, No. 26.
[79]Ibid.
[80] Waheed Ahmad, *op.cit.*, III, 256-7.
[81]M. A. Jinnah to A. B. Yusufi, 30 September 1945, No. 155.
[82]Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah, 23 March 1946, No 589.
[83]Ibid.
[84]M. A. Jinnah to Tewfiq Saleh Husseini, Telegram, 23 August 1945, note 1 to No 45.
[85]M. A. Jinnah to Tewfiq Saleh Husseini, Telegram, 23 August 1945, No. 45.
[86]Tewfiq Saleh Husseini to M A. Jinnah, Telegram, 22 October 1945, No. 220.
[87]Tewfiq Saleh Husseini to M A. Jinnah, Telegram, 22 October 1945, note 1 to No. 220.
[88]Waheed Ahmad, *op.cit.*, IV, 241.
[89]Uzzuldin Al-Naqib to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 7 October 1945, No. 189.
[90]Uzzuldin Al-Naqib to M A. Jinnah, Telegram, 7 October 1945, note 1 to No. 189.
[91]Mrs H A. Hakam to M A Jinnah, 8 October 1945, Enclosure to No. 192.
[92]Mohamed Amin Alhuseini to M A. Jinnah, 12 October 1945, No. 201.
[93]Ahmad Hilmi to M. A. Jinnah, 14 October 1945, No. 204.
[94]Hafizur Rahman Malik to M. A. Jinnah, 24 September 1945, No. 133
[95]Ibid.
[96]Sardar Bahadur Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 26 September 1945, No 149.
[97]M. A. Jinnah to Sardar Bahadur Khan, 9 October 1945, No. 194
[98]See Introduction to *JP*, X, xi.

[99]T. M. A. Wahid to M. A. Jinnah, 8 December 1945, No. 334.
[100]Waheed Ahmad, *op.cit.*, IV, 426-7.
[101]M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, Telegram, 22 February 1946, No. 518.
[102]Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah, 24 February 1946, No. 524.
[103]See Introduction to *JP*, XI, xxvi.
[104]M. Azizul Haque to M. A. Jinnah, 20 September 1945, No. 123.
[105]H. Abdus Sattar H. Ishaq Seth to M. A. Jinnah, 9 January 1946, Enclosure to No. 425.
[106]I. I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah, 26 January 1946, No. 459.
[107]M. A. Jinnah to I. I. Chundrigar & Abdul Kader Shaikh, 2 February 1946, No. 470.
[108]M. A. Jinnah to I. I. Chundrigar & Abdul Kader Shaikh, 2 February 1946, Enclosure to No. 470.
[109]T. S. Abdur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah, 4 February 1946, No. 473.
[110]R. Stafford Cripps to M. A. Jinnah, 19 December 1945, No. 364
[111]Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah, 21 December 1945, No. 370
[112]Waheed Ahmad, *op. cit.*, IV, 1003.
[113]Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence, 6 January 1946, No. 334, *TP*, VI, 739.
[114]Waheed Ahmad, *op. cit.*, IV, 993.
[115]Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence, 13 February 1946, Enclosure to No. 429, *TP*, VI, 970.
[116]See note 112 above.
[117]Waheed Ahmad, *op. cit.*, IV, 1008.
[118&119]Ibid., 980-1.
[120]Ibid., 973.
[121]Ibid., 976-7.
[122]M. A Jinnah to Abdul Qaiyum Khan, 27 August 1945, No. 54.
[123]M. U. Abbassi to M. A. Jinnah, 5 September 1945, No. 87.
[124]M A. Jinnah to M. U. Abbassi, 5 September 1945, No. 88.
[125]M. A. Jinnah to I. I. Chundrigar, 12 September 1945, No 106 & its Enclosure
[126]Waheed Ahmad, *op. cit.*, IV, 1013.
[127]A. Krishnaswami to M. A. Jinnah, 20 August 1945, No. 32.
[128]M. Hyath Pasha to M. A. Jinnah, 28 December 1945, Enclosure to No. 398.
[129]Abdul Hameed Kazi to M. A. Jinnah, 23 August 1945, No. 46.
[130]See note 25 above.
[131]Anonym to M. A. Jinnah, 22 September 1945, No. 128.
[132]Mir Mohiyuddin to M. A. Jinnah, 3 October 1945, No. 177.
[133]Nasir Uddin Hasan & Others to M. A. Jinnah, 10 October 1945, No 199.
[134]S. A. Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah, 5 December 1945, No. 322.
[135]A. K. Chowdhri to M. A. Jinnah, 7 December 1945, No. 329.
[136]Asadul Haq to M. A. Jinnah, 20 December 1945, No. 366.
[137]Jinnah Birthday Celebration Committee, Durban, to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 21 December 1945, No. 373.
[138]H. G. Sarwar to M. A. Jinnah, 25 December 1945, No. 385.
[139]Syed Hasan Bhatkaly to M. A. Jinnah, 25 December 1945, No. 387
[140]Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah, n.d December 1945, No. 406
[141]K. M Meeran Moideen to M. A. Jinnah, 15 January 1946, No. 438
[142]M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad, 20 December 1945, No 365.
[143]M. A. Jinnah to K. Abdullah, 21 September 1945, No. 124.
[144]M. A. Jinnah to W. H. P. Gardiner, 11 November 1945, No. 266.
[145]M. A Jinnah to Faiz Mohammed, 27 November 1945, No. 303.
[146]M. A. Jinnah to Peerzada Syed Hussen, 10 December 1945, note 1 to No. 338.
[147]M. A. Jinnah to Peerzada Syed Hussen, 10 December 1945, No. 338.
[148]Dorothy Standley to M. A. Jinnah, 13 December 1945, Enclosure to No. 348
[149]Ibid.
[150]Waheed Ahmad, *op. cit.*, III, 398.

Abbreviations

ADM	Additional District Magistrate
AFM	*Archives of Freedom Movement*
AGG	Agent to the Governor-General
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIML	All India Muslim League
API	Associated Press of India
DPI	Director of Public Instruction
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FCR	Frontier Crimes Regulations
GHQ	General Headquarters
HMIS	His Majesty's Indian Ship
INA	Indian National Army
IPC	Indian Penal Code
QAP	*Quaid-i-Azam Papers*
RIASC	Royal Indian Army Service Corps
RIN	Royal Indian Navy
RN	Royal Navy
SHC	*Shamsul Hasan Collection*
TP	*Transfer of Power*
UNO	United Nations Organisation

Note Abbreviations usually given in the dictionaries have not been included.

All India Muslim League Working Committee 1945-46[1]

President	Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Secretary	Liaquat Ali Khan
	Members
Assam	Abdul Matin Chaudhury
Baluchistan	Qazi Mohammad Isa
Bengal	Khwaja Nazimuddin M. A. H. Ispahani Mohammad Akrum Khan
Bihar	Syed Hossain Imam S. M. Lateef-ur-Rahman
Bombay	I. I. Chundrigar
C. P. & Berar	Syed Abdur Rauf Shah
Delhi	Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali
Madras	Haji Abdus Sattar H. Essak Sait
N.W.F.P.	Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan
Punjab	Sheikh Karamat Ali Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot Mian Bashir Ahmad
Sind	Mohammad Ayub Khuhro G. M. Sayed[2]
United Provinces	Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan (Raja of Mahmudabad) Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman

[1]See *SHC*, OM I/76.
[2]Resigned in December 1945. See *SHC*, Sind VII/28.

1945

August

1 Jinnah blames Viceroy for precipitating Simla Conference failure by insisting on a Unionist being included in Muslim quota in the proposed reconstituted Executive Council.

20 Some non-Brahmins from South India support demand for division of India and extol Jinnah for raising his voice against Congress tyranny.

21 Government announcement about holding of general elections in the ensuing winter is hailed as triumph of League's policy.

23 Jinnah pledges support of Muslim India to Palestine Arab national demand.

27 Having charted the path to freedom and statehood for Indian Muslims, Jinnah exhorts League leaders to work in a team in an organized manner.

September

12 Jinnah applies for a Central Legislative Assembly electoral ticket to the Central Parliamentary Board of AIML for the Bombay City Muslim Constituency (Urban).

20 Commenting on the British proposals to hold discussions about convening a constitution-making body and forming a new Executive Council with the support of the principal Indian parties, Jinnah declares that no constitutional solution will work except on the basis of Pakistan.

October

2 Jinnah cables Attlee that appeasement of the Jewry at the cost of Arabs in Palestine would be vehemently opposed by Muslim India and the Muslim world and its consequences will be disastrous.

12 Grand Mufti of Palestine thanks Jinnah for support to the Muslim cause.

13 Jinnah says that the paramount issue confronting the Muslims of India is Pakistan versus *Akhand Hindustan* (united India) and exhorts them to close their ranks.

November

4 The Muslim League branch of Great Britain endorses the Pakistan demand and emphasises the acceptance of the right to self-determination for Muslims as the only solution to the Indian problem.

11 Jinnah tells a British supporter that the only solution to the Indian problem lies in the partition of India, for otherwise a transfer from British *raj* to Hindu imperialistic *raj* will be catastrophic for Muslims of India.

Jinnah reiterates that the vital issue during the upcoming elections will be Pakistan and not the selection of candidates for award of League tickets.

12 Jinnah demands immediate repatriation of Indian troops from Indonesia.

25 Jinnah clarifies that the authority to nominate official League candidates vests in the respective Provincial or Central Parliamentary Boards and that it would be improper for him to interfere.

December

14 Jinnah reminds every Muslim that his or her duty is to vote for Muslim League candidates as every vote for them will be a vote for Pakistan.

16 All India Muslim Students Federation, Aligarh, complains of Hindu students harassing Muslim students for support to the League.

19 Cripps assures Jinnah that in any settlement of the Indian problem, the claims and aspirations of Indian Muslims would be given full consideration by him and the Labour Party.

21 Pethick-Lawrence invites Jinnah to talks with the Parliamentary delegation due to visit India shortly.

30 Muslim League wins all the thirty Muslim seats in the Central Legislative Assembly election.

1946

January

2 Muslim League Committee of Action dismisses G. M. Sayed, President, Sind Provincial League, and also expels him from ML for violating Party discipline and forging an electoral alliance with Congress; Vice-President M. H. Gazdar takes over as Acting President.

4 Jinnah feels confident of League victory in the Punjab elections despite local officials' interference.

11 Provincial, District and Primary Muslim Leagues throughout India celebrate Victory Day to mark the League's sweeping electoral triumph in December 1945.

17 Jinnah accuses the Glancy-Khizar axis and the bureaucracy in Punjab for working in a "tyrannical manner" by interfering in the electoral process and corrupting the people.

28 Jinnah opposes formation of a government at the Centre, even as an interim arrangement, for fear that the demand for Pakistan might be relegated to the background.

February

6 Jinnah calls upon the Commander-in-Chief to explain the discriminatory sentence awarded to Captain Abdul Rashid of INA, in sharp contrast to the acquittal of Congress-backed Shah Nawaz Khan, P. K. Sehgal and G. S. Dhillon, sparking resentment among Muslims.

8 U.P. Christians appeal to Jinnah to save their community from the political degradation caused by the Congress.

20 Adibasis of Chotanagpur support the demand for Pakistan.

22 Pethick-Lawrence informs Jinnah of the impending arrival in India of the Cabinet Mission towards the end of March.

Jinnah asks Wavell to remit Captain Rashid's sentence as the Commander-in-Chief's explanation does not carry conviction.

24 Wavell informs Jinnah of his inability to remit or commute Captain Rashid's sentence.

Muslim League wins 75 out of 175 seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly to become the single largest party.

27 Cunningham informs Wavell that Congress has won 30 seats in NWFP Assembly against Muslim League's 17 in a house of 50.

March

1 Jinnah is apprised of a serious rift in Sind Muslim League Assembly Party and the likelihood of the fall of Sind Ministry in consequence.

7 Muslim League wins 90 per cent of the Muslim seats in the Punjab Assembly; Jinnah ridicules Khizar Hayat Tiwana's appointment as "a puppet Premier at the beck and call of the Congress."

10 An Indian Christian deplores Congress hooliganism, setting fire to churches and molesting Christian women in Calcutta areas and regards the party as a communal organization representing only the Hindus.

19 Bijnore Muslim League accuses Hindus, Jami'at-ul-'Ulama-i-Hind and Congress of indulging in electoral manipulation with a view to securing the success of the Congress Muslim candidate, Hafiz Ibrahim.

23 The Cabinet Mission arrives in India.

28 A correspondent from Ahmedabad regards the Congress offer of ministerial posts to Leaguers in the Congress cabinets in Muslim minority provinces as a snare to split the League and damage its credibility as Opposition to meet the Cabinet Mission.

All India States Muslim League urges Jinnah to plead the case of Muslims of Indian States before the Cabinet Mission.

30 Jinnah declares that in his impending discussions with the Cabinet Mission, there would be no compromise on the question of Pakistan, nor for any decision on an interim

government without conceding Pakistan first.

31 Jinnah congratulates Bengal Muslim League on their phenomenal success in securing more than 95 per cent of the Muslim seats in the Provincial Assembly and regards it as the clearest verdict for Pakistan.

Muslim political workers of Indian States declare Jinnah as their sole representative and authorise him to apprise the Cabinet Mission of their viewpoint in relation to the future constitution of India.

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1

M. A. Jinnah to Hatim A. Alavi

SHC, Sind VI/14

1 August 1945

Dear Mr. Alavi,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 23rd[1] and thank you for it. I have not been able to attend to it earlier, as on my return from Simla I was very tired. I have received all your communications and telegrams, for which I thank you.

There is one point which you have not quite understood, and it is that I was not allowed to consider whether we would accept the inclusion of a Unionist Muslim in our Muslim quota. The Viceroy insisted on including a Unionist Muslim, and I was required to say yes or no. That was the position. There was no room for any tactical move, as you imagine, and that is further made very clear by him in the correspondence between him and me which has been released. If you had carefully read my statement[2] which I issued after the failure of the Conference on the 14th of July, you would have found that it is clearly stated there that finally we broke, because the Viceroy insisted on the inclusion of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan's nominee.

There is a letter which you sent to Miss Jinnah, but it is addressed to one Mr. John, and I am therefore returning it to you.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 565, Vol. XI, 643-4.
[2]See Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed , *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. III, Lahore, 1996, 2025-8.

2

Mubarek Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC I/73

321 WEST, 56TH STREET,
NEW YORK,
1 August 1945

Dear President,

The India Muslim League of America, under the auspices of the All

Nations Association has unfurled its banner to gather together in harmony all Muslims, resident in the United States, for a common cause. That cause is for the spiritual, social and physical advancement of all members of the Muslim faith, or such members of our faith who may be in need of such service.

The enclosed bulletin[1] will convey to you some idea of the work we are endeavouring to do in connection therewith. May we have the honour, the pleasure and privilege of your strong support in this matter in any way you may deem suitable to further our great cause.

Anything you may do or suggest will be received by us with the utmost gratitude, and furthermore a full report will be forwarded to you from time to time, at short intervals, of what progress is being made in connection therewith.

I herewith close with a prayer for your personal welfare and those relatives and friends who surround you and all who are worthy to receive the same.

Faithfully yours,
DR. MUBAREK ALI KHAN
Secretary,
India Muslim League of America

[1]Not traceable.

3

Resolutions passed by the Kistna District Muslim League

F. 829/53-4
[*Extract*]

[BEZWADA,
1 August 1945]

The Muslims of Bezwada, having been in session for three nights under the joint auspices of the Kistna District Muslim League and the Primary Muslim League, Bezwada, presided over by *Jagirdar* Mohamed Ghulam Mohiuddin Sahib, President, Kistna District Muslim League, unanimously passed the following resolutions on 1-8-1945:

i. That the Muslims of Bezwada reiterate their complete confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah and in the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and heartily support the stand taken up by the Quaid-i-Azam and the Working Committee of the Muslim League in regard to the Wavell Plan and assure the

Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League that they are willing and are prepared to make any sacrifice which they may be called upon to make in realisation of Pakistan, the avowed object of the Muslims of India.

ii. This meeting completely endorses the view that the failure to reach an agreement to form an interim National Government [*sic*] is due to the attitude of the British Government as indicated in the Wavell Plan which failed to recognise the just and insistent demand of the All India Muslim League for recognition of the principle involved in the Pakistan Resolution[1] as adumbrated in the Lahore Session of the All India Muslim League in 1940; and to the antagonistic and sinister demand of the Gandhi's Hindu Congress to include non-Leaguers in the quota of Muslims in the proposed Executive Council. The demand of the Congress is sinister as it aims at the disintegration of the Muslim League and break-up of the solidarity of the Musalmans.

iii. Further this meeting emphatically claims that the All India Muslim League is the only and true representative of the Musalmans of India.

iv. This meeting demands immediate elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures in challenge to the interested statement of the Congress that the Muslim League does not represent the entire Musalmans of India.

viii. This meeting is convinced that the best solution for the freedom of India is the establishment of Pakistan and the motto of Muslims and Hindus should be "free Pakistan and free Hindustan."

ix. This meeting calls upon every Musalman to be prepared for all sacrifices for the purpose of the establishment of Pakistan, which alone would free them from enslavement.

MAHBOOB ALI BAIG
B.A.,B.L.
MLA (Central)
Secretary, Kistna District Muslim League

[1]See Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1970, 340-1.

4

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro

Telegram, SHC, Sind VI/15

3 August 1945

Heartiest congratulations. All the sufferings and trials that you

have gone through are rewarded in your honourable acquittal.

M. A. JINNAH

5

Mohammad Yusuf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP VI/23

[*Extract*]

CONFIDENTIAL/IMPORTANT

YUSUF CASTLE,
NAWAB YUSUF ROAD,
JAUNPUR, U.P.,
3 August 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I came away from Simla after my interview with you, so thoughtfully and graciously granted to me, in spite of your very heavy work in connection with the Simla Conference. I saw the Viceroy and strongly supported your viewpoint with all the arguments at my command and when I left him I felt that he was deeply impressed by method of my arguments in support of your fundamental views, the indications of which were given to me by you personally and also your full statement[1] that appeared in the press. It came to me as a shock when I learnt that the correct viewpoint that you took [*sic*] in the Muslim nation's interest and also for the League's very existence was not accepted by the Congress and they forced the hands of Lord Wavell in not accepting the League demand....Dr. Mahmood's statement gives the real clue to the chief cause of the failure of the Conference, namely Azad's lachrymose appeal to the Congress Working Committee in a treacherous manner, as the Working Committee had almost agreed to the proposition that the League should fill all the five seats and that the Congress would not support the claim of any other political organization to nominate a Muslim for the Viceroy's Council, and if any such nominations were to be made it [*sic*] might be rejected by the Viceroy. Azad's machination succeeded and the Congress supported the view that the Congress would be prepared to nominate non-Congressmen from its quota and not insist upon their Muslim nominee being accepted but could not accept the claim that the League represented the whole of the Muslim nation and therefore demanded nomination of the nationalist Muslims by the Viceroy and thus accorded support to the Unionist Muslims'

claim.... Between the currents and cross-currents of the opinions of the Muslim Leaguers who gathered at Simla in the atmosphere created by the Congress Muslims and nationalist Muslims, any man other than you would probably have caved in and lost sight of the fundamentals. We are proud of you, not only because we love you and hold you in high esteem on sentimental basis, but because we feel that you are the saviour of the Muslim nation in India and not only that, you may yet prove the winner of the freedom of the Hindu nation also.... It is gratifying that your decision had disconcerted only a few, otherwise the whole of the Muslim nation, specially the intelligentsia and the masses, have greatly appreciated your attitude and, instead of being disheartened, feel elated.

Your demand for election is greatly appreciated. If God [be] willing, we will sweep the polls in every province but we must close the ranks and rally all those who are firm believers of Pakistan in a spirit of tolerance and understanding and in a spirit of forgive and forget. All other Muslims must stand, excluding traitors, under the banner of the Muslim League in a national spirit for the elections with the rallying cry of Pakistan.... It is amazing how glibly the Congress talks of the destruction of the British empire and in the same breath demands Hindu Indian empire with power to tyrannise and dominate over the Muslim nation.

The elections cannot be held before December or March. The relieving feature about the whole position is that Sir Stafford Cripps agrees to the proposition that the elections should be held at once on the Pakistan issue, and I hope it [*sic*] will take place early. In the United Provinces, I have tried to keep the League people together and I am glad I have succeeded fully in that and being in touch with all the leading people for a long time in all the provinces, I am confident that we shall win the elections. It is possible we may have to face difficulties in [the] Punjab and to a limited extent also in [the] N.W.F. Province due to Red Shirts, who may yet possibly be converted to the League's view by good propaganda in Pashto and with propagandists who are reliable and know the Pashto language well.

I wish the Unionist Muslims will come under the League flag now and fight elections on the Pakistan issue; and further I fervently hope the minorities will continue to recognize in you and the League a protector of the essential and fundamental rights and thus carry the goodwill of all sections of the people who are weak and depressed *vis-a-vis* the Congress.

Forgive me for writing a long letter but I hope it will be possible for you to give time for perusing the same.

I pray for your good health. With best respects to you and Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD YUSUF
Nawab, Knight

[1]See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 2025-28.

6

M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Idris

SHC, NWFP I/50

4 August 1945

Dear Mr. Idris,

I have received your letter of July 11th,[1] and thank you very much for the information you have given me. I regret I was unable to acknowledge it earlier, as at Simla I had no breathing time, and on my return here I was so tired and far from well.

I have deliberately refrained from giving publicity to this letter of yours, as it might prejudice your position as a Professor of Islamia College, although you have permitted me to do so. Nevertheless, I am very grateful to you for giving me all the information about the situation that is developing in the North-West Frontier Province.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Prof. S. M. Idris,
Islamia College,
Peshawar

[1]No. 547, Vol. XI, 621.

7

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/38

CENTRAL KHAKSAR ORGANISATION,
POLITICAL DEPARTMENT,
ICHHRA, LAHORE,
4 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

Of the various reasons conducing to the failure of the Simla Conference,

an important one has been the claim of the Muslim League to be the representative of all Musalmans of India. This claim is clearly untenable, as, if this had been so, there would have been no dissentient voice in the country and no other non-League Muslim organisations.

In accordance with this claim the Muslim League, even if it could not substantiate this claim directly, should have formally fixed a share of the six seats allotted to the Muslims for every important section of that community, and thereafter sent its panel of names to the Viceroy as the Congress did in support of its claim to represent the whole of India. This step of the Muslim League has not been a source of satisfaction to Khaksar organisation. But it is possible that the Muslim League may not have sent its panel of names on other grounds. There is expectation, therefore, that, if convinced about the stand taken by the Khaksar organisation with regard to the equitable distribution of shares to all sections of the Muslim community, the Muslim League may yet agree to the following proposal of distribution of seats in the Executive Council, which I made to Lord Wavell on the 21st June:

Two seats each	*One seat each*
Congress	Backward Hindu Classes
Muslim League	Non-League Shia Muslims
Hindu Mahasabha	Dravidians
Non-League Sunni Muslims	Momins (Backward Muslims)
	Christians, Sikhs, and Scheduled Castes

This distribution is based on the consideration that interests of over three hundred million voiceless minorities, sub-minorities, sections, sub-sections and organisations of India, represented by over one hundred and twenty-five parties in the country, have been placed before me through their accredited leaders for the purpose of being safeguarded in the future constitution now completed by the Khaksar organisation. This constitution, now agreed to by the overwhelming majority of people in the country, and also containing indeed everything hitherto demanded or claimed by the Muslim League and the Congress in it, will be sent to you for the purpose of getting your formal agreement to it, during the next month.

In the meanwhile, as events are changing fast, and as there is expectation that new elections may be held at a very early date, the Khaksar organisation consider it their duty to draw your attention to the following demands of the organisation, resulting from the fact that they are now the spokesmen of over three hundred million voiceless people of India, and would not bear in any case that political power in the country be monopolised by a few political sections among themselves,

but should like that it be equitably distributed among all sections:

One: The Muslim League, as the premier political organisation, should agree to the above provisional distribution of seats in the interim Executive Council,

Two: The share of Muslims of 40% in the event of freedom of India be distributed as below:

i. Well-to-do Sunnis	25 per cent
ii. Well-to-do Shias	5 per cent
iii. Backward Muslims (including Momins)	10 per cent

If this percentage, or anything near it, is agreed by you personally as a reasonable share given to the three sections of the Muslim community, I shall trust your word on the two claims uttered [*sic*] above, and the Khaksar organisation shall be sincerely thankful to you for this utterance.

If, however, you do not agree that the claims of all sections of the Musalman community should be represented in the coming Executive Council and the future constitution, I am to inform you that the Khaksar organisation will fight the next general elections, both at the centre as well as [*sic*] in the provinces throughout India, on behalf of these suppressed communities or sections of communities.

I shall be grateful if you let me know per bearer, or by post which may be registered, what your personal feelings are in this important matter.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the letter[1] I have addressed to Mahatma Gandhi in respect of a similar matter concerning Hindus, in order to avoid possible misunderstanding.

With best wishes,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1]Not traceable.

8

Begum A. R. M. Nilam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (531)

Bismillah

38 NEW CHETTY STREET,
COLOMBO,
5 August 1945

Dear brother and revered Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We, the Muslim women of Ceylon, who have bonded ourselves together into an island-wide organisation to promote the spiritual, social and economic regeneration of our community, heartily endorse the invitation extended to you by Mr. Badiuddin Mahmud, M.A., Principal, Zahira College, Gampola, on behalf of the Muslims of Ceylon to visit our island at an early date.[1]

Let me assure you that your presence in our midst will not only inspire us to a deeper realization of our duties as Muslims but also will usher in a new era in the history of our island.

We trust that, in spite of your busy programme of activities and great personal inconvenience, you will be graciously pleased to accede to our request.

We assure you that your visit to our beautiful island will also be a pleasant one. Our President has already wired[2] to you.

Thanking you in anticipation,

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your sister-in-Islam,
BEGUM A. R. M. NILAM
B.A. (LONDON)
General Executive,
All Ceylon Muslim Women's Congress

[1]See No 556, Vol. XI, 633-4.
[2]Not traceable.

9

A. Krishnaswami to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/103

THE *LIBERATOR* OFFICE,
2/11 MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
5 August 1945

Dear Sir,

Forgive me for taxing you by writing to you so often. The non-Brahmins of South India are organising themselves and, of late, many meetings have been held both in the city and elsewhere to expound our viewpoint and expose the Congress. Ever since the Simla Conference failed, a regular campaign of misrepresentation has been carried on against your goodself by the Congress press. It is a tribute to your strength, but, at the same time, certain steps will have to be taken to check this campaign. We would wish you very much to speak at some gathering to clarify the position.[1] We have replied to the Congress and have opened a new campaign to expound the principle of division and freedom to our people.[2]

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
A. KRISHNASWAMI

[1]See No. 24.
[2]Next para about enclosing the speech of an ex-Congress Minister, omitted.

10

Syed Aslam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/48

SYED MANZIL,
SIALKOT CITY,
6 August 1945

Bismillahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'Ala Rasulihil Karim

I have read Muslim League's appeal[1] for the collection of funds, for

the coming election. I suggest *Bait al-Maal* may be created for the purpose, with its head office at Delhi, and branches all over India. I think it is the best device to establish Muslim financial situation on solid and lasting basis; moreover it will have the following advantages:

1. A strong check can be exercised against any embezzlement of contributions, as numbered and stamped receipts of [different] values, will be issued by the head office.
2. *Zakat* will be collected there, which will serve as a source of constant national income; many Muslims are already desirous to pay this Islamic contribution, and many will get encouragement.
3. Muslim charitable fund will be collected there. We know a lot of money due to Muslim charity is not being utilized as it should be.
4. I think Muslims will be too pleased to see their *Auqaf* being managed through *Bait al-Maal,* which will bring the mosques, the sites of historical and religious interest and the property attached to such like places, under Muslim League control. This will be a potent factor in dethroning the temporal power of *faqirs, mujawars, pirs, maulanas* and *maulvis;* moreover Muslim League will have landed and moveable property in the length and breadth of India.
5. By opening branches in Hedjaz (Mecca and Medina) the *hajis* can be helped, and such a successful move will inspire Muslim confidence in other countries also.
6. It can serve as an intermediary in trade and transaction and depositor of Muslim funds, like the modern bank.
7. Eventually branches can be opened in other countries.
8. It will facilitate the control of Muslim funds and spread of national propaganda.

Bait al-Maal will be managed by a special Bait al-Maal Managing Committee appointed by the All India Muslim League Working Committee. In case of establishment of Muslim Government, *Bait al-Mal* will remain separate from the Government treasury.

SYED ASLAM

[1]Appendix II. 1, Vol. XI, 672.

11

M. A. Jinnah to Ch. Khaliquzzaman

SHC, UP IV/63

6 August 1945

My dear Khaliq,

Many thanks for your letter of July 23rd.[1] I am sorry that I was not able to reply to it earlier, as I was not well after my return from Simla, being dead tired. I am so pleased to hear that our decision has met with unanimous approval throughout India, and particularly [in] the U.P., as you inform me. Elections are coming, and the sooner you prepare for them the better. No time should be lost. Organize our people, raise funds in your province without delay, and with great determination face the issue. I thank you for your very kind references to me personally. All is well that ends well.

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

Ch. Khaliquzzaman, MLA,
Lucknow

No. 564, Vol. XI, 642-3.

12

S. M. H. Ghazi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P II/88

59 LAKHSHMI BUILDING,
SIR PHIROZSHAH MEHTA ROAD,
BOMBAY,
7 August 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I want to start an English daily from Bombay devoted to the dissemination of the views and news of All India Muslim League in general and of Bombay Provincial Muslim League and Muslims of western India in particular, and dedicated to the ideal that Pakistan is the only goal of the Muslims and that the All India Muslim League is the only representative organization of the Muslims of India.

I hereby pledge to you that the policy of such a paper will be completely in harmony with the general trend of the policy of All India Muslim League. I have proposed, which, of course, is subject to

your confirmation, modification or rejection, to float a public limited company about which I spoke to you personally and here is the board of directors whom though I have not yet approached but when you are the founder of such a daily, I do not think they will have any objection to being elected to the board.

i. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All India Muslim League
ii. Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, Member, [Convenor], Committee of Action, All India Muslim League
iii. Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad
iv. Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, ex-Premier of Bengal
v. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sindh
vi. I. I. Chundrigar, Esq.
vii. S. M. H. Ghazi, Esq.

I think persons holding any ministerial post are, according to the Government of India Act, 1935, eligible to become directors of any public limited company in a province other than their own.

Since there will be provision in the articles of association that half of the net income of such a public limited company will go to any fund of the All India Muslim League, I wish that the President or General Secretary of All India Muslim League should be the permanent chairman of the board of directors.

As to the press, I have made certain enquiries and the negotiations are still in the midst of finalization. I will give you the detailed account when I see you personally. For the present I seek your help in the following matters:

a. Sanction of Capital Issue.
b. Import licence of rotary machinery.
c. Newspaper quota along with the declaration of such a paper.
d. Telephone with exchange board.

Besides, in floating and administration of this company I will be actively assisted by my father Khan Bahadur Syed Mohammad who was formerly Deputy Commissioner and retired as the Secretary, Central Excise and Salt, Government of India.

I will await a call from you.[1]

I am,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

S. M. H. GHAZI

See No. 39.

13

Abdul Akram Beg to M. A. Jinnah

F. 962/38-9

78 S. S. WEST,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
7 August 1945

Dearest Quaid-i-Azam,

It had been my greatest desire to inform you about the Frontier politics in an interview but as you had gone to Bombay, I could not leave my studies to come to you there personally.

Nowadays when the clouds of distrust are spread over the horizon of the Frontier politics, the Muslim League has the best chance at its disposal to eradicate that faith which the simple Pathans have in Congress. It is the nature of Pathans that their love and hate are too deep to shake them and it will be a miracle to convert them into the soldiers of Islam, but fate has presented the best chance to us and now if we do fail, we will rarely succeed.

It is a singular piece of good fortune that the most hated man—Mehr Chand Khanna—is indirectly at the helm of affairs and besides there is somewhat [*sic*] uneasiness and disturbance due to control and rationing system in the whole province.

People wonder how this man, being a staunch foe of not only the Muslim League but [of] the Congress as well, whom the Govt. recently had sent to South Africa for war propaganda, has affiliated his sympathies with the Congress and has accepted the post of Personal Secretary to Dr. Khan Sahib. The Congress threw away its principles in Frontier and formed the Ministry only to crush down the power of the Muslim League and to keep the simple Pathans in their control. While one brother has formed the ministry, the other one—Ghaffar Khan—works against it to control that sensible element which has eliminated [*sic*] its sympathies with the Congress party.

But undoubtedly there is uneasiness. The people are tired of this double policy. They look forward to a man like Mahmood of Ghazna, a man of strong character and perseverance. And now who will take the lead? This is the question which the Muslim League must answer. In spite of so much [*sic*] good chances the Muslim Leaguers are sleeping. Its President—Taj Ali Khan—is a man of mediocre abilities. Outside Bannu no one knows him and none has heard his name. It is not in the

cities but in the villages [that] we have to work. I could convert my whole tribe, somewhat [*sic*] about fifty thousand, who live half at the border and the other half in the free tribal area, into strong supporters of Muslim League during my vacation and so can every one do if he takes it as his duty.

Chances come but seldom. By fortune we have the best chance. The ground is prepared and only a strong hand is needed, who by a hammer stroke will crush the millstone. For heaven's sake send to our province some good workers who will tour the whole province, otherwise in the coming general election the fate of the Muslim League is sealed.

Yours most obediently,
ABDUL AKRAM BEG
M. A., LLB. (Final)

14

Sh. Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/47

KASHMIRI BAZAAR,
LAHORE,
9 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 24th July 1945.[1] I have the privilege of sending you two copies of your biography written by Mr. Matlub-ul-Hassan. The book is entitled *Mohammad Ali Jinnah—A Political Study.* The book is published at a most opportune time, because at the present time you are the most discussed and talked [*sic*] personality in this country. You are to-day the most praised yet most slandered, the most exalted yet the most detested, the most adored and yet the most misrepresented and misunderstood personality in our country. Of course the conflicting opinions are held by the two rival nations; the Muslims and the Hindus. It was therefore proper that your biography should be published at this time. You will appreciate that the publication of the life of a living personality is a most difficult task; but in the interest of the Muslim nation I have accomplished this task. I trust that in view of the innumerable difficulties created by the war with respect to the paper and printing, you will overlook the blemishes in the get-up of the book. I hope to bring out a *de luxe* edition as soon as the conditions of the paper market permit.

The second copy may kindly be presented to Miss Fatima Jinnah. Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ASHRAF
Printer and Publisher

[1]Not traceable.

15

S. M. H. Ghazi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/17

59 LAKHSHMI BUILDING,
SIR PHIROZSHAH MEHTA ROAD,
BOMBAY,
9 August 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have issued the following statement to the press on the Viceroy and the Congress President's correspondence, copies of which I have sent to Sjt. Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Gandhi and Sir E. Jenkins, Secretary to Viceroy, and a copy thereof I am sending to you for your kind perusal.

I am,
Sir,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
S. M. H. GHAZI

Enclosure to No. 15
Statement by S. M. H. Ghazi

F. 880/18-9

According to the recent press report, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad told the Associated Press that the Viceroy had held the correspondence as confidential as it was part of the Conference proceedings, which according to the Viceroy[1] should remain so.

The Muslim League cannot but have grave misgivings about reported correspondence between the Congress President and the Viceroy in that, any such thing that is treated as an integral part of such Conference, if cannot be made known to the public, but at least the Conference invitees including the President of the All India Muslim League have

a right to know as to what transpired between the Viceroy and other parties to the Conference. A statement like the one issued by the President of the Congress should come from the Viceroy unless, of course, the Congress President fears that the divulgence of any such correspondence is likely to expose more the Congress in its true colour than the Viceroy. The Muslim League has a right to demand of the Congress and also of His Majesty's Government as to what kind of back door negotiations were being held between the Viceroy and the Congress President when the Conference was being held.

If the Muslim League President would have carried [on] the same kind of confidential negotiations with the Viceroy, the whole Congress press would have burst [out] and its leaders would have shouted from the house tops, dubbing Mr. Jinnah as an agent of British imperialism and a traitor who was selling India's freedom at the hands of British Govt.

On the one hand, responsible Congress leaders level grave charges against the Viceroy that he [had] assured the Congress President that the intransigence of any major party will not be made the cause of failure of the Conference, on the other, Secretary of State as well as the Crown Representative of His Majesty's Government had, in their speech and broadcast definitely and in clear and unmistakable terms declared[2] that unless the major parties agree, the present constitution will remain as it is. If the Conference failed because major parties could not agree to any settlement, why in view of the above charges and counter-charges of one party against another, the Congress President and Viceroy's correspondence is being withheld from at least [*sic*] the invitees of the Conference. The Viceroy, in the fitness of things, should either refute these charges or issue the correspondence to the public, that passed between him and the President.

If all the correspondence [that] passed between the Viceroy and different parties is treated as an integral part of the Conference proceedings to be treated as confidential, then why was Wavell-Jinnah correspondence made known to the public.[3] This kind of anomalous procedure made a viceregal explanation [necessary].

[1]See No. 613, *TP*, V, 1252.
[2]See Annex I & II to No. 505, Vol. XI, 560-66.
[3]It was at the request of AIML. See No. 609, *TP*, V, 1250.

16

Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/100

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
9 August 1945

My revered Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Jinnah,

I have been carefully studying the proceedings of the Simla Conference and its aftermath. These confirm my belief that the ultimate solution of our problem lies in winning the elections, plebiscite and possibly also a fearful countrywide struggle. I had the opportunity of a tour to the Punjab and Frontier Provinces as well as to Kashmir during the recent months. The heart of the people is with us. But a gigantic effort has to be made in order to organize them, and afford to them an opportunity to cast their votes and express their opinions freely in our favour. In the coming election the following two factors need our special consideration.

In the first instance I see the necessity of organising a religious-cum-spiritual appeal for the Muslims. The *moulvis* and *maulanas* cannot undertake this work for various reasons, especially in the Punjab, and I think the chief factor in the success can be the *pirs* who enjoy a wide influence among Muslim masses and are mostly pro-League in their political outlook. The *pirs* can be organised by Nawab Ismail Khan Sahib and several of us are willing to help him in this effort.

The second factor is Muslim students. If they are really and thoroughly organised we are sure to win our elections in urban areas without great difficulty. I have written to Raja Sahib about this, but I request you to take more personal interest in the speeding [up] of organizational work among the Muslim students.

I offer my services to you for anything they are worth.[1] At present I am busy in the preparation of the report of the Education Committee of the All India Muslim League. I hope to submit an interim report in November and the final report in March. I shall send an advance copy of either of them before they are formally submitted. May I, in the end, offer my humble contribution of Rs. 50 to your Election Fund. Shall I remit it to the Central Office of the Muslim League or to you directly. I do not know if you are staying at Bombay.

I pray to *Allah* that this letter should find you in excellent health.

Yours devotedly,
MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI

[1]Acknowledged by Jinnah's Secretary on 24 August. See *SHC*, UP V/101. Not printed.

17

Kazi Mohomed Mujtaba to M.A. Jinnah

F. 906/57-8

1 CHOUDHRI MANZIL,
GARDEN EAST,
KARACHI,
10 August 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I shall be thankful if you kindly let me have your opinion on the following points:

Desirability of starting Muslim Youth League: The idea is that Muslim youth who are members of the Muslim League and are zealous to make their national organization as strong as possible should be organized under the Youth League. To achieve Pakistan will be the main object of this organization. There are parties and factions based on personal motives in the local branches of League. The local leadership would not move unless the Muslim youth who is ready to sacrifice everything for Pakistan is allowed to strengthen and mobilize its forces. This will enable Muslim youth to keep away from petty politics of the rival groups of League leaders and it will create new leadership which the Muslim nation needs so badly.

The peculiar conditions of Sind need such organization very badly. There are so many youths keen, sincere [and] with a spirit of self-sacrifice but [who] have been silent onlookers because of the party politics of League leaders. There is nobody to organize them and to take work from them.

If you approve of the idea, I can guarantee you a new life among the Muslim youth who will be the real force behind you; dependable, planeful [*sic*] and with a zeal to serve Muslims, through Muslim League, their national organization.

I might mention to you that till recently I was a member of the Communist Party and held a responsible position in the provincial organization of the Party. I resigned from the Party simply to be

useful to the Muslim cause and to serve under League. But I find that our local leaders have no plan. They, in fact, do not want to encourage conscious youths who have real capability to work and ability to organize the mass of Muslims.

Mr. Yusuf Haroon is now at Bombay. He is sincere to the League. You might convey your views on the subject to me through him, in case you do not have time to reply to me.

2. Muslim Labour Unions: Would you like that separate Muslim Labour Unions should be started wherever possible.

Yours sincerely,
MUJTABA KAZI
General Secretary, Sind Provincial Trade Union Congress

18

Ch. Ghulam Abbass to M. A. Jinnah

F. 193/2-5

JAMMU,
10 August 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am in receipt of your esteemed letter dated 1st August 1945,[1] for which I tender my heartfelt thanks. I knew you were terribly busy at Simla and I could not expect a reply to my letter soon. Thanks to Quaid-i-Azam's guidance, the League came out with flying colours at Simla and the machinations of the Congress were frustrated.

As submitted in my previous letter[2] and as was to be expected, things have been moving fast ever since Mr. R. C. Kak's appointment. The various changes in the administration are being effected with a view to adversely affecting the interests of the Muslim community and strengthen[ing] the forces of reaction against the community.

A recent incident of considerable importance must have come to your kind notice through the press. As the Quaid-i-Azam knows, after their defeat at the Simla Conference, the Congress had launched an attack on Kashmir knowing it to be a Muslim majority area and not only P[andi]t Jawaharlal Nehru, who made the presence of his daughter in Kashmir a pretext for coming over here, but Abdul Ghaffar Khan also came along and arrangements were made for Azad to fly all the way from Calcutta to Rawalpindi for the annual session of the National Conference. Mr. Asaf Ali is now reported to be on his way to Kashmir

and the leader[3] of the Watan Party, Baluchistan, is also already in Srinagar. The National Conference organized a river procession[4] in honour of the first three Congress leaders on the 1st of August, the object of the procession being to show to the world and the British Government that Kashmir, as a province, was with the Congress. The Muslim Conference thought it necessary to organize a peaceful counter-demonstration in which the followers of the Muslim Conference shouted slogans of Muslim League *Zindabad*, Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad*, showboys of the Congress *Murdabad*, *Rashtrapati* Azad *Murdabad*, etc. The procession was organized through the river mainly with a view to ensur[ing] that the counter-demonstrations may not come to the notice of the Congress leaders but the general Muslim public, in their hatred of the part played by the arch-quisling of Islam, do not seem to have restrained merely to slogans and a display of black flags and unfortunately some of them transgressed the limits of propriety. These counter-demonstrations were of an extremely unprecedented nature and Azad felt so much humiliated and affected by them that he refrained from participating in the next day's programme and drove direct to Gulmurg. He did not attend the annual session of the National Conference at Sopore either. The demonstrations had been arranged to be peaceful but the National Conference started their usual goondaism long before the procession was scheduled and attacked and looted shops of the followers of the Muslim Conference, beat them mercilessly and even raided and looted the offices of the Muslim Conference evidently to divert them from arranging the demonstrations. Even one of our important workers Mr. Moh[amma]d Yoosaf Querashi, the present General Secretary of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, was mercilessly beaten in front of the police *thana* and was seriously wounded and is still lying in the State Hospital in a precarious condition. All this happened under the very nose of the police and the magistracy and the same old District Magistrate, Pandit Maharaja Kishan Dhar, who also happened to reach the spot at that time, when approached by Ch. Abdulla Khan Bhalli (President of the Jammu Provincial Conference, who was also beaten) refused to give any protection or help to them. About 70 persons have been injured and 50 arrests have been made and most of the arrested persons belong to the Muslim Conference. Almost all the important workers of the Muslim Conference have been apprehended. The National Conference on the other hand has all the freedom to display its goondaism and although Section 144, banning the taking out of processions and holding of public meetings, was promulgated, it was promulgated 40 hours after the disturbance and that too in the localities and *mohallas* where the followers of the Muslim Conference preponderate. This has

been done presumably with a view to allow[ing] the National Conference to carry on their political activities and goondaism in their localities and to arrange meetings etc. unhampered.

Both the police and the magistracy are actively siding with the National Conference and the Government communique which lays almost all the blame on us seems to have been prepared with a view to defend[ing] and protect[ing] the interests and position of the National Conference. I am submitting herewith cuttings[5] from the daily *Hamdard* and the *Martand* which plainly belie the Government communique in its essentials. The API is represented in the State by a Kashmir Government employee and all the news sent out by him has, therefore, been a one-sided picture of the happenings. Mr. Bazaz, in his paper *Hamdard,* has gone to the length of stating editorially that the majority of the press representatives from British India, who are in Srinagar in connection with the visit of the Congress leaders, admitted before him in clear terms that they had never witnessed such tremendous counter-demonstrations in their life in British India but that they had been definitely instructed by their respective papers to send only such news as represented and suited the Congress and the National Conference viewpoint. It is earnestly submitted that the Quaid-i-Azam will very kindly find time to go through the enclosed cuttings of these papers. The object of the Government communique is to cow down the Muslim Conference so that the Congress views may be freely disseminated in the State and the influence of the Muslim Conference may come to naught, at least so far as the Kashmir province is concerned. The unholy alliance that has been established between the National Conference and Mr. Kak, which gives the National Conference all the strength that it needs in the State Council, is having a very dangerous effect on the strength and position of the Muslim community in general and the Muslim Conference in particular. Mr. Kak is not only all-powerful as Prime Minister but all the other Ministers are his henchmen and people of his own making. Centuries of misrule and oppression have made the Muslims of Kashmir a people different from those of British India. The reign of terror initiated in Kashmir by Sir Gopalasawami Ayyangar has not only continued unabated in spite of the well-meaning but weak and short-lived regimes in the recent past but it is now let loose with a redoubled force and venom by Mr. Kak and God alone knows what its repercussions may be, if it continues long.

I thought it necessary to bring this incident and the present conditions to your kind notice.

With best wishes and prayers for the long life of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM ABBASS

[1]Appendix I. 12, Vol. IX, 570.
[2]Appendix I. II, ibid., 569-70.
[3]Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai.
[4]See Appendix I. 13, Vol. IX, 570-72.
[5]See F. 193/6-10, *QAP*. Not printed.

19

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/214-5

PESHAWAR,
11 August 1945

Dear Sir,

The other day I saw Governor, NWFP, and he is definite on the following:

a. There will be general elections to the central and provincial legislatures before March 1946—presumably in the coming winter.
b. Interim arrangement has receded and that Simla Conference is dead for ever.

The Congress Ministry is on its run. I wish them life for at least three months more. It will be a grand idea if we can have general elections, under Section 93, to the provincial legislature.

The stand that we took under your leadership has galvanised Muslim India and has definitely put Muslim India [*sic* for League] on a wave of popularity.

NWFP has taken to League work seriously. Mardan has broken the ice. Hazara is also forging ahead. After *Ramazan* there will be feverish campaigning. The plans are being silently and methodically laid.

Owing to the wave of popularity which the Muslim League has acquired, the Congress Ministry has given up the idea of two by-elections—one Muslim, one Sikh.

Insha Allah we are up and doing. We are not downhearted—*Insha Allah* we will win. Silent, solid and constructive work will mean solid success.

I hope and pray that the bracing climate of Baluchistan and well-earned rest *Insha Allah* will improve your health.

With prayers,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

20

Abdulhusain T. Parekh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/28-9

137 SARANG STREET,
BOMBAY,
12 August 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With great respect to you, Sir, I beg to state that in proof of our solemn claim that we, the Musalmans of India, are a nation, I humbly wish to cite the following sentences which I had come across in my studies.

> "The nation is not a physiological fact; it is a moral fact. What constitutes a nation is the community of sentiments and ideals which result from common history and education."

We, the Musalmans, believe in chivalry, fair play and kindliness. We do not believe in war and in bullying. With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in—to achieve Pakistan.

Sir, I think and consider the above-written para to be most suitable and appropriate to open the eyes of the Hindu Congressmen with regard to our claim as a nation; of course if you, Sir, think it useful for stating [*sic*]. We have seen from the brief reign of Congress regime what injustices have been done, not to the Muslim nation alone but also to other minorities, for example the Parsees.

In conclusion, I request you, Sir, to draw my attention if I am wrong in any statement as stated above.

May God Almighty help my dear Quaid-i-Azam in achieving Pakistan for Muslim India, is my sincere prayer during the holy month of *Ramazan*.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble,

I remain,

Your humble admirer,
ABDULHUSAIN

21

Asadullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/30

6 SARAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY ROAD,
MAHUTTULY, DACCA,
12 August 1945

Sir,

As one of the original Pakistanis, may I crave the indulgence of intruding into [*sic*] your valuable time. I am the originator of one of the five schemes that were considered by the Foreign Sub-Committee of the All India Muslim League during the first part of 1940, before the memorable Lahore Resolution was passed. Ever since the passage of the Pakistan Resolution at Lahore, it has almost taken a concrete shape. From an idea and an ideal it has now become a tangible thing. Many who opposed it tooth and nail have, with the passage of time, become its ardent supporters. Many of the most eminent British statesmen and politicians have expressed the opinion that it is not an impracticable proposition. In short, it is daily gaining ground in all quarters—Muslim, Christian and even the Hindu. To the Musalmans of India, it is a life and death question. After the failure of the recent Simla Conference, all those who call themselves Muslims have realised in their heart of hearts that their salvation lies only in the establishment of Pakistan—a Hindu India and a Muslim India. We fervently hope and believe that Pakistan is coming and coming very soon. Now that the position is so hopeful, I think a committee of experts should be forthwith appointed to discuss all the details of the administration of Pakistan, its financial stability, its fiscal policy, its industrial resources, its mineral wealth, trade and commerce, and other matters that will give Pakistan a concrete and final shape. To my mind, it is high time that we discuss these matters and draw up a concrete scheme or plan. As one of those who have made a special study of these problems, at least so far as the eastern zone is concerned, I offer my services to such a committee, if and when appointed.

Your devoted follower,
ASADULLAH
B L.
President,
Sadar Sub-Divisional Muslim League

22

Ahmedabad District Muslim League to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/68

AHMEDABAD,
12 August 1945

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the resolution passed at a public meeting of the Musalmans of Ahmedabad, held on the 11th August 1945, at 11 p.m. at night at Khasbazar, Shaukat Maidan, under the presidentship of Mr. Hakim Saiyed Ahmad Dehlavi, for information.

Yours faithfully,
Secretary
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

Enclosure to No. 22
Resolution by Ahmedabad District Muslim League

F. 829/69

This public meeting of the Musalmans of Ahmedabad hereby declares that Muslims of Ahmedabad are in complete accord with the stand taken at the Simla Conference by Quaid-i-Azam and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at Simla.

Muslims of Ahmedabad are firmly convinced that the stand taken by the Congress and its President to include non-League Muslims in the Muslim group and to by-pass the League if it refused to accept such a position, was against the declared object of the Wavell proposals which clearly stated that there should be cooperation between the main political parties at the centre and there should be coalition ministries in the provinces.

Muslims of Ahmedabad greatly deprecate the false propaganda of the Congress to lay the blame for failure of Simla Conference on the Muslim League. The whole matter would be clear if the correspondence between the Viceroy and the Congress President is published. This meeting of the Muslims of Ahmedabad therefore strongly urges upon the Viceroy to release the said correspondence at an early date, as such documents should not remain confidential, in the interest of justice and fair play.

Now that the war is over, there remains no necessity for any provisional arrangement. This meeting of the Muslims of Ahmedabad, therefore, urges upon the British Government to immediately set to work to give

effect to the All India Muslim League's 1940 Lahore Resolution, popularly known as Pakistan [Resolution]. This meeting further supports the demand made by Quaid-i-Azam that elections all over the country should be held as early as possible.

Muslims of Ahmedabad hereby assure Quaid-i-Azam that they have complete confidence in his leadership.

23

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/70-1

8 ZAKARIA STREET,[1]
CALCUTTA,
13 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thank *Allah* there is complete unity in the Bengal Muslim League. On 1st August 1945, on the motion of Sir Nazimuddin, a committee of eight, including myself, was appointed by the Bengal Muslim League Working Committee to unite groups and it has succeeded in effecting complete accord, unity and solidarity between the groups for the sake of Pakistan and in response to your call to duty. The committee of eight met on 2-8-45 at Khwaja Shahabuddin's house and discussed matters up to 2 a.m. It achieved complete success. Messrs Hashim and Shahabuddin are now working as a team.

I am sending you under a registered parcel cover the draft manifesto[2] prepared by me for the Bengal Provincial Muslim League. It is divided into six chapters.

In my humble opinion, the League is face to face with three grave dangers, viz.

(i) Communism and communist propaganda of materialistic interpretation of life,
ii) Congressite Jami'at ul-'Ulama and its propaganda in the name of religion and *Shari'at* in danger, [and]
iii) Tribalism and caste cries [*sic*] like Jat Sabha, Momin Jami'at, etc.

I have endeavoured not only to meet and counteract these three dangers but to faithfully represent both the basic ideals and worldly interests of the *Millat*.

I urge upon the All India Muslim League to adopt this manifesto with such modifications as you think proper.

The All India Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board in its programme and policy in 1936, in the very first item adopted the protection of the religious rights of Muslims as its object and also recognized that due weight shall be given to the opinion of Jami'at ul-'Ulama and *Mujtahids* in purely religious matters. This first item of the programme should be kept intact. Only the word Jami'at 'Ulama-i-Hind (now Congressite) should be substituted by the world Jami'at 'Ulama-i-Islam which has adopted Pakistan and Muslim League as its political creed. Maulana Zafar Ahmad Thanvi has agreed to lead this Jami'at which has its headquarter at Calcutta.

Particularly, I invite your attention to section B of Chapter VI on Fundamental Rights, viz. Muslim institutions and interests and section C, viz. Muslim minorities of Hindustan.

The Bengal League proposes to detail [*sic*] part (1) Introduction and adopt the whole of chapter VI (Fundamental Rights) and the whole of Chapters III and V (Ideals and Ideologies) as manifesto. They propose to publish chapters I, II and IV in book form.

Yours most sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

The letter was typed on the letter-head of Calcutta City Muslim League showing names of Mohammad Yahya, Editor, *Al-Momin*, as President and S. M. Usman, M A , B L., as General Secretary.
Not traceable

24

M. A. Jinnah to A. Krishnaswami

SHC, Non-Muslims I/104

15 August 1945

Dear Mr. Krishnaswami,

Very many thanks for your letter of 5th August[1] and I thank you very much indeed for exposing our opponents in your very able articles in the *Liberator* which I read with very great interest and admiration. The *Liberator* is an independent organ. I thank you for having included a copy of the speech delivered by Mr. S. Ramanathan, former Congress Minister.

Let me once more tell you that I read the *Liberator* regularly and with very great interest and I wish you great success.

I have already exposed the Congress machination at the Simla Conference in some of my recent speeches and if an occasion arises I shall not

hesitate to do all I can so that the truth is vindicated and no power on earth can suppress the truth.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 9.

25

Mohammad Zaman to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/53

CHARSADDA,
PESHAWAR,
15 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I was thinking since long to write to you and acquaint you in detail with the true state of affairs prevailing over here, for, even the Committee of Action failed to place before you all what they heard and saw; else, the complaints in gruntings [*sic*] of the people, conveyed to the Committee with a view to being heard by you would not have ended in the overthrow of the League's Ministry. But owing to your ill-health and innumerable preoccupations, in matters of utmost vital importance, calling for your immediate and undivided attention, I thought it advisable to curb my desire to do so for a while. And as many events have happened since then, which render any detailed reference to the past quite redundant, suffice it to say that during the League's Ministry, the party work had almost died away and no efforts, whatever, were being made by the workers to keep the movement alive, much less to propagate and augment it. However, with the advent of the Congress Ministry fates have begun to favour us again and without any conscious attempt on our part (for a time at least after the Congress Ministry was incepted [*sic*]) the League has revived again. People have started condemning the Congress and its administration. They are finding faults with the workers of the League for their inactivity and inertia. Even the Congressites address us to start our work. To crown all this, came the Simla Conference: the memorable stand taken by the Quaid-i-Azam there in the historic Conference opened the eyes of the Pathans of this Province. It worked as a miracle and changed the political philosophy of the Pathans. The worthy Quaid-i-Azam by his ability,

foresight and Himalayan firmness revealed the true nature of the Hindu mind.

The nationalist Muslim of yesterday is a Muslim Leaguer of today; to prove it by an example, I am pleased to inform you that Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, MLA Congress (Central), has finally decided to join the League and work as zealously for its propagation as he used to do for the Congress. Today he talked to me in this behalf. To my mind his conversion to the League is an augury [*sic*] for the movement. For a Congressite as he was, he can effectively and efficiently expose the wiles and cunning of the Frontier Gandhi in particular and the Congress movement in general; and his criticism of the Congress movement will certainly appeal to the simple but impressionable Pathans. At this juncture, when we have all started individual work in our respective localities contacting the man in the field, it is high time that people from the Congress, particularly of Mr. Qaiyum's status, should drop away and join us. This will not only produce a wholesome effect on our movement but will also corrupt [*sic*] the morale of the Congress. You will be pleased to know that the masses can be easily approached through [*sic*] the light and arguments of Cripps proposals, Jinnah-Gandhi talks and the Simla Conference, with success. Without any exaggeration, psychologically the Pathan is ready to join the League and with conviction too. It only requires us to strike now and hard when it is hot. I therefore request that in view of the above circumstances it is advisable that some gesture, encouraging Abdul Qaiyum Khan to join the League, may kindly be made at the earliest. Mr. Qaiyum intended to write[1] to you personally but for the fear of censor. He has left for Lucknow today in connection with a murder case and will be staying there at the Royal Hotel for about a week.

Work has also been started in Charsadda and funds are being raised in compliance with your appeal to fight the forthcoming elections.[2]

With reverence and regards,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD ZAMAN
Advocate

[1]See No. 28.
[2]Jinnah thanked him for the information sent to him. See *SHC*, NWFP I/54. Not printed.

26

Malik Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/83

MUSSOORIE,
15 August 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must be realizing that this is the time when all the Musalmans must unite and party differences must be done away with. You claim that the Muslim League represents the whole of the Musalmans of India but every day we see voices raised against that body.

With the failure of the Simla Conference I see, and you might agree with me, that the Congress wants such Musalmans who are pro-Congress and anti-Muslim League. Whether such persons speak for the Musalmans of India or not, it is certain that the Musalmans as a body politic [*sic*] in India will lose every prestige [*sic*] and it is possible that their political identity might be lost for ever.

You have been appealing to the Musalmans to unite and to save themselves from destruction, but in vain. Jami'at al-'Ulama, Ahrars and Azad Muslims have really no backing worth the name and they cannot be considered to be all-India organizations. But with all this they are opposed to the Muslim League and you might be knowing that they are trying to create a common front against the Muslim League in the coming elections. You might be realizing that there are chances for the success of the League only in minority provinces but it is possible that the League might lose the elections in the Punjab and the Frontier provinces where the Musalmans are in the majority. I am afraid that even in Bengal, if you succeed at all you will have only bare majority and that would mean that you cannot form the Govt. with confidence.

If such be the result it will not be in your mouth [*sic*] to say that the Muslim League is the only body which represents all the Musalmans of India.

I also feel that the Govt. of India and the British Govt. will wait for the general elections and they would accept the claim of the Muslim League only when they find that the Leaguers have captured seats in the provincial and the central assemblies in a vast majority.

I do not know what you think of the Khaksar Movement now, and if you have got a soft corner for the Khaksar leader Allama Mashriqi. You might realize that this organization is far stronger than any of the organisations mentioned above—Jami'at al-'Ulama, Ahrar and Azad

Muslims. Khaksars have their organization in each and every town of India and have got their network all over the country.

I am a Khaksar and hold a responsible post in that organization. I say let us forgive and forget. For the cause of Musalmans and Islam please join hands with the Khaksars and I assure you that they, in their turn, would extend every help to the Muslim League. With our combined efforts I am definite that the Muslim League will win the elections in each and every province with an overwhelming majority.

How and on what grounds can we meet—this is a matter to be discussed. I would request you to kindly let me know if you approve of my proposal of joining hands.

On hearing from you I may see my leader Allama Mashriqi and also Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, if you so instruct me to do.

Yours sincerely,
MALIK AHMAD

27

R. P. Tiwari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 926/149-52

KHALSA COLLEGE,
BOMBAY,
15 August 1945

Dear friend,

I was surprised to know that the cause of your addressing the gathering in English on Sunday at Kaiser Baug was for the benefit of the press. Leaving aside a mammoth gathering of the Musalmans who were conversant with Gujarati or Marathi or Urdu (i.e. Persianised Hindi, still Hindi and not Persian), you took greater care for a few press reporters.

Mr. Jinnah, it does not mean that because Shias, Sunnis, Momins, Memons, Khojas and Bohras were present in the gathering, so they are one people. The argument itself is fallacious and if you consult any sane logician he will tell you that it commits *petitio principii*.

Mr. Jinnah, will you please explain who is your enemy who is at the gate? When many Musalmans are willing to shed their blood for the League, is it not a wise policy to wipe out the enemy? You sound a note of warning and argue that all Musalmans should unite. Well, that's all right. Union is a good thing but to bully with [*sic*] a stronger

enemy with all your united efforts will always result in utter failure. I very much doubt whether you can prove the statement that "the Congress spends money to corrupt, mislead, and bamboozle the Muslims and to create dissensions amongst them", which you have so emphatically made. When you were in Congress, I don't think that the above malpractice was going on. You call Congress the enemy of the Muslims but on saner reflection you will realise in the heart of your hearts that it is your silly preconception. The Congress is an all-India representative body as the people in India and abroad know it. The very history of Congress will reveal its all-India nature. It is the Congressmen who have suffered a lot for the freedom of their motherland. They have shed their blood and sacrificed their personal interests for the noble cause, while you want to become great on the basis of sowing the poisonous seed of communalism in the land of Indians. Rest assured that you and your generations will have to taste the poisonous fruits also. Had you taught such nonsensical preachings [*sic*] in a free country, you would have been hanged, shot down or knocked out. People must have spat on your very face. Mr. Jinnah, you or any sensible man cannot deny that a really great man is he whom the whole world worships irrespective of caste, creed or country, in all times.

Mr. Jinnah, the vivisection of mother India into Hindu India and Muslim India is an impossibility. You remember the time when even one single province of India, viz. Bengal, could not be politically divided into eastern and western Bengal. The division of India into two parts means their division ad-infinitum, which is an utter impossibility. Your speech is exciting [*sic*] to the Hindus of India in the sense that you charge them for [*sic*] dominating Muslims, exciting the Muslims of India in the sense that you appeal to the communal-minded Muslims to establish Pakistan, thereby creating the gulf of ill-feelings between two communities. Persons like you are wholly responsible for communal riots all over India. Licentiousness [*sic*] of your speeches must bring about civil war in India, which will ultimately decide all problems of today. The famous sacrifice of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi at Cawnpore (communal riots) is a glaring example of Hindus' brotherly attitude towards the Muslims. It is due to the goodwill of Hindus that nothing wrong is happening. Mr. Jinnah, Hindus are not dreaming of Hindu *raj*. There is the question of the independence of India as a whole which does not exclude Muslims. Before Pakistan plan, your follower Muslims were dreaming of Muslim *raj* by increasing their numbers equal to that of Hindus by fair and foul means. But when this dream was not materialized [*sic*] in spite of the greatest possible effort and when there was not the least hope for the dream coming out real [*sic*], you discovered the new

plan of Pakistan. I am aware that you are still trying for Muslim *raj*. That's why the charge against Hindus of establishing Hindu *raj* has appeared in your speech. This is an attitude of fanaticism in your speech that I am pointing out to you and invite your attention not to misguide people. The fanatic Muslims excited by your dirty party politics can create chaos in the country. They say that they are prepared to shed their blood. But the example in the past shows that such a fanatic Muslim staggered [*sic*] Swami Shraddhanand. If you want to live apart from Hindus, go out of Hindustan wherever there are your fellow fanatic Muslims and to whom you owe your culture, such as Persia or Arabia. But don't preach such nonsensical things in Hindustan. An early reply awaited.

R.P. TIWARI

28

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/91

ROYAL HOTEL,
LUCKNOW,
16 August 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am here on a professional visit. I expect to be here till 25 August 1945, when I shall leave for Peshawar, and hope to be there on 27 August 1945.

I was to communicate to you what I consider to be the most momentous decision of my life. This is the result of anxious heart-searching and hard thinking for days on end.

I have decided to join the Muslim League. I believe that the stand taken by you is absolutely correct, and that any Muslim who opposes you is betraying the cause of Islam in India.

I am now awaiting your orders and will do as I am told.[1]

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM
Bar-at-Law
MLA (Central)

[1]See No. 33.

29

M. A. Jinnah to Ismail Meer

SHC, Bombay I/70

17 August 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter without date[1], and while I thank you for the promised help and encouragement, it is not possible for me to go to your college and address the students as requested by you, as I have got hardly any time to comply with your request and other similar requests which I have received from different colleges. I have recently addressed two public meetings, and those who wish really to know and understand the position of the Muslim League and form some opinion dispassionately, they can do so if they study my recent statements and the speeches referred to above. Besides, if any one of you desire to make a real study, you can always get the literature which is now available and which is advertised from time to time in the newspaper known as the *Dawn*, Delhi. You can make a choice of books and pamphlets from a fairly long list that is published in that paper every now and then, and you will then have a clear idea of the goal, policy and programme of the All India Muslim League. I think it is the duty of every student, especially of the Muslim students, to make it a part of his study.

I hope you will quite understand that it is not possible for me now to go about addressing various colleges, as the pressure of work is so great that it is physically impossible for me to do so.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Ismail Meer, Esq.,
Hon. Secretary,
Urdu Literary Society,
St. Xavier's College,
Bombay

[1]Ismail Meer had requested Jinnah to address the students of St. Xavier's College and receive a purse collected for the coming elections See *SHC*, Bombay I/69. Not printed.

30

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to G. M. Sayed
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Sind VI/20

SEAFIELD ROAD, KARACHI,
17 August 1945

My dear Shah Sahib,

I have received a copy of your letter[1] to Nawabzada Sahib regarding the selection of League candidates for the coming elections.

Sind is the only province in which there is still a League Ministry. This is entirely due to the present League members of our Assembly. These men have secured the confidence of their constituencies and have come into the Assembly. They have been tried and tested and have justified their position as true and faithful members of the League.

Therefore, if the present League members of the Assembly wish to stand again on the League ticket, and are prepared to sign the League pledge, we must select only these men as candidates for the constituencies they already represent. They are all men of wealth, position and influence, and have stood by the League already. We know them all, and their work and worth.

If, on the other hand, we introduce outsiders as candidates, we will be antagonizing these men who have already proved their value to the League, and driving them into the opposition. We will thus be causing disintegration in the League ranks. Bringing in outsiders whom we do not know and who have not been tried, will be a risky experiment for the League. We will be losing men of whom we are already sure, and getting in their place men unknown and untried and of whom we cannot be sure.

This will not be in the best interest of the League. The only way of ensuring our solidarity is to stick to the existing League members of the Assembly whom we already know and of whom we are sure.

As regards the remaining seats which are occupied by non-Leaguers, we may select suitable League candidates for them.

So, please do not issue your proposed Sindhi circular. We have already fixed a meeting of the Assembly members of the League, and

we have to consult their wishes in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

G. M. Sayed, Esq., *MLA*,
President, Sind Provincial Muslim League,
Karachi

[1]Not traceable.

31

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/11

SECRET

20 AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
20 August 1945

My dear Jinnah,

I have today asked H.E. the Viceroy to relieve me of my office four or five months before the elections are to come. I admitted that it was my intention to upset the Unionist Ministry and help the League.

No decision has yet [been] come to regarding elections and as soon as a decision is made he will, I am sure, let me go. At this moment I want to push through some soldiers' resettlement schemes during the next few weeks—which may have to be abandoned if elections come on suddenly.

Meanwhile, I am telling all my Unionist friends to change over to the League. This is just for your information.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

32

A. Krishnaswami to M. A. Jinnah

F. 181/27-30

THE *LIBERATOR* OFFICE,
2/11 MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
20 August 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 15th August,[1] and I am grateful to you for your kind and appreciative remarks regarding the *Liberator*.

The *Liberator* has set for itself the task of exposing the so-called Nationalist Association and its leaders in the hope that a cleaner political life may emerge in our country.

I need hardly say how grateful the non-Brahmins are to you for the inestimable service you have rendered them by raising your powerful voice against Congress tyranny. But the machinations of the Congress party are progressing at an increased pace. I feel that it requires more than ever your clear and analytical mind and fearless leadership to expose such machinations. Would you forgive me for bringing to your notice the latest developments that have occurred whereby the Congress press seeks to get a stranglehold over the news agencies. I need hardly refer to recent changes in newspaper proprietorship which have resulted in Congress plutocrats handling a regular chain of newspapers from one end of the country to the other. They are seeking to impose their own opinions on the nature of the news that should be served out to all newspapers. I am enclosing[2] with this letter copies of the correspondence that took place between Mr. Turner of the Associated Press and myself regarding these possible developments. I regret time did not permit me to obtain your valuable advice, much as I should like to have done before drafting my reply. This is also the reason why I have contented [*sic*] myself with mere criticism of the proposals, and I have not put forward, except in the most vague terms, a scheme for organizing a rival news service, should the proposals regarding the trust go through. I have tried to find out what the exact position of Reuters and A.P.I. is in this country, and the following facts have come to my knowledge: The Govt. of India have leased a cable line throughout the country for the exclusive use of Reuters and A.P.I. It is on this line that the teleprinter of the A.P.I. and Reuters functions. The Orient Press and the United Press news agencies have not been given such a licence to use any cable line, so that, even though they may import

teleprinters now, they cannot utilise them. They have been given only the right to telegraph press messages at concession[al] rates. Now the advantage which A.P.I. and Reuters enjoy is obvious. Through the teleprinter, they can convey news to all the important centres of India within a few seconds of the receipt of such news. The other news agencies may get their news at the best by telegram, six or twelve hours later. I further understand that this cable licence will last for four years more for A.P.I. and Reuters. Evidently, Reuters' fear, that a new regime at the Centre may not renew the licence, is at the bottom of the negotiations.

I understand from an American press agency that a similar concession asked for by it was refused on the ground that a foreign agency should have nothing to do with the distribution of internal news. While I feel that this decision, if true, is a correct one, I must admit that this made Reuters more nervous of the future and hence the characteristic opportunist manoeuvre.

I feel the time has now come for us to press for a similar licence for a news agency of our own, and if the Government say that they cannot set apart a special cable line for such a news agency, we should press for the use in common of the cable line now licensed to A.P.I. and Reuters. I am inclined to think that with the cessation of hostilities during which so many cable lines have been connected throughout India for military purposes, it should be possible for the Government to give the news agency a new line. I feel that these matters are so urgent that they should be taken up at once both on the public platform and in the legislature. I feel most strongly on this matter. There is no salvation for the few independent journals that exist to-day unless you are good enough to champion our cause and expose these manoeuvres.

With kind regards,

I remain,

Yours very cordially,

A. KRISHNASWAMI

Bar-at-Law

[1]No. 24.

[2]Not traceable.

33

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Qaiyum Khan

Telegram, SHC, NWFP II/93

20 August 1945

Abdul Qaiyum, Barrister, Royal Hotel, Lucknow

Your letter 16th August[1]. Many thanks. Glad note your decision

join League. Appreciate your views frankly expressed in your letter. No room or place any honest Muslim in Congress or support it at any rate after Simla Conference. Hope others will follow your example [and] join our national organization Muslim League especially at this critical juncture and serve selflessly national cause of Muslim India and all that Islam stands for. Propose release your letter [and] my telegraphic reply.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 28.

34

G. S. Abdul Hameed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1056/34-7

GADABANHALLY ESTATES,
CHICKMAGALUR,
MYSORE STATE,
21 August 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Herewith I beg to send a copy of an article sent for publication to the *Dawn*.[1]

I am sure all your efforts will be crowned with success, if we Muslims present a united front in all our demands to the world at large.

Time is [of] the essence for success. We must steal a march over others economically, socially, and politically. When a handful of Muslims overran the world and conquered a great portion of it, is it impossible to achieve success with a population of ten crore Muslims in India? I am sure we have got a glorious future before us.

I hope you will advise the Muslims to organize themselves in various walks of life.

I pray to God to grant you long life, peace and prosperity to guide the nation to achieve the cherished goal.

With respect and kind regards,

Your brother-in-Islam,
G.S. ABDUL HAMEED

[1]See F. 1056/35-7, *QAP*. Not printed

35

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/13

20 AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
21 August 1945

My dear Jinnah,

Please find enclosed[1] a copy of [the] letter which I have written to Khizar, and as soon as I have written the above letter, a telegram came from England, and you must have already seen the announcement in papers that elections will be held for the Central Assembly as well as for the provinces, forthwith. I believe the assembly elections will be held by the end of December. The Governors will fix the dates for their elections and I suppose they also will hold them before the budget session, probably in January. However, we must await their decision.

This is just to inform you that I have sent in my resignation from the 15th of September, and I propose to go back to the Punjab to help the Muslim League.

I enclose[2] a copy of my resignation which I have sent to H. E. today.

With kindest regards,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

[1&2]Enclosures 1 &2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 35
Firoz Khan Noon to Khizar Hayat Tiwana

SHC, Punjab IV/15

20 AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
21 August 1945

My dear *Bhai Sahib*,

Yesterday in my interview with H. E. I told him that I should like to be relieved of my office a few months before the provincial elections, as it was my desire to help the Muslim League in the Punjab with a view to bring[ing] all the Muslim MLAs into that party so that at the next

political all-India conference all the Muslims of India can speak with one voice. Unless we are united, I fear that Muslims can never gain an honourable position in the life of this country. I felt that you should be the first one to know of my intentions.

I would again press on you the desirability of taking [*sic*] all Muslims seek election on the Muslim League ticket as indeed I understood from *Bhai* Allah Bukhsh during the Wavell Conference that you were agreeable to. After the Muslims have been elected on the League ticket they can form a coalition ministry as indeed they must—and as indeed they have always done when they have been united more than they are now and this coalition party could be called the Unionist Party. I am quite willing to do all that I can to bring about an understanding between Jinnah and the Punjab Muslim League and yourself and would again beg of you not to divide the Punjab Muslims—the heart of Muslim India. The only party under which they can be united is the Muslim League, for the Unionists are not an all-India party and if they remain a separate party from the Muslim League, there will always be a clash among the Unionists and Leaguers. Unionist Muslims today are, in my opinion, serving a role which other small Muslim political groups under the Congress aegis have filled in the past.

With kindest regards,

Yours affectionately,
FIROZ NOON

Enclosure 2 to No. 35
Firoz Khan Noon to Archibald Wavell

SHC, Punjab IV/14

20 AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
21 August 1945

Your Excellency,

You will recollect that yesterday I expressed the desire to be relieved of my office in time to enable me to take part in the Punjab provincial elections in support of the Muslim League.

In view of the sudden decision of His Majesty's Government to hold elections in India forthwith, I shall be obliged if you will kindly place my resignation before His Majesty the King for his gracious acceptance from September 15th next. This period of about three weeks will, I hope, enable you to select my successor and will also afford me just sufficient time to wind up my affairs here.

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking you for your constant courtesy and friendship during the period I have been your colleague in the Executive Council.

I propose to make this decision public immediately and I hope Your Excellency has no objection to my doing so.

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

36

M. Suleman Jan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/84

PUNJDARA NAWAB SAHIB,
MUZAFFARNAGAR,
21 August 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you very much for the receipt of Rs. 1,000 which I got in due time. I am sure you will be very glad to know that the Musalmans of this place have sunk their personal differences, and have unanimously elected the office-bearers of the District and the City Muslim League. The enrolment of the Muslim League members in the city is over 20% and in the district over 10%. Altogether we have enrolled 27,600 members. Every day we eagerly wait for the *Dawn* to see if you have issued any fresh statement or instructions. How glorious it is to be in communion with you through the press or otherwise. Please do not bother to reply, or even if you do not read it, I do not mind. I have the consolation of spending a few minutes in writing to my leader. Maulana Hasrat Mohani and I addressed a public meeting in Saharanpur, which was well attended, and was a great success. We also toured Dehra Dun, Muzaffarnagar, and Meerut. All the meetings were quite successful.

If I am not taking much of your time, I should, with your permission, like to make a suggestion. If we can get your '*Id* message, say by the 1st of August [*sic*], through the Provincial Muslim League, we shall be in a position to arrange for its being read out at every place in the district, where '*Id* prayers are held, and in this way your message will be given widest publicity.

With kindest regards,

Yours faithfully,
M. SULEMAN JAN
Salar-e-Suba

37

M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/23

3151 RANCHHORE LINES,
KARACHI,
21 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is understood that general elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures are likely to be ordered soon and they would be held before the end of November next. I want to send a note of warning. Muslim League leaders of various groups have busied themselves in Sind to capture as many seats for their groups as possible. This is bound to lead to disruption of Muslim League in Sind. It shall also be fatal to the cause of Pakistan, dear to the heart of all of us:

i. K.B.M.A. Khuhro is quietly arranging to put up as many candidates in 35 Muslim constituencies and oppose tooth and nail every other Leaguer who does not agree with him so that he should become unquestioned political leader in the province and its Premier.
ii. Mir Ghulam Ali is fishing for a Baloch and Mir domination; and premiership.
iii. G. M. Sayed is endeavouring to have a solid Sayed bloc and,
iv. Sir G. Hussain is manipulating things in his own way.

There are daily talks between these gentlemen and all sorts of permutations and combinations are conceived, planned, rejected, etc. Mir Ghulam Ali has threatened to start a parallel League if four out of seven members of the Parliamentary Board do not belong to Khuhro-Mir-Ghulam Hussain group as opposed to Sayed group. This threat was given to Sayed by Mir Ghulam Ali yesterday, Sunday the 19th, August 1945, in the presence of Khuhro and Qazi Fazl Ullah at Khuhro's bungalow. The League house is badly divided. It is all due to personal ambitions, jealousies and spirit of revenge. The Muslim League is heading for disaster in Sind, and through Sind, in the rest of India. This parallel Muslim League idea is being vigorously propagated and propounded in the daily *Al-Wahid* which is under the sole direction of Yusuf Haroon and K. B. M. A. Khuhro.

2. As against this, both the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress want to put up independent Muslim candidates and wish to capture at least ten Muslim seats as opposed to League candidates so that a non-League Ministry may be formed in Sind with the help of twenty-two Hindus. They

are prepared to spend several lakhs of rupees in supporting such Muslim candidates who are anti-Leaguers or at least independents.

3. You have, Sir, thrown a challenge to the British Government and the Hindus to get the verdict of the ballot box on the question of Pakistan. Now if League nominees do not capture 95% seats in Sind, where all Muslims claim to be Muslim Leaguers and where there is not one to vote for the Congress, it will be a great tragedy. Most of the Sind Leaguers are doubtful [*sic*] quantity. Many are, at the same time, Leaguers, non-Leaguers or independents. Greatest tact is needed at this hour to harness this turbulent Indus river full of factions, bitterness and ambitions. If there is consolidation of these groups into one solid bloc, I am afraid you may not get even fifteen Muslims out of thirty-five returned on Muslim League ticket. The British and Hindus will declare it an all-India Muslim League defeat, and a proof of its unrepresentative character. I am sure very few Muslim candidates can be found who would not tell the electorate that they are Leaguers and *pucca* Pakistanis and that they have been kept out of League's nomination due to intrigue and personal enmity. But if such people are returned even then it would be defeat of the League, as clearly indicated by the defeat of M. L. nominees.

4. I have attempted to inform you about the above position as I strongly feel that due to foolishness or otherwise, we in Sind are heading for the League's destruction. The remedy lies in our hands and other all-India leaders. If we lose in Sind we will lose all along the Muslim majority provinces. The Sind field is still the best for exploitation to the League's advantage.

5. I would also like to draw your attention to correspondence between us ending with your letter of 12th December 1944,[1] from Delhi regarding intrigues and propaganda against me. I am also enclosing copy of a telegram I addressed to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan dated 14.3.1945. I did not address this to you as you were then lying ill. This remains unreplied. I wanted to talk to you about this matter on 11th July 1945 at Simla when I asked you for an exclusive interview but unfortunately you were too busy. I may add that intrigues against me have become worse. The newspaper propaganda in *Baluchistan Jadid* has become intolerable. This last is actively supported by Yusuf Haroon, Sir G. Hussain and Mir Ghulam Ali. The Dist. Magistrate and Chief Secretary have recommended action several times in the interest of law and order but the Mir (Home Minister) takes no action. How could he when he is a party to it?

It is openly said that you wrote to Sir Ghulam Hussain to remove me from the Ministry. I want to make one thing clear that no one—neither Sir Ghulam Hussain nor G. M. Sayed nor Nawabzada nor yourself—have

ever told me what was alleged against me or what was wrong with me. I have suffered without being apprised of any of my drawbacks. I have given my best to the Muslim League. Could you kindly solve this mystery for me?

With best regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
M. H. GAZDAR
MLA

[1]No. 310, Vol. XI, 346-7.

Enclosure to No. 37
M. H. Gazdar to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, SHC, Sind VI/24

14 March 1945

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, New Delhi

Today Sayed's group of twelve Muslim League MLAs conveyed through G. M. Sayed to Sir Ghulam Hussain our unanimous decision to include me in the cabinet. Sir Ghulam Hussain informed Sayed that Quaid-i-Azam was against my inclusion in the cabinet. This was corroborated by Mir Ghulam Ali and Mahmood Haroon who had met Quaid-i-Azam in Bombay. Kindly enquire from Quaid-i-Azam whether this is a fact and wire reply at your earliest convenience. This telegram has been shown to G. M. Sayed.

M. H. GAZDAR

38

Hameed Nizami to Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore

Telegram, F. 853/10

BOMBAY,
21 August 1945

Mister Jinnah President Muslim League leaving for Karachi Tuesday 28th August by air. His sister Miss Fatima Jinnah will accompany him. After about one week's stay at Karachi League President will go to Quetta where he proposes stay five six weeks. He was advised by his doctors last June to go to Quetta avoiding rainy season but owing his participation Simla Conference the visit to Quetta was delayed. He is undertaking the trip mainly on health grounds. Sir Ghulam Hussain

Hidayatullah, Premier Sind, who has come here participate in Bombay University convocation, being member of University Senate, today paid visit to Quaid-i-Azam in evening and dined with him. New Delhi announcement that general elections be held as soon as possible is hailed here as triumph League policy. Muslim circles here believe that if Labour Government is really socialistic and adopts realistic attitude towards India she [*sic*] shall have to agree Muslim right self-determination as a separate nation and concede right of territorial cession. In this connection Wavell's reported forthcoming visit at invitation His Majesty's Government is significant. Whatever the outcome of elections a sort of caretaker Government will be necessary till the question of permanent constitution is finally settled. My opinion that Lord Wavell has been called by British Government for consultations in light of results of Simla talks and British Government would like to know whether Viceroy thinks desirable bypass any major party if such temporary caretaker Government is deemed necessary. It is possible that in view of world situation Labour may agree to formation central Indian Government with willing parties but much depends upon election results and as one Leaguer told me if Muslims are solid and vindicate League claim representation Muslim nation Pakistan will come with a bang.

NIZAMI

39

S. M. Saifuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/136

DISTRICT CUDDAPAH,
MADRAS,
21 August 1945

Sir,

I have the honour to bring to the notice of Quaid-i-Azam that a public meeting was held in *Jumu'a masjid* after *Jumu'a* prayer, under the auspices of Cuddapah Dist. M. S. F. on 17th August and Mr. M[uhamma]d Hussain, President of Cuddapah Dist. M. S. F. was in the chair. A large Muslim gathering was attended [*sic*].

A resolution was unanimously passed, expressing full faith and confidence in the leadership of our Quaid-i-Azam and whole heartedly

endorsing the attitude taken by him in the Simla Conference.

I beg to remain, Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

S. M. SAIFUDDIN,

General Secretary,

District Muslim Students

Federation

40

M. A. Jinnah to S. M. H. Ghazi

SHC, Bombay I/59

22 August 1945

Dear Mr. Ghazi,

I have already expressed my views to you and I cannot be associated with your proposed scheme[1] or any preliminary steps that you may take in that direction. I have given my views to you for what they were worth, and it is for you now to take such steps and do what you think right, but, as I made it clear to you, I cannot be associated with your scheme. I am returning to you herewith the Certificate of Registration.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

S. M. H. Ghazi, Esq.,
59 Lakhshmi Building,
Sir Pherozshah Mehta Road,
Bombay

[1]See No. 12.

41

Sayed Ali Akbar Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/80-2

KARACHI,
22 August 1945

Respected Sir,

A telegram has been despatched by me to you today which I hope has been received in time. As you are expected to come to Karachi

within a few days, I, on behalf of the whole province, request you to take the matter in your hands.

On the side of Aryas there is the whole Hindu community, All India Mahasabha, Sind Congress members and the whole Congress and Aryas. Even Mr. Gandhi, who has always been condemning the book, *Satyarath Prakash*, is today the main adviser of Aryas in launching *satyagraha*. We, the Muslims, felt assured by the League Ministry that they were solemn in their promises that they will never reconsider the question of ban as it was a rubbish chapter [*sic*]. Such public utterances made the Muslims feel at ease and hence we did not feel it necessary to make any special preparations to meet the conflict between the Aryas and Govt. All of a sudden, without any notice to us, the Ministry to pacify the wrath of Aryas and satisfy Nihchaldas and G. M. Sayed, modified the ban and limited it only to five languages. The Muslims, therefore, under the presidentship of our revered leader Pir Ghulam Mujaddid, called a public meeting at the *'Idgah* ground, Karachi, on 14th instant, to think over the situation but the Police Superintendent refused to permit [*sic*] to hold the meeting.

The Muslims would have remained quiet and thought over some other line of action as they were never prepared for breaking any order. The District Magistrate of Karachi called Pir Sahib and Dr. Khan of Karachi in his office and served them with a restraint order under Section 144 Cr. P.C. This naturally agitated the Muslims greatly, and Pir Sahib at once decided to break the order. Thousands of Muslims are ready to follow him. I and some other important Muslim leaders have been served and more are to be served with similar restraint orders. This has created a very critical situation in Karachi where the Muslim community has been unaware and compelled to break the order unfortunately. It is a conflict between the Muslims and the Muslim League Ministry. Mr. G. M. Sayed, the President of Muslim League, is very much averse to Muslim interests and has always been for his personal autocracy. This has alienated all Muslim sympathy for him but he is indifferent to it as he thinks he is quite secure in his group of Hindus and the satellites. I am therefore constrained to appeal to you to intervene in time and stop this conflict by asking Pir Ghulam Mujaddid and his friends through K. B. Khuhro to delay their action until you come and advise personally and to make League Ministry realise that they should not play trickery [*sic*] with religious feelings of Muslims.

I am afraid if my appeal is not heard in time, in the coming assembly

elections the League will have a very bad defeat as the Muslim masses [lose] all confidence in provincial League leaders.

With best respects and best regards,

Your loyal Muslim Leaguer,
SAYED ALI AKBAR SHAH

42

S. M. I. Shah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/55

GRAND TRUNK ROAD,
PESHAWAR,
22 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thank *Allah* is the expression of our feelings today when the Deputy Leader of the Congress has joined the League[1] and thus my efforts have resulted in fruitful [*sic*]. Please accept our heartfelt congratulation.

I was anxiously awaiting the reply to my registered letter of the 24th ultimo,[2] and when I received no reply I was however [*sic*] dismayed and presumed that my letter was inadvertently thrown in the waste paper basket. I was about to write you again when I received the joyful news of Mr. Abdul Qaiyum's announcement with the appeasement [*sic*] and tranquillity of soul.

I would now request you to please immediately chalk out programme for the League propaganda in the villages of the NWFP and appoint Mr. Qaiyum as organiser, who will certainly overturn the boat of Congress in the Frontier. Voting lists for the next elections are being prepared. Congress machinery is in its full working and therefore no time should be spared [*sic*] in sitting idle.

Thanking you for the kind co-operation,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. I. SHAH
S. Shah & Company,
General Merchants & Commission Agents

[1]See No. 28.
[2]See reference to this letter in Jinnah's reply at *SHC*, NWFP I/56. Not printed.

43

R. A. Ravoof to M. A. Jinnah

F. 906/68

34 SRI NARASIMHARAJA ROAD,
BANGALORE CITY,
22 August 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Pray excuse my intrusion. I am the Secretary of the Mysore State Muslim Youths' Association, Bangalore, and on behalf of this Association, I commend the firm attitude taken by you in the recent Simla Conference with the assurance that we will follow you in future, keeping faith in you as we have done so far.

I have a humble suggestion to make, which I feel confident will be approved by you. I suggest that you may be pleased to make an appeal and ask every Muslim of India to send you Re. 1 as *'Idi* so as to reach you by money order or postal order on the day of our *'Id al-Fitr*. The amount realised will surely be something substantial for achieving our goal, i.e. Pakistan.

Eagerly waiting for your reply and with humble *Adaab*,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

R. A. RAVOOF

44

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/77

THE MALL,
MORADABAD,
22 August 1945

Dear Sir,

Now that the war is over, people are rejoicing. But it is not the same with all: so many who had found jobs during war fear being thrown out of employment after the war. Poor Muslims, as they are, could save nothing during the war-time due to constant high range of prices of the daily necessities. When thrown out of employment their condition

will be simply miserable.

In all departments of the Govt., [at the] Centre and [in the] Provinces, there is high-handedness of Hindus. They have been trying to snatch away Muslim share of posts and encroach upon their legitimate rights by hook or by crook and they will try their utmost even at the stake [*sic*] of their name, dignity, prestige and the like, when reduction of staff starts.

Despite the fact that there has been awakening amongst Muslims, and the able Musalmans are fighting for their rights, there are still many departments where the Muslim quota is not full. For example, the Railways—and specially the East Indian Railway which is a premier Railway of India—and especially the Accounts Department of the East Indian Railway.

So I feel it [is] my duty to sound people who can do something for the Muslims and the Muslim cause, of the approaching danger and the catastrophe lying ahead if things are not looked into in time and necessary defensive steps taken. It is high time now that the rights of Muslims should be strictly guarded; for if the least leakage [*sic*] is allowed, it is feared the result will be a disaster.

My humble suggestion is that the Govt. should be asked in time to maintain the full Muslim quota first. No Muslims should be turned out till there is deficiency in the Muslim quota. The trickery [*sic*] of permanent and temporary cadre should not be allowed. If the Muslim quota being [*sic*] complete and some Muslims are surplus they should be shifted from their posts strictly in accordance with the proportion between Hindus and Muslims, and they should be given jobs in other departments where the Muslim quota is low. Special care should be taken of the position on Railways, of the Muslim quota, and specially on the East Indian Railway.

Your special attention is invited to the Accounts Department of East Indian Railway where the Muslim quota is very low and where there is Hindu-Bengali *raj* and high-handedness without any fear.

Timely action in the matter will save many from going to streets and thus causing a national set-back.

Hoping to be excused for encroaching upon your precious time.

Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

45

M. A. Jinnah to Tewfiq Saleh Husseini

Telegram, SHC, FC I/20

23 August 1945

Tewfiq Saleh Husseini,
Acting Chairman, Palestine Arab Party,
Jerusalem

Your telegram.[1] Muslim India has always supported and will whole-heartedly support Palestine Arab national demand. Will help every way possible. Muslims following your activities press news very keenly. Wish you all success.

M.A. JINNAH

[1]The telegram demanded an end to the immigration of, and sale of land to, Jews, making Palestine an independent Arab State, and grant of amnesty. See *SHC*, FC I/17-9. Not printed.

46

Abdul Hameed Kazi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/75

ANWAR JAHAN MANZIL,
KHANDIA STREET,
BOMBAY,
23 August 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been thinking of writing to you since long to remove all the misgivings that you might entertain about me. Four years ago when I joined the Muslim League I was thoroughly convinced that only Pakistan can solve the vexed problem of India. I was also convinced that under your leadership the Muslims of India can reach their destiny. After four years, my conviction has become stronger.

Simla Conference has proved beyond doubt that the Muslims under your guidance are determined to fight for their liberty, without being influenced by either the Congress or the British Govt. Your bold stand at Simla has immensely enhanced the prestige of the Muslim League. Now we feel that it is our duty to obey your command to achieve our objective. You have, as well, made an appeal to sink all our differences and face the enemies unitedly. Anti-League forces are uniting to crush

us; hence it is our paramount duty to forget all our petty differences and put up a united front.

You will be glad to know that we have decided to fully cooperate with Mr. Chundrigar and I have, as well, acquainted him with our decision. I had nothing personally against Mr. Chundrigar even before. It was the democratic urge and the political consciousness of the people which found expression in the elections of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League in the last two years. Mistakes have been committed by both the sides. So far as we are concerned, we are conscious of our mistakes and are sorry for it. We have acted on your advice to forget and forgive. However, in view of the critical and big task ahead we have decided to fully cooperate with Mr. Chundrigar.

Sir, as far as you are concerned we had always complete faith in you and will always have it. You are so indispensable to Muslim India. Only through your able leadership we shall be able to reach our destined goal. I assure you that my services are entirely at your disposal and I shall deem it a privilege to work under your guidance. Please remove all the misgivings which you might entertain about me. I cannot express how much it hurts me because I am hundred per cent loyal to the Muslim League and to you and have served the League with all my might and sincerity in the last four years. It will not be out of place to say that in the present awakening and organization of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League I have also got my humble share. In the very best interest of the League it is necessary that complete confidence should prevail between the leader and his followers.

We intend to hold the annual session of the Bombay Provincial Students' Conference at Jalgaon this year and are very much desirous that you should be kind enough to inaugurate it. We shall fix the date according to your convenience. Would you kindly spare one day for us and oblige.

I shall be very thankful to you if you kindly give me some time to see you so that we might be able to decide the date and any person for presidentship with your advice.

With best regards; and waiting for an early reply,

Yours obediently,
A. H. KAZI
Doctor

47

F. K. Khan Durrani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/126

65 RAILWAY ROAD,
LAHORE,
23 August 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing this to invite your special attention to my leader in the *Eastern Times* of today's date.[1] I have explained the position to Mr. Hameed Nizami of the *Nawa-i-Waqt*. He agrees and we have decided to call a meeting of the pro-League journalists of Lahore to-day or tomorrow with a view to launch[ing] a campaign for an enquiry commission to inquire into the malpractices of the Punjab Govt. in collecting funds for the Zamindara League. It may be a royal commission or one by the Govt. of India. The appointment of such a commission will, by itself, spell the death sentence of the Unionist Govt. In any case, the campaign for the demand will undermine the positions of the Unionists and strengthen the League's hand.

Of course, everybody in India, the Congress as well as the British, knows that the Muslim League is the true representative of Muslim India, but the success of the Unionists in the next general election, which is certain for the reason stated in the article and the fact that the President of the Provincial Muslim League is a dunce and is behaving as if he were a saboteur planted in the League by some dummy power, would be used to contest the League's claim, as Khizar was made to do at Simla. Foreign opinion will count for much in this matter, and now is the time to create doubts in the public mind abroad, specially Britain and the USA, about the honesty of the Punjab Govt. and the *bona fides* of the general election in the Punjab. Allegations about the Govt.'s malpractices after the election will carry no weight. The time is therefore now. The campaign I am suggesting will also strengthen our hands in the election itself. I have written to the *Dawn* people also to fall into line. If you tack on a press statement to the resolution we are going to adopt here, it should shake the East and the West. I have discussed the matter with several people here and they all agree whole-heartedly. Reports about your health by people who saw you at Simla

were not very reassuring, and I shall be happy if you kindly send me a word about it.[2]

Yours sincerely,
F. K. KHAN DURRANI

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See *SHC*, P&P III/127. Not printed.

48

Hussain M. Malik to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/281

7 ALBUQUERQUE ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
23 August 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have today sent you a telegram[1] requesting you for an appointment for the 29th instant. The purpose of my visit to Bombay is to discuss with you matter relating to the diesel engines, the plastics and plastic materials factories that I now propose to set up in the Punjab. When you were in Delhi, I explained to you the scheme relating to these factories and you were kind enough to say that I might send the papers to you and you would go through them when you have gained sufficient strength. I do hope you are now quite fit and have got over the after-effects of the Simla Conference. I am sending to you today under separate cover the papers relating to the above scheme.[2]

The points that I would like to discuss with you are the inclusion of non-Muslims in the Directorate, the final list of Directors, and allocation of share quota to the various provinces.

I propose staying in Bombay for three days but I shall be prepared to stay on longer, if required.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HUSSAIN M. MALIK

[1&2]Not traceable.

49

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Mohammad Khan Tarin

F. 564/6

23 August 1945

Dear Sir,

I received your telegram of 5th August[1], and thank you for it. I was not able to reply to it earlier, as I was not definite about my getting to Quetta. I thank you very much indeed for the honour you propose to do to me and give me a public reception and procession on my arrival at Quetta, and much as I appreciate this mark of respect, I regret to inform you that my health will not permit me to go through the strain. I therefore request you not to arrange any public reception or procession. As to my going to Quetta, I am leaving for Karachi by air on Tuesday, August 28th, and I will stay there a few days and then leave for Quetta.

Thanking you again,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The General Secretary,
Muslim League,
Quetta

[1]See F. 564/7, *QAP*. Not printed.

50

Mohammad Khalilullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/55

PRIVATE

16 NARAYANDAS MANSION,
10 MOTLIBAI STREET,
BOMBAY,

24 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Indeed it is gratifying to learn that Qaiyum and Noon are once again [*sic*] coming to our fold and I heartily offer my congratulations on this news. As I wrote[1] to you during the Simla Conference all these people will come to us. God be praised. I had written to Molvi Fazlul Huq and his only grudge is with Sir Nazimuddin. I have known Sir Nazimuddin along with late Sir Sikander for a long time and I think Sir Nazimuddin is more to be blamed [*sic*] than Fazlul Huq. If

even now someone intermediates, Fazlul Huq would rejoin us and it will be the greatest triumph for the League. I had a talk with Sir Sultan Ahmed and by a slight persuasion he will come to our door. I know it would impair our discipline but it is high time that you show[ed] large-heartedness and forgave and forgot. I was pained to read in the daily *Hamdam* of Lucknow, a paper more devoted to your person than any other daily in India, that some Delhi papers are attacking Mahmoodabad clique and involving Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman in so many dirty episodes. Unfortunately there is some evil element present in our League. Khaliq and Nawab Ismail both have lost their importance in U. P. but we have no other men to replace them excepting Nawab Sir Mohamed Yusuf and Nawab of Chhatari. I have a hunch that Moh[amma]d Ibrahim, who was a Minister in Congress regime in U. P., could be converted to our side. He left our fold on account of Khalique and Mahmoodabad clique. If you approve of it, I would run up to Calcutta and try to convert Fazlul Huq and bring about a rapprochement between Huq and Nazimuddin. I could also persuade Hafiz Ibrahim to leave the Congress. Sir Wazir Hassan will [only] be too willing to come to us. I was staying with Sir Mirza Ismail in Jaipur when Sir Wazir Hassan went there and I had a long discussion with him. He was disgruntled owing to Khaliq and Co., he was converted to our viewpoint, he said to Nawab Abdullah Khan of the daily *Hamdam* Lucknow, but when he saw selfish people who were too junior to him at the helm of Muslim League he gave it up. We have very little time at our disposal and before you take up electioneering tour, I think all these people should be approached by disinterested persons who have no League stamp on them and by virtue of my position as ex-Education Minister of Patiala, when I had opportunities of meeting all of them, I could convince them of futility of following the show-boy of the Congress. Some Congress newspapers have attacked your person involving your wife and daughter and our daily *Hamdam* has given such a rebuff that they are eating their own humble pie. Perhaps you do not know that Azad used to drink and visit prostitutes along with the late Agha Hashr Kashmiri [Agha Mohammad Shah], the dramatist, here in Bombay and Lucknow and Patna and Azad used to indulge in life [*sic*] like loafers.

I would earnestly solicit an early reply as time is very short. Wavell would certainly wax eloquent in support of Congress. I have written a long letter to Sir Eric Mieville who was my very best friend when he was Lord Willingdon's Secretary but later on turned against me, and also to Mr. Churchill whose thoughts I know are anti-Gandhi and Congress.

I also propose to revive my *Indian Mail* from Bombay. We have no English paper in Bombay where our need is really urgent. I have

written to Sir Azizul Haque to give me newsprint quota as the *Indian Mail* was being published from Lucknow and you would remember you wrote me a very encouraging letter expressing your approbation of my humble efforts.

Sorry for this long epistle.

Yours sincerely,
MOH[AMMA]D KHALILULLAH
Ex Minister, Patiala

·Not traceable.

51

V. A. Shaul Hameed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/85

KALANTHER PALLIVASAL STREET,
KADAIYANALLUR,
TINNEVELLEY,
24 August 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We, the Muslim weavers (Momins) of Kalanther Mastan Pallivasal Street, saw the statement asking [for] Election Fund, in the newspaper. So, with the intention to send a sum of money, we collected this sum of money, one hundred and one rupees (101) for your Fund. We feel too much proud [*sic*] of sending these because we are poor Muslim weavers.

We have full confidence in your leadership. We are expecting your honourable signature and good news for we want to frame it in a photo [*sic*]. We pray [to] *Allah*, the Almighty, to give you a long and prosperous life to lead the Muslims in a good way.

Expecting your good and kind words,

Yours lovingly,
V. A. SHAUL HAMEED
For the Muslim Weavers

52

Mohammed Maqsud Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/8-9

YAKATUT,
PESHAWAR,
26 August 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

It is my first attempt to write to you during the seventeen years of my age. I, naturally, had a desire to join a party which, in the real sense, represents the Muslim cause. I studied all the parties of the Indian politics, but could not find a better party than the Muslim League. I am sorry that I could not get any information about the early history of the Muslim League. I shall be very thankful to you if you be kind enough to provide me with the early history of the party which you are now heading.

The next thing is that I could not find a book which you have written. I have read many books relating to your history [*sic*], speeches and writings, but not even one written by you. Are you not willing to write a book. Or if you have written, would you please inform me about it.

What [do] you think about the coming general election? Some days back I read in the *Dawn* that it would be held in the end of December. How far is it correct? Is there any hope for the Muslim League to win the election, as the [British] Labour Party did, and the Congress to meet its Waterloo as the Conservative Party in the general election of the British Govt. [*sic*] If anybody asks me to predict about this election, I say that think of the Muslim League as the Labour Party, the Congress as the Tory [Party], and the Khaksar as the Liberal. I pray to God that the same may happen. How happy would I be if we could get Pakistan—the goal of every Musalman.

What do you think of Mr. Gandhi, Moulana Azad, Allama Mashriqi and Sardar Aurangzeb Khan? Please write your opinion about these men because I am badly in need of your opinion about these four people.

I hope that your health is prospering [*sic*] day by day. I pray for your long life and your beneficial guidance to us, the down-trodden Musalmans. I hope that you will oblige me with an early reply.

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMED MAQSUD AHSAN

53

Kadaiyanallur Muslim Union to Madras Muslim League
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 906/71

KADAIYANALLUR,
S.I.RLY.,
26 August 1945

Respected President,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is a great pity that the Muslims of Madras are not having even a single Tamil daily. The Hindus have them in abundance. Notwithstanding [*sic*], they have numerous weeklies and monthlies. So it is easy for them to misrepresent the Muslim League point of view, and at times they do not publish the most important news concerning our great organization at all. But they give a wide publicity to our reactionary elements. This is a great misfortune and suffering that the Muslims of Madras are undergoing for a long time; [of] this you are well aware. This must be rectified—the sooner, the better. The much awaited general election is drawing near.

We are glad that you expressed your great wish in this direction, some days back. But we request you to take every necessary step to see that a Muslim daily is started in Madras. If the Provincial Muslim League takes the initiative to collect funds for the essential purpose, no doubt, it will be a great success; moreover, the remaining balance of the collection for the All India Muslim League Conference, held at Madras in the year 1941, can be utilized for this purpose.

So, we request you, most reverential [*sic*] President, to take the initiative and the necessary steps at an early date.

Wishing you a great success,

I am,

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Secretary, The Muslim Union

54

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Qaiyum Khan

SHC, NWFP II/95

27 August 1945

Dear Mr. Abdul Qaiyum,

In continuation of my telegram dated August 20th,[1] in reply to your letter of the 16th,[2] I want to inform you that I am leaving tomorrow for Karachi, on my way to Quetta, where I hope to have some rest. I was really exhausted after the Simla Conference and on my arrival here, I was far from well. Of course, I would like to meet you as soon as possible. I am glad to know from the press reports that you are going to plunge into the struggle that we are carrying on and that you will concentrate on the Frontier Province to make our people understand that they are being deceived by our opponents. Now they should rally round the banner of the All India Muslim League.

I hope to return to Bombay in October and shall be in Delhi by the end of October, according to my present programme. Please keep me in touch with you.

Wishing you all success,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Esq., Bar-at-Law,
MLA (Central),
Peshawar

[1]No. 33.
[2]No. 28.

55

Shah Nawaz Pirzada to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/99

NAWABSHAH, SIND,
27 August 1945

Revered *Rahnuma,*

I beg most respectfully to submit that I am engaged in writing a book in Sindhi on the recent sufferings of Khan Bahadur Khuhro, who has since long been an eye-sore to all infidels [*sic*] and hypocrites on

account of his sincerity and steadfastness. With the help of God, the book will be completed in about a month's time and in it will be laid an emphasis on unity under your leadership and on adherence to the ideal of Pakistan. The time of new elections is drawing nigh and the book will be helpful in the selection of right type of representatives.

I shall be eternally grateful to you if you will kindly be pleased to grant me permission to dedicate the book to you, who are a blessing from God to the Muslim nation and the greatest Sindhi of the modern times.

My further request is that you may kindly be pleased to send me a message, condemning the disease of contention and rivalry, which is gnawing [at] the very vitals of Sindhi Muslims. The above disease, which is raging in a malignant form, frequently leads to change of colours and that in its turn leads to ruin and chaos. Khuhro is the one man in the area of Sind politics, whose colour has remained the same as ever and hence the universal trust in him.

In the end I submit that your gracious message should kindly be written in your own hand-writing, as it would be photographed and published in the book. Your hand-writing will simply be placed on their eyes [as a token of respect] by your countrymen, even if it is in English. It will electrify the atmosphere of Sind, for you are the undoubted seer and sage of the Muslims of India and everything of yours is sacred.

You will also kindly permit me to insert in the book a photograph of yourself.

I assure you that, by the grace of God, my book will be worth[y] of you and worthy of Khan Bahadur Khuhro and worthy of the ideals for which you both stand.

With greatest regards, Sir,

I am your most obedient
humble servant,
SHAH NAWAZ PIRZADA

56

M. A. Jinnah to Maulana Mohammad Akrum Khan

SHC, Bengal IV/6

27 August 1945

Dear Maulana Sahib,

I am extremely sorry that I was not able to reply to your letter earlier, as, to begin with, I was really ill and it is only for the last few

days that I am feeling fit to attend to my work. I have received your letter and your reminder of 26th August[1] and it is really very difficult for me to advise you on the matters referred to in your letter, from this distance. Of course I am very grateful to you for the services that you have already rendered to the Muslim League and I was very proud to have you as a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, but I know your health is far from good and I shall be the last person to expect you to do anything that may, in any way, harm or endanger your health. I wish you long life.

Now it is really for the provincial leaders to manage things in their own provinces. I have worked and put our people on a clear road. This has taken seven years of very hard work. I expect now that those, who are in charge of the provincial organisations and those who desire to lead our people, should work in a team in an organized manner and systematically carry on their work. You can well understand that it is very difficult for me, as I say, from here, to give advice, because I cannot enter into the skein of your local conditions, specially, as I have not been to your province for sometime now. I do hope and pray that you will be better and I expect every Muslim to do his bit.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

57

K. K. Safri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/101

STATION ROAD,
SANTA CRUZ,
BOMBAY,
27 August 1945

Sir,

Allow me to express my entire association [with] and acceptance of the stand taken by the Muslim League for achieving separate national homeland for the Muslims of India. A division of country between the two majority communities, namely the Hindus and the Muslims, is the only solution for framing an autonomous constitution for the people of India. I think, however, that there is so little information, both among the rank and file of the Muslims as well as the Hindus,

about this demand of the Muslim League that, in my humble opinion, it is necessary to prepare a statement briefly describing the political history of the Muslims and Muslim India down from the time of Sir Sayyad Ahmed to the present day, explaining and emphasizing, among other things, what Herculean efforts were made by the Muslims to come to settlement with the Hindus, in the interests of a united India and in what miserable way the efforts of the Muslims were frustrated by the Hindus who were and are even now parading under the false cloak of Indian nationalism and trying to establish a Hindu *raj*. Such a statement indicting the Hindus of all denominations and associations will go a long way to [wards] convincing those, both among the Muslims and the Hindus, of the equity and justice of the demand for a separate self-governing unit for the Muslims. Such a statement, I think, should be issued by the Council of the All India Muslim League.

The next suggestion which I, as a humble follower of the Muslim *millat*, wish to make is this, namely that it is a well settled fact that voting even among Muslims is, on many occasions and in many instances, done on sectional basis. In view of this, it is necessary that while the candidates are selected for the next general election by the Muslim League, due consideration should be given to this fact and only that candidate who commands influence and respect with that section should be allowed to stand on the Muslim League ticket, irrespective of his qualifications or fitness or otherwise. What is essential is, in my humble opinion, the necessity to assure that cent per cent success is achieved by the Muslim League. Unless this course is followed, cent per cent result will be difficult to achieve and heart-burnings and bickerings will result among the various sections of the Muslims. All the candidates who may be finally selected could be announced [*sic*] and suggestions and objections may be invited from the Muslims in general and the ultimate final moral sanction may be obtained of the general Muslim public.

One of the chief objections taken by the Hindus against our demand for a separate autonomous homeland otherwise called Pakistan is that they fear that this will give the Muslims of India an enormous opportunity to establish alliances with their brother Muslim countries such as Afghanistan, Persia, etc. and ultimately it will result in the Muslims trying to overlord the whole of Hindustan. This apprehension is of course totally without any foundation and devoid of any reason because, in spite of our having two independent self-governing federations in India, namely one of the Hindus and the other of the Muslims, the British overlordship will continue for ever and this will preclude any chance for trying or achieving such a pan-Islamic combination. It is true that this apprehension is also based on sentimental grounds but it is a fact

that this apprehension must be removed from the mind of any Hindu who may be trying to assimilate our demand for Pakistan in a dispassionate and objective manner. I, therefore, think that this point should also be emphasized in the statement which I have suggested above.

Your faithful follower,
K. K. SAFRI

58

Hameed Nizami to Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore

Telegram, F. 853/12

BOMBAY,
28 August 1945

Quaid-i-Azam accompanied sister Miss Fatima Jinnah left Bombay for Karachi early this morning. He arrived Juhu Aerodrome half past six and Tata Air Lines plane carrying Mister [and] Miss Jinnah and two other passengers left airport at seven. He will arrive Karachi half past eleven this morning. At Karachi, Quaid-i-Azam will be guest of Mr. [and] Mrs. Tyabji. After about a week's stay there he will leave for Quetta and is expected back Bombay by third week October. There is no truth in United Press report that Mr. Jinnah's visit Karachi is to bring together rival League groups as differences have been long since composed. Another report from same source that Quaid-i-Azam [is] flying Delhi from Karachi on third September to attend meeting Parliamentary Board is also false. Mister Jinnah's stay Karachi as I learn will be nothing but a halt on his way [to] Quetta. At Quetta Quaid-i-Azam will be guest [of] Khan of Kalat.

NIZAMI

59

U. Ghani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/104-5

SRINAGAR,
28 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

Enclosed please find a copy of the letter[1] from the late Sir Sikandar

in 1937. In my opinion, as well as in the opinion of the unbiased world, the unpatriotic mood displayed by Khizar at Simla has certainly dug the grave of the Unionist Party which will be proved in the next elections. Similarly the resolute stand of the leader of the grand Muslim League (the posterity will live to relate and the proof of which will be forthcoming in the next elections, to the great discomfiture of the leaders of the Unionists) will doom Khizar's fate from whom I have today severed all connections, after due deliberations. May Almighty bless my momentous decision to follow the dictates of the supreme commander of the Muslim League who has proved his undaunted will-power and determination at each and every critical occasion for the great cause of Islam.

With kind regards,

Your brother-in-Islam,
U. GHANI
Doctor

[1]See F. 880/106-7, *QAP*. Not printed.

60

Salma Tasadduque Husain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/142-3

27 EMPRESS ROAD,
LAHORE,
28 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You will be pleased to know that the Punjab Muslim Girls Student Federation has decided to open a library in Lahore, which shall be the nucleus of Islamic culture. The library will mainly consist of books on Islamic history and literature, philosophy and thought, theology and *Qur'anic* study and the current politics.

It has been decided to name the library after you and I have been asked to convey the wish of the Federation to request you to favour us with your permission. I do hope you will oblige us by acceding to our request.

I came across the other day a collection of letters of late Dr. Moh[amma]d Iqbal addressed to you. I feel that the publication of these letters in Urdu is very necessary, so that they may reach a much wider circle and popularise the League in the masses who cherish a great regard

for Dr. Iqbal. I would, therefore, request you to allow me to translate them in[to] Urdu.

I hope you are enjoying best of health.

My best respects to Miss Jinnah.

Yours very sincerely,
SALMA TASADDUQUE HUSAIN

61

Daniyal Latifi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/86-7

88 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
28 August 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Replying to a question in the House of Commons recently [24 August], the Under-Secretary of State for India declared that:

> It is the intention of the British Govt. that the forthcoming elections in India shall be held under the greatest freedom.

Clearly if this declaration is not intended to be a hypocritical camouflage or a pious wish it must imply that the British Govt. should take steps to secure not only the fullest civil liberties, but also the complete neutrality of the state apparatus.

So far as civil liberties is [*sic*] concerned, during the past year the Unionists and bureaucrats have fully utilised their arbitrary powers under the Defence of India Rules to harass Muslim League workers in the Punjab. Last summer—1944—they arrested and prosecuted Syed Mustafa Shah Gilani upon the bogus charge that he was spreading alarming rumours regarding the spread of the cholera epidemic in Rawalpindi, whereas he and all our workers were vigorously combating the epidemic by a mass campaign which earned the gratitude of the people. After a long-drawn-out case the A.D.M.'s court acquitted Syed Mustafa Shah with honour. Similar was the case of 13 Captains of the National Guard arrested in Khanewal who were prosecuted for parading. In March 1945, Mr. Abdullah Malik, a Muslim League worker, was arrested and prosecuted for a speech in which he was alleged to have attacked police persecution of village folk. He is still in jail. Many other workers have been threatened and bullied by the police.

So far as neutrality of the state apparatus is concerned, the Punjab presents an equally black picture. Governor Glancy has recklessly

committed himself to a policy of tooth-and-nail opposition to the growth of the Muslim League. For his disgraceful behaviour in the Shaukat Hyat episode, the All India Muslim League Council has already demanded his recall—August 1944. He is clearly unfitted [*sic*] to preside over the forthcoming elections with impartiality.

Even now the Glancy-Khizar gang make no secret of their intention to subvert official agencies, patronage and power [*sic*] to secure the success of their nominees in the forthcoming elections against the Muslim League. From every part of the Punjab we daily receive reports of Unionist preparations for the elections. Such preparations are nothing but the 'tuning up' of the bureaucratic machine in order to intervene against the people's freedom to choose their own representatives. In the Dasuya-Hoshiarpur Punjab Assembly by-election, the bureaucrats are callously exploiting the cloth famine to coerce the people to support the Zamindara League. Cloth permits are refused to all who refuse to play the game of the Unionists.

In the absence of the President and General Secretary, I am writing to apprise you of this situation and to request you to move in the matter and to demand from the British Government substantial action to implement the above declaration. If they cannot arrange in the short period before the elections to replace obnoxious officials like Glancy they can at least issue strict instructions to Provincial Governments to check permanent officials' interference, direct or indirect, in the people's freedom to conduct the elections.

I am sure you will agree that this is a matter which deserves your urgent attention.

Yours sincerely,
DANIYAL LATIFI
B.A.(Oxon), Bar-at-Law
Acting Office Secretary,
Punjab Muslim League

62

Ghulam Bhik Nairang to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/59

AMBALA CITY,
28 August 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Admittedly the coming general elections, Central and Provincial,

are fraught with far-reaching consequences and so every political party will strain every nerve to obtain results most favourable to itself. For the Muslims, particularly, these elections are a matter of life and death, but nowhere will the contest be keener than in the Punjab. While all political parties are likely to make a common cause against the Muslim League, the most powerful enemy appears to be the Unionist Party because it has control of the official agency and can help its own candidates and hamper the League candidates in a hundred and one ways. Added to this, it has got big funds and will bear the financial burden of the election. The upshot will be that voters will be influenced, cajoled and even coerced by officials, and, where necessary, will be paid good price for their votes.

The Premier and other Ministers appear to be at work to set up candidates in every constituency. One specific instance in my own district has come to my notice. A Muslim B.A. LL.B., Chairman of the Debt Conciliation Board (a salaried official), was asked by the Premier to contest the election. The former said he had no money to meet the election expenses, whereupon the Premier said he would supply the necessary funds. The news here is that the Unionist Party will give every Unionist candidate Rs. 12,000 for fighting his election, and my idea is that the party will bear even heavier expense, if necessary.

The Ahrar and others are also giving out their intention of setting up their own candidates. Their candidates will be financed by the parties with which they have combined against the League (the Congress and possibly also the Unionists) but probably they will have only a nuisance value although even as such they may give considerable trouble. Zahiruddin of Ambala (notorious as President of the Momin Conference) and Habibur Rahman of Ludhiana (late President of the Punjab Ahrar) are likely to try their luck for the Punjab Assembly. Neither of them can afford to bear the expenses so that the fact that they are bragging so much about the matter shows that they expect financial support from certain quarters.

While the coming fight is going to be a hard and bitter one, I feel that certain parts of the Punjab have not yet been properly organised. For instance, with the exception of Simla, Ambala Division is very backward. And so is Ludhiana. I am going to send out a deputation to tour the villages in my district just after the coming *'Id* and will bestir myself in other ways, but there is one point in which I shall require your help—it is the necessary finances.

Ambala Division is backward in many ways but it is particularly backward in one respect the few people who are educationally and intellectually well-qualified and have rendered creditable service in

local spheres of public life are not in a financial position to fight a contested election, so that if any of them goes to any of the legislatures, he should either be returned unopposed (as I was to the Central Assembly in the only election in my life) or receive financial backing from the party on whose ticket he goes.

This lack of finances applies to me also—in 1934 when I stood for election to the Central Assembly (I had never before thought of going to any Council or Assembly), I was prepared to bear the necessary expenses, hard though they would have hit me, but the half a dozen other intending candidates withdrew in my favour and I was saved the expense by being returned unopposed. I was at that time practising as an advocate, but my Assembly career has rendered me briefless and for the last eight years I have had no practice. As a result, I cannot bear the financial burden of a contested election.

I do not know how far the Muslim League is or will be in a position to render financial help to individual candidates, but in case such help be possible, I would ask you to allot about Rs. 30,000 to Ambala Dist. for Central and Provincial elections in case of need. I can tell you later how much, if at all, is needed and for what purpose.

As far as I am concerned, you know that I have always shown willingness to vacate for others. Therefore, I say that if a better qualified or even equally qualified candidate, who can bear his own election expenses, is forthcoming for my seat in the Central Assembly, I shall quietly and gladly step aside and let him go in. Otherwise, I will ask the Parliamentary Board to approve of my candidature and, unless returned unopposed (which is unlikely this time), will ask you to supply the sinews of war.

I asked Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, some days ago, to send me the rules relating to the Parliamentary Board, but have not received any so far.

I feel I am inflicting on you a very long letter, but hope you will not mind this and will favour me with your views as to (1) my own candidature and (2) the extent to which, if at all, the League can bear election expenses of individual candidates.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG

63

Agha Saiyed Ghazanfar Ali Shah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, APMO/39

1550 MORI GATE,
DELHI,
29 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The enclosed address[1] to your goodself I have sent to some papers. It is high time that you should [*sic*] shake off your hauteur and shake together [*sic*] with the puny leaders. I believe it will not be derogatory to your exalted position. I have suggested that you be pleased to call a round table conference of all the pretenders to the leadership, not excluding even Moulana Abul Kalam Azad Sahib, and I believe you will be able to cow down all of them by your earnestness and loftiness of character. If they do not respond to your summons, they will be exposed before the general public and then no one will dare dissuade the Musalmans from following you. Another point which I have suggested is that you should not insist upon people belonging to other organisations to [*sic*] lose their identity and merge into the Muslim League. I for one desire very much that the Khaksars and the Ahrars may be affiliated with the Muslim League, and I can try also for that purpose and I am sure I can succeed. It is up to you now to make my task easy by devising some plan to make it feasible. Can you, a giant of wisdom, not work out some scheme for that purpose.

....[2] They are all Musalmans, and to whatever extent they might have deteriorated, they are still Musalmans and have some sparklings [*sic*] of *iman* in them, and they are sure to come to your fold provided you have the heart to take them in.

For God's sake, my dear Quaid-i-Azam, grant this request of your most ardent admirer.

AGHA GHAZANFAR ALI SHAH
M.A., LL.B.

[1]Not traceable.
[2]An intemperate sentence omitted

64

Ghulam Rabani Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/58

PESHAWAR,
29 August 1945

My respectable Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I had a mind to address you a letter expressing my feelings. In fact I did write you a letter exactly a week back but on listening the news at 6.30 p.m. on the 22nd, I learnt about Abdul Qaiyum's joining the League, so I tore off the letter because it mainly dealt with the same thing requesting you to ask somebody to contact Qaiyum for bringing him to the League fold.

I have got no grounds to correspond with you except our common link of co-religionist [*sic*] and political ideals you stand for; hence I feel no reluctance in writing you this letter. I may point out to you that this letter contains not the feelings of an individual but [of] the majority of the Musalmans in the Frontier Province, and I am confident that you are already acquainted with these facts.

The cause of the set-back to the League in this province is one man—he is Sardar Aurangzeb Khan. He has become the most hated man. Treachery, selfishness and deceitfulness have earned him the name, [*sic*] the people are ashamed of associating him with the League for his acts during the League Ministry regime. He is the man who is the cause of unpopularity of the League in the province. The better course for the League is to get rid of this ulcer, otherwise no conscientious and sincere worker is willing to coming [*sic*] to the League and work for it. Except [*sic*] for his presence you must have found many an ardent Congressman in the League fold by now. Then why not oust him on the findings of the Committee of Action who visited Peshawar last year. This man was given Rs. 60,000 by one man for holding the League annual session at Peshawar. The donor was Haji Fida Mohammad of Peshawar; but that desire did not come off nor was the donation returned. Aurangzeb collected Rs. 1,000 for Bengal famine but we do not know what came off [*sic*] with both these huge sums. Our impression is that these were misappropriated.

You will be doing a service to the Muslim League to [*sic*] ask the Committee of Action to oust this man from the membership of the League. He is a liability in the real sense.

I assure you this man won't succeed in the coming election but the League will surely lose the seat for which he is the League candidate. If you doubt me, ask him if he can succeed from even his home constituency. Last time he did not stand from his own constituency. He was supported by the late Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan, who got him elected from the landlords' constituency of Hazara, Kohat, Bannu and D. I. Khan Districts, but now the situation is different. This man has earned a bad name and this time Hazara Dist. is going to have its own man from the landlords' constituency because there are 218 voters in that district out of all 512 voters from all the four districts, and he has no scope in any other constituency. League will gain by ousting him; and an action in this direction will serve as an impetus for the League work in this province.

In this very connection, I must mention the part played by Qazi Isa. I must tell you that he has kept you in dark about the position of the League in this province. Though the majority of intelligentsia among Musalmans, and also some people from the masses, have got leanings towards the League or support it for its stand; there are no such members as Qazi has been boasting in some of his statements from New Delhi and elsewhere. The membership forms were purchased by Aurangzeb and his colleagues and bogus names were inserted to complete the forms overnight. Is it service to the League and the Musalmans? And all this was done with the connivance of Qazi Isa who has got nothing to do but to reside in the Dean's Hotel here and have evening talks with some people and issue statements therefrom. Please ask him if he has visited any place other than Dean's Hotel in this province for organizing the League. He constructed [*sic*] *ad hoc* committees of people who belonged to Aurangzeb League other than Muslim League and that is why no progressive work is being done at present except in the Hazara League, Mardan League and the Peshawar City League. Nobody is giving any importance to the Muslim National Guards except Samin Jan Khan in the Mardan Dist. where he has succeeded in his work and is leaving no stone unturned for the popularity of the League.

In Peshawar City, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar regained his popularity but he is the man whom you cannot use outside in the rural area.

Qazi Isa is not the right type of man to organize League here. What qualifications has he got except that he speaks Pushto. But you don't need him in organizing the League in which case you have to deal with the literate who know Urdu. A man like Khaliquzzaman will prove more useful here. Please lose no time in taking the right step. You will see many Abdul Qaiyums coming to the League fold.

Abdul Qaiyum's conversion to the League is no less than a boon.

Please make the best use of him. He is the type of man needed in the League to give a fight to R. B. Mehr Chand Khanna of the Congress. He knows the value of press and how to use it. If you ask him to keep in touch with other Congressite Muslims and win them over to the League he will surely be successful.

I know that after the passing of the Jairamdas Resolution by the Congress, Abdul Qaiyum, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Asif Ali Khan, Mian Iftikharud Din and Mian Jaffar Shah (an MLA here) had decided to part with the Congress but they thought that the time was not ripe. The Congress was going to give a fight to the Govt. and if they parted they will be given a bad name "to hang them" as betrayers and cowards. They ultimately decided to stick till the fight was on and when the Congress has settled with the Govt. which surely they would, then if they found that the Congress has not come to its senses as regards the rights of Musalmans they would change the camps; and it is now in the wake of that decision that we are finding men like Abdul Qaiyum and Malik Lal Khan in the League.

Please ask Qaiyum to contact these people to get them in the League and a gesture from you will be a most needed act at this time. Many Congressite Muslims in this province are thinking about it and as soon as Aurangzeb is ousted they will surely join the League, because at this moment they do not like to join hands with him.

There are four MLAs here, Abbas Khan, Minister, Haji Faqira Khan, Mian Jaffar Shah and Arbab Abdur Rehman Khan, who have got the League mind and the third man has been arranging in sending you telegrams from various sources during the Simla Conference supporting your stand. He and the fourth man are friends of Qaiyum. The other two will certainly join the League during the next elections and they both are very popular in their constituencies to get themselves elected.

I may also request you to pay a visit to this province in October next and must see for yourself what is going on here. Your presence here for a fortnight will serve as a great impetus to the League work. Here the work of Election Fund has not started as yet, [and] something must be done in this respect.

I am sorry to have taken much of your time but I am relieved of my duty and I hope you won't mind this lengthy letter.

With respects,

Yours faithfully,
GHULAM RABANI KHAN

65

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/96

PESHAWAR,
29 August 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Thanks for your telegram[1] of encouragement and appreciation.

On my way back I addressed a big gathering in Lahore and held a press conference. All along the route to Peshawar, I explained the League stand to those who had come to hear me. I addressed a meeting at Nowshera and a big gathering in Peshawar.

I am not sure whether you are in Bombay. Soon after the *'Id*, I propose to go round the villages to address the Pathans in Pushtu in the heart of Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Red Shirt country.

It is essential that the League Committees, Provincial, District and in the villages, be at once reconstituted. Moreover we lack funds which is an absolute necessity. Purses presented to me in Lahore and Gujrat were returned by me with directions to use the same for the local (i.e. Punjab) League Election Fund.

I am prepared to serve the great cause in accordance with your directions. The prospects for the League are daily becoming brighter.

May *Allah* give you long life to guide us in this hour of trial.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

[1]No. 33.

66

Ghulam Husain Bhaledina to M. A. Jinnah

F. 988/28

KASIM HAMIR STREET,
KHARADHAR,
KARACHI,
29 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am a resident of Thar Parkar District and beg to submit a few lines

for your consideration.

I may inform you that the situation in this district regarding Muslim League candidates is very favourable. I assure you that all the three candidates will come out successful if right persons are nominated. I suggest the following nominations may be made (1) Arbab Togachi for Thar Division (2) K.B. Wasan for Naro Division, and (3) either S.B. Mir Allahdad Khan or G.M. Bhurgari for Mirpur Khas Division. You can verify this from the people of the district by sending independent persons.

I belong to no party but in the interest of the Muslim League, I put this suggestion. I may add that if the Muslim League wants, they can even get two non-Muslim seats from our District by pitching Kolis (Harijans) against the Congress and Mahasabha candidates.

I am here for a few days and if you desire any other information I can come to you at any time suitable to you. You may not like that I should complain against any one who has come in the way of the Muslim League activities.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSAIN BHALEDINA
Advocate

67

S. Hyder to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1011/77

21 CLIVE ROAD,
ALLAHABAD,
29 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am writing to you both personally and on behalf of the paper [the *Weekly Observer*]. I am only a Muslim journalist aspiring to serve the cause of Islam. After doing M.A. in English from the Allahabad University, I worked for a while in the *Dawn* under Mr. Pothan Joseph and then went on into some other papers.

Now I am bringing out this weekly from Allahabad for the last ten months, before which it used to be a local journal for Anglo-Indians and Europeans. I have converted it into a modern news magazine for the political and cultural enlightenment of Muslims. But I am suffering from a lack of Muslim readers, and without active support of Muslim

readers or without recognition of the paper by the Muslim League, this paper cannot long exist on its present policy.

I am taking steps to enlist the support of the U.P. League leaders and propose to put the paper before the next meeting of the Provincial League Council, of which I have been elected a member from Allahabad. I do earnestly hope that you will lend me the hand of your invaluable guidance and help, for you will agree that we must have a regular chain of papers (dailies and weeklies) in every part of the country if we have to realise early our cherished goal of Pakistan. Please do something to give this paper a fair circulation and standing among the Muslims. An early personal reply from you will extremely encourage and honour me.

A regular copy of the paper is already going to your address.

Yours sincerely,
S. HYDER
Editor,
The *Weekly Observer*

68

Abdur Razzaq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/144

10 SIR NAZIMUDDIN ROAD,
DACCA,
30 August 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I trust you will not regard this letter as an act of impudence. Dacca University is sending me to the U.K. for purposes of higher studies in Political Science. I shall undertake research work on an Indian problem—the exact subject will be decided in consultation with my supervisor, Prof. [Harold] Laski. During my stay there I hope to write a pamphlet and articles stating the Muslim point of view of Indian politics. If you can spare time to offer me suggestions indicating the lines I should pursue in my expositions it will be a great favour done to me. Of course, it may be an absolute waste of your valuable time for I cannot show anything which may lead you to believe that I shall be able to discharge the duties involved adequately. I can only crave your indulgence. I shall be grateful if you will kindly favour me with a reply. I hope to pay you my respects, if you happen to be at Bombay when I pass

through the city on my way to the U.K. (it may be in the third week of September).

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUR RAZZAQ
Lecturer,
Dacca University

69

Zamin Jan Mahsud to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/121-3
[Original in Urdu]
[Extract]

GARGURA,
SOUTH WAZIRISTAN,
31 August 1945

Sir,

This is to submit that I am a student of 10th class. During the summer vacation I have come home. My father is a District Police Inspector in Bannu. Basically, I belong to tribal area in South Waziristan.

I am not a rich man and therefore I am not in a position to contribute monetarily towards your campaign. However, I am prepared to render any service that I may be called upon to do. The other day, in a *jirga*, I addressed the people and explained to them the basic difference between the Congress and the Muslim League. When I told them what sacrifices you have made in the cause of Islam for the Muslims they were much impressed. I have also written letters to the *'ulama* in the tribal areas in this connection. In the *jirga*, I also asked the audience to carry the League's message and programme to their people.

As far as I know, the Mahsuds are wholeheartedly for the League and they are prepared to make any sacrifice for its cause.

I pray to God to give you long life and enable you to see the fruition of your efforts during your life-time. I also pray that those Muslims who are still associated with the non-Muslims may join hands with you and come in the fold of Muslim League and work for its success.

May you live long!

Yours obediently,
ZAMIN JAN MAHSUD

70

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 991/69

CRESCENT,
LAHORE,
31 August 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Lot of ill-conceived propaganda shall definitely be removed [*sic*] if you ask the title-holder members of the League to relinquish their titles.[1] This is a sacrifice but they must do [so] in order to make the League a real party of the Muslim masses of India.

This should in no way be considered a better suggestion in any respect than the plan you have set for these people. It is a humble suggestion.

With respects,

A MUSLIM

[1]In the event, the Council of AIML meeting in Bombay in July 1946, called upon the Muslims to renounce the titles conferred upon them by the "alien Government." See Pirzada, *Foundations*, II, 558 & 562.

71

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/16

MUSLIM COLONY,
KARACHI,
[*Undated*] *August 1945*

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

Your sweet message[1] of congratulation on my acquittal moved me more than I can tell you in words. The terrible ordeal which it was my lot to go through for an offence of which, at least in God's eyes, I could not be, and was not at all, guilty, becomes a pleasurable memory, if only because of the affection and confidence which friends like you have generously reposed in me.

Believe me, I shall endeavour my utmost to serve my country and my people with the grace of God Almighty, so long as it is given me to live.

Please accept my grateful thanks for the kind personal interest you took in my affairs.

With kind regards,

I am,

Sincerely yours,
M. A. KHUHRO

[1]See No. 4.

72

M. A. Jinnah to Raghib Ahsan

SHC, Bengal IV/48

[Undated] August 1945

Dear Mr. Raghib Ahsan,

I have received your letter of August 22nd,[1] and as requested by you I am sending herewith a message to the daily *'Asr-i-Jadid,* on the occasion of its silver jubilee, which you are celebrating with a special number to be published in the middle of September 1945.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Raghib Ahsan, Esq.,
The Calcutta City Muslim League,
8 Zakaria Street,
Calcutta

[1]Raghib Ahsan had requested a message for the *'Asr-i-Jadid,* Calcutta See *SHC,* Bengal IV/47 Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 72
Message by M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal IV/49

I am glad to know that the Urdu daily, *'Asr-i-Jadid* of Calcutta, is celebrating its silver jubilee in the month of September. I wish this venture of the management of the *'Asr-i-Jadid* all success.

The *'Asr-i-Jadid* has, for the last 25 years, served the Muslims of India and our national cause. Being a prominent paper in the eastern Muslim zone, it is its duty to educate our people there and to serve the cause of Muslim India, and I do hope that in future, it will propagate our aims and objects and play its part in our national struggle, with

greater zeal and vigour and do its duty by the Muslim nation, worthy of its name and traditions of more than two decades.

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Mohammad Akbar Kazi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/25

HYDERABAD,
[*Undated*] *August 1945*

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter written by me to Mr. G. M. Sayed, Provincial League President, for your kind perusal. As the letter depicts the most honest and correct picture of the existing state of affairs in Sind, I would humbly commend it for your careful perusal and consideration.

With profound respects,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AKBAR KAZI
Joint Secretary,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

Enclosure to No. 73
Muhammad Akbar Kazi to G. M. Sayed

SHC, Sind VI/26

MUSLIM LEAGUE OFFICE,
HYDERABAD,
24 August 1945

My dear Sayed Sahib,

With apologies for taking your valuable time, I venture to make some suggestions which, in the interests of Muslims, need very careful consideration on your part, you being the head of our organization in Sind. Although not afraid of the frowns of some very highly placed men in our Sind politics, I would however suggest that this letter of mine should not be given publicity of any kind, not even with your close associates, as I want to avoid making the already complicated political situation more complicated by offending parties and persons

who may not like my suggestions in spite of these being sound and not inspired by any ulterior motives of my own. I assure you I have no axe of my own to grind if the community needs my sacrifice.

I shall commence my suggestions by reviewing briefly the incidents of the past so as to refresh your memory and enable you to see things in their true perspective.

I admit that there was a time when you were probably the most honest and the most honoured and popular man amongst the leaders of the Muslim public opinion in our province. I also admit that all this was due to the sincerity of purpose with which you approached the problems of the Muslim community and in so doing you ran the risk of making experiments with individual leaders and even parties of political thought and so also with the fate of the Muslim community. Very often disagreeing with your views and actions, I have always had faith in your sincerity. The result of this experimentation has not been satisfactory, you will be good enough to admit. But that did not very materially affect your popularity and your prestige till lately when there is a marked decline visible and the Muslim public opinion has definitely undergone a change in respect of you. You will permit me to depict the reasons of the same not with a view to criticis[ing] or condemn[ing] but with a view to bring[ing] the true state of affairs to your notice. The factors responsible for the decline of your popularity are briefly as under:

1. Your view regarding the *mukhadimi* and tenancy rights of *haris* and cultivators. The aristocratic bourgeois class continues to be a powerful factor in the scheme of things in this province and your views, although the only correct views, are yet impalatable to these powerful magnates of capitalism. As such the expression of your views at a time when the political organisation, the interests of which you hold so dear, was yet in its infancy, sowed only seeds of disruption.

Personally I am also of your views although I have never been your camp follower. But I believed in moving slowly in matters affecting the economic fabric of our society. Possibly I may be right. Possibly I may be wrong and you may be right. But the effect is there.

2. The next more important reason in these series [*sic*] is the growing tendency to form parties of classes considered privileged on account of their birth. You, who were the head of an organization, somehow were also swept in this wave of "Sayed domination." Personally I attribute this to youthful exuberance and enthusiasm on the part of the young Sayed admirers which you happen to have for the past few years.

3. The logical sequence of this spirit was responsible for the selection of Mr. G.H. Shah of Mirpur Khas as Provincial League Secretary. I myself, out of sheer spirit of obedience for the leader, i.e. yourself, contributed to

his success, although right from the beginning I was sceptical of the soundness of this move. Not being an ardent admirer of the young Haroon, whom I consider mainly responsible for widening the gulf between leaders of the Muslim public opinion, I still felt that Mr. Shah was a very poor substitute. If Haroon had to go, although in spite of his defects he ought to have been tolerated looking to the influence that he wields with the higher circles in League politics in India as well as in Sind, we would have thought of a non-Sayed gentleman of all-Sind reputation. I do not want to dilate on the subject more as it is a mistake of the past. But it must be admitted that this enabled your political adversaries to argue that Mr. Sayed was creating a Sayed hierarchy in Sind League. On the other hand it also completely turned the head of the young Sayed from Mirpurkhas, who, though a prospective budding politician in the making, was yet too inexperienced and immature to become an all-Sind leader. He could not contain himself and in turn he lost the initial popularity which he had acquired in his own district. I honestly feel that instead of making his political career, he has marred it by his quick promotion, in addition to the harm done to your and the League's interest. You take it from me that he has no future in the coming assembly elections even if you again commit the blunder of installing him as a League candidate from any part of the Mirpur Khas District.

4. Last but not least is your capital mistake of breaking the party discipline in the last assembly session, the result of which is Nihchaldas as Revenue Minister. You will not believe it, but I have proof positive that although Mr. Nihchaldas is holding sweet talks with you to keep you in the dark regarding his sinister motives, he has completed a programme of work and his plan is to have a combined party of Hindus (the Congress included) and, as far as possible, have no contests so far as Hindu constituencies are concerned. In addition to this he and the other Congressite Hindus have reached an agreement with the Moula Bakhsh group of traitors for setting up a candidate against each of the Muslim League candidates. You know that in matters of such far-reaching importance, money is no consideration with them and if they succeed somehow to have only a few Muslim seats to themselves by engaging every League leader in his own constituency, they will be able to instal a quisling Muslim ministry in Sind and thus give a lie to the claims of our beloved leader. God forbid the success of their nefarious designs, but we cannot close our eyes to facts. Mr. Nihchaldas and Mohammad Osman Soomro have already addressed letters to those whom they expect to fall into their trap and come within the purview of their influence. I have myself seen such letter promising Moula Bakhsh-cum

Nihchaldas-cum-Osman Soomro support to all and sundry if only they care to oppose the League candidates. Some zamindars have received letters from these people demanding not to promise their support to any candidate.

Now having given you my version of the causes of the decline of your popularity, I will proceed to make some suggestions. You will agree with me that the coming elections are going to decide issues of life-and-death importance to Muslims and in the face of combination of various evil forces to thwart our national claims, we should exert every bit of our energy to bring about as much unanimity of thought and action as we possibly can and no sacrifice will be too great on the part of every right thinking patriotic Musalman for a cause like this.

I would therefore humbly suggest that you should reform your Provincial League Parliamentary Board so as to enable it to enjoy the greatest measure of confidence and support from the various powerful elements in our Muslim politics. In this connection, I venture to suggest that the combination should be on the following lines:

i. The most powerful element in our Sind politics continues to be the Sayed group which, in spite of the recent relapses [*sic*], continues to be an important factor in the scheme of things. You may with justification have two of its representatives on the Parliamentary Board, one yourself and one that indefatigable Sayed Khair Shah. In any case it will be too big an honour for Mr. G.M. Shah if you substitute Khair Shah with him. Not even Mr. Pathan can fill the position with distinction.
ii. Similarly the next equally important element is that of the Baluch who, though hitherto not so well-knit and organized, have found a leader in Mir Ghulam Ali Khan and are forging ahead with great speed. You cannot possibly ignore their claims to a parity with the Sayeds. They should also have two representatives, one Mir Ghulam Ali Khan and the other either Mir Bandahali Khan or, in the alternative, S. B. Jaffar Khan Burdi if the second Mir Sahib's selection is likely to create a feeling in the non-Mir Baluch.
iii. Sir Ghulam's inclusion is of course a constitutional necessity which cannot possibly be avoided even if considered a calamity by some. But he is not likely to take sides in view of the support which he will so badly need from both parties for his own election as also for the fulfilment of his ambition to become the Sind Premier after the new elections. He will thus exercise a moderating influence on both sides.
iv. After the Sayed and Baluch parties in the force [*sic*] of K. B. Khuhro who, though enjoying very great personal popularity on the eve

of his release, can be reckoned as class two power in Sind Muslim politics. But his ability and intelligence, his present day popularity and the sobriety and sincerity with which he stands adorned after his persecution at the hands of the enemies of Muslims, will prove a very useful asset to the Muslim cause. As a matter of fact, his inclusion is essential from this point of view also that after his release, he is not keen on taking sides with either the Sayed or the Baluch group, whatever his previous record or leanings. He is definitely determined to keep best possible relations with all concerned. This, in effect, will be a very useful link between the two important sections of the Muslim public opinion.

The inclusion of Seth Yusuf Haroon is being discussed in certain quarters. I for one cannot see eye to eye with this suggestion, for I feel that with K.B. Khuhro on the Board, interests of Yusuf are quite safe and his inclusion will only upset balance of power in favour of K.B. Khuhro by putting him on a par with the two organised groups of Sayeds and the Baluch and will also create unnecessary heart-burning and suspicions in the minds of those whom Yusuf is openly avowed to hit in Karachi politics—people like Mr. Gazdar. Apart from this I honestly believe that Yusuf, though a very rich man, is not a man of all-Sind influence and his influence is mostly confined to Karachi, his Sind acquaintances depending entirely on K. B. Khuhro and the good offices of *Al-Wahid* though you yourself had also something to do with Yusuf's introduction in Sind to begin with.

As regards the inclusion of Shaikh Sahib, which also seems to have been discussed in some quarters, I feel and honestly feel that even this is unnecessary. Shaikh Sahib lives on his past glory only and his vacillating, weather-cock like policy has already made him cook his political goose. In spite of his long tongue, he would have been nowhere, had his plans worked, him [*sic*] the so-called Azad Muslims in whose camp he had entered on the demise of late Mr. Allahbakhsh with a view definitely to fill[ing] the gap left vacant [*sic*] by Sind's ex-Premier. He relied on his past record and present ability to rally round himself all the anti-League forces including the Hindus and the Congress to become Sind's next Azad Muslim Premier. But thanks to the ambitious younger brother of late Mr. Allahbakhsh, his (Shaikh Sahib's) plans were thwarted and in his sad disappointment he fell victim to the approaches of the ingenious Mr. Rashidi and came back to the fold of the Muslim League where you, Mr. Sayed, were anxiously awaiting the coming in of any new recruit and more so a man of Shaikh's calibre. The criticism of your political adversaries made you over-anxious to give a new orientation to your League politics and as such you considered

Shaikh's coming in as a big catch. Permit me to tell you, Shah Sahib, in all humility that more than the League, Shaikh Sahib should consider himself lucky in re-entering the Muslim organisation which alone can deliver the goods. Now a seat will have to be found for Shaikh Sahib and in all probability he will be pitched for the Thatta seat which is quite a safe seat, whereas in the Azad Party he would have had no seat at all. In any case he should be satisfied with this and should neither crave nor aspire for a seat on the Parliamentary Board which has to take such vital decisions as to involve the fate of the entire Muslim community. Musalmans are glad on the return of the prodigal as they should be in the case of every prodigal but the prodigal should not be trusted with powers to cause harm once again if he so chooses.

I would strongly urge the inclusion of Pir Ilahi Bakhsh as the seventh man on this Parliamentary Board,[1] not on grounds of personal affinity or connections with the man, which I hope will not guide any sincere Musalman while pondering over important issues like this, but on grounds of exigencies of the Muslim cause. Pir has also a party of his own throughout Sind which though neither so large nor so powerful as the Sayed or the Baluch party, nor even as influential as the Khuhro party, is yet the next important party having strong links in Dadu, Hyderabad, Tharparkar Districts even if not so very strong in Larkana or Nawabshah Districts. To secure fullest possible co-operation, confidence, unanimity of thought and action, and consequent satisfactory results, I am sure you will give my suggestions due consideration and not treat them lightly simply because they come from a comparatively humbler quarter.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Quaid-i-Azam.

With kind regards,

Yours affectionately,
MOHAMMAD AKBAR KAZI
Joint Secretary,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

[1]During Jinnah's talks with Sind ML leaders in August and September 1945, the formation of a new Provincial Parliamentary Board was decided upon. On 6 September, he proposed to the Sind ML Council the names of Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, G. M Sayed, M. A. Khuhro, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur, Syed Khair Shah, Ghulam Nabi Pathan and Pir Ilahi Bakhsh, as members of the Board. See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 2046-50.

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Sadullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/59

35 MALAKPURA, ABBOTTABAD,
DISTRICT HAZARA,
1 September 1945

My dear and respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The general elections are fast approaching and all political parties have started making necessary preparations for the coming trial of strength. As an old and steadfast supporter of the Muslim League, I should like to see timely and effective steps being taken to ensure the success of the League candidates and the establishment of a League Government in this province also. With this end in view, I beg to take the liberty of making a few observations for your kind consideration:

a. It is imperative that the duty of organising and running the work should be entrusted to a person whose honesty and integrity is above suspicion, who can command the confidence of the community, and whose leadership will be a real source of strength to the League. The defeat of the last League Government is universally attributed in this province to the personality and character of the Premier and to the many illegal, irregular and irreligious actions taken by him in the name of the League. His constant readiness to swear by the *Qur'an* and take oaths on *talaaq* (divorce) both publicly and in private was responsible for the appellation of *Qur'an-talaaq* ministry which was generally applied to his cabinet.

He had no scruples to make false promises of gain in the form of contracts, permits, and [*sic*] membership of syndicates for distribution of wheat, etc., and was always prepared to get together a few persons around him by what may be termed corruption and nepotism. In fact, he dragged the name of the League into dust. True friends of the League like myself found it against the dictates of our conscience and the clear injunction of the *Qur'an* to follow such a man as Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan. Complaints of his anti-League and anti-Islamic activities were made to you from time to time and were laid before the Council of Action in 1944. Entrusting the election campaign to such a leader will be tantamount to deliberately inviting failure and a repetition of the bitter experience of March last.

b. Leadership should be in the hands of a man whose honesty is beyond doubt, who has the true interests of the League at heart, who is

prepared to listen to well-meaning criticism, and who can gather support for the cause of the League. Far from benefiting from criticism of well-wisher of the League, Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan does not even tolerate the presence within the body of those who would like to warn him against the consequences of his actions. He would in fact go out of his way and abuse his authority and the name of the League by starting a vendetta of revenge [*sic*] against those who happen to hold views different from his own. As an instance of the lengths to which he could go I can cite my own case. I am an old adherent of the League. In fact, it was I who started the League in this province in 1938 (shortly after the defeat of the Qayyum Ministry of which I was a member). Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan and many others came in much later and at my request. I worked for the League and kept it alive for a number of years and was elected President of the Provincial branch. But I had the misfortune to suggest the holding of the all-India session of the League in N.W.F.P., and in support of it toured the province and secured, besides my own contribution, many promises of subscription from all districts. This did not meet with the approval of Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan who feared that as a consequence of the all-India gathering, the doings of his Government would come to light and be brought to the notice of the Quaid-i-Azam. So he opposed the move. My criticism of his unconstitutional, un-Islamic and anti-League activities enraged him still further and he made up his mind to shut my mouth. Criminal proceedings were taken against me under Section 40, F.C.R., with a view to bind [*sic*] me down with a cash security of Rs. 25,000 to keep the peace, as though I was a robber or a dacoit. My house was searched under a false charge under the Hoarding Ordinance. All this and many other things were done to me and to my relatives simply to punish me for my criticism of Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan's actions. Later, at a meeting held under his presidentship he managed to get my name removed from the League Legislative Assembly Party without bringing the matter on to the agenda of the meeting and without giving me an opportunity of explaining my point of view. My letter dated 17.6.45 to him on the subject (copy enclosed)[1] has been left unanswered for over ten weeks. A man who can easily stoop to such depths is hardly fit to be asked to lead a party, much less to keep it intact.

c. As an old and staunch worker of the League, I beg to suggest that leadership of the party should this time be given to a more suitable man. In spite of the fact that I voted against Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan's Ministry on the 12th March last, for reasons which I enumerated in my speech on the floor of the House and have since explained to the Council of Action in my letter dated 8.8.1945[2] (copy enclosed), I am as loyal an adherent of the League as I have always been. In fact I was a Leaguer,

am a Leaguer and will be a Leaguer. All my relations and tenants are supporters of the League and my influence has always been exerted for the true interests of the League. As such I beg to offer my services for the election campaign. I hope my honesty of purpose and integrity has never been questioned. I have a position in life and a certain amount of influence in all parts of the province which even my enemies will not deny. I have had experience of running big institutions, administering large territories and participating in elections with success.

Assuring you of my steadfast devotion to you and the League, [and] with best regards,

Yours sincerely,
SADULLAH KHAN
KB, MLA

Not traceable.
[2]See *SHC*, NWFP I/60. Not printed.

75

Mohammad Muslim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/132

SANTPURA,
LYALLPUR,
1 September 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I do realize that you are engaged in tackling very important problems for the future of the Musalmans of India. I very much like you all the same to materialize [*sic*] one thing which is expected already to be existing in your programme. I shall be very brief with regard to what I desire to point out.

The Punjab is the heart of Pakistan without doubt. The Muslim League has to face several adverse elements over here. It is of extreme importance that the programme, views, themes and objects of the Muslim League should have the widest publicity. You realize the great part the press plays in this connection. It is very good that there are a few Urdu daily papers being published from the Punjab, that are out for doing their best for the cause of Muslim League. But it is a great pity that there is no English daily paper worth the name, that may be said to be doing this work. It is still more necessary that an English daily paper be published forthwith in view of the coming elections. The best place

for the publication of such a paper in the Punjab is Lahore. There are English-reading people out of numbers [*sic*] who would stop subscription of other papers being published from here, as soon as an English paper advocating the cause of Muslim League is published. I may add here that though the *Dawn* is a very good paper, it reaches Punjab very late and a Muslim League paper published from Lahore can alone beat others in the Punjab, in giving latest news and views.

I hope you already understand all this and I conclude here with the request that you would make it a point that a nicely edited English daily paper is published from Lahore as early as can possibly be.

One who loves you for the right sort of leadership given to Muslim India, and with best regards,

MOHAMMAD MUSLIM
B.A., LL.B.,
Pleader

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H. A. Muttaqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/128-31

OPPOSITE MISSION COMPOUND,
KASUR, DIST. LAHORE,
1 September 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Whereas the Muslims lack self-determination in almost all spheres of their activities, in the realm of business they are conspicuous by their absence, and their ignorable share—only 2% in the insurance business— is an abundant proof of their great indifference towards the lucrative side of the avenues of earning.

I am an insurance expert, having gained a lot of practical experience through my long and meritorious service in various insurance companies of well-earned standing, and I have, with the expert suggestions of my colleagues, resolved to set up Pakistan Insurance Company as it would go by this esteemed name on the lines not conceived by its predecessors.

The Company shall have an authorized capital of ten lakh and the value of each share shall be fixed at Rs. 10. The outstanding feature of this Company is that it shall be exclusively devoted to extending financial help to the Muslim League and this feature would be maintained in two ways, i.e:

i. A reasonable part of the brokerage, i.e. the commission on

the subscribed capital @ 5%, shall be apportioned to the League coffers provided that arrangements be [*sic* for are] made for the nomination of some persons to be registered as active agents to fulfil the legal conditions; otherwise, efforts with regard to securing shares [should] be made by the Company. We are exceedingly confident that, by the grace of Almighty, we shall manage to sell a large number of shares yielding enormous amount of commission within a brief space of two months, and this amount shall be placed at the disposal of the Muslim League, to be utilized in the event of [*sic*] the ensuing election campaign.

ii. The Directors shall, before recommending dividend, earmark a reasonable percentage of such profits for the Muslim League, and this shall be included in the Articles of Association of the Company. The Company shall, therefore, ensure a permanent source of income to the League, whose reciprocal attention the Company would be always ready to seek.

But the whole scheme, as adumbrated above, cannot be materialized [*sic*] unless it receives your honour's valuable support, either as Chairman or Patron of the Company, which we have so gladly included in our pre-conceived scheme of work.

We may ardently assure your honour that the acceptance of any of the above-mentioned honorary jobs does not devolve any liability to your honour.

I fervently hope from your honour's unalloyed sincerity and unprecedented devotion to the Muslim cause that your honour would favour me with your favourable consent.

I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

H. A. MUTTAQI

77

A. R. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/28

BUNDER ROAD,
KARACHI,
1 September 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

For your information, I take the liberty of send [*sic*] you a copy of a note[1] I am sending to the press—the *Dawn* and others. I hope it will give

you an idea [of] how Muslims' interests are safeguarded in this province.

I have managed now to send the girl to Amritsar Medical College.

I am of the opinion that Sir Ghulam Hussain did not actually mean to take any action to put the papers before the cabinet.

You may be aware that, at Bombay, during the Congress Ministry, Moulana Azad forced the Minister and Premier to take a senior Muslim as Principal of the Veterinary College, Bombay, whom it was proposed to be overlooked by certain interested people.

Kindly consider this case for stopping future injustices.

I trust you will agree that this letter may be circulated throughout Sindh and India; this may show how Muslims are treated in a Pakistan province during the Muslim League Ministry.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
A. R. KHAN
Army Contractor

PS. Although you are very busy and your time is precious, but [*sic*] I still hope you will spare a few minutes to read the enclosed letter.

[1]A complaint about admission of far fewer Muslim than Hindu girls to the Dow Medical College, Karachi. See *SHC*, Sind VI/29. Not printed.

78

Mir Haider to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/54

SUNNY BANK,
MURREE,
1 September 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

You will excuse me the audacity to address you the following letter:

For some time past I have been seriously thinking over the political events in India. But being a soldier in His Majesty's Land Forces, I am not permitted to take part in politics or give free expression to my views. Recently, however, I noticed that officers and men of the British Army in England were allowed to contest the general elections. In the light of this, I wrote to GHQ and asked their views if similar facilities were going to be accorded to the officers and men of the Indian Army. I am still awaiting a reply.

I belong to the North-West Frontier and was the first person to get the King's Commission direct in 1919. In 1935, I had to be placed on the Special Unemployed List. During the first provincial elections, I contested from my constituency. There were three of us. I came [out] the second best and Mr. Samin Jan Khan, now a Muslim Leaguer and an ex-Minister, who was then [running] on a Congress ticket, won. In fact, having spent all the time in the Army and [been] hardly in touch with my constituency, I was rather pleased with the number of votes I polled. I was on my own ticket and owed no allegiance to any one. Since that time my position has greatly improved and I feel confident to win in my constituency against any candidate. But I am handicapped by the Army Regulations, I am once again on the S.U.L., having served in the present war up to Sept. last year. Being on the S.U.L., I am debarred from contesting unless special permission is given to me.

I, therefore, wonder if you can help, when I am prepared to join the Muslim League and do my best for you and the cause of Muslims of India.

I would like very much to have a personal talk with you if you intend visiting the N.W.F. [Province] in the near future.

This letter is to be kindly treated as confidential.

Once again apologising for encroaching upon your precious time. An early reply is solicited.

Yours sincerely,
MIR HAIDER
Major

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Ch. Nazir Ahmed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 331/7-8

MONTGOMERY,
2 September 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Permit me to make two respectful suggestions:

i. The Muslim soldiers and their relations would welcome an assurance from you that the Muslim League will promote their interest after demobilisation. In my district there is a large number of retired military people, whose relatives are at present in the Army and are likely to come back to their homes in a short time. I have been assured by a large number of these gentlemen that an

announcement from the Quaid-i-Azam on the lines suggested will be greatly welcomed by them, and promote the cause of the League.

ii. These gentlemen have also suggested that you may be pleased to issue a statement asking the military authorities to take a very lenient view of those who joined the enemy under compulsion.

They appreciate what Pandit Nehru is doing in this behalf and say that the Quaid-i-Azam's silence on the subject is being exploited by the opponents of the League.

I personally believe that a pronouncement from you on this subject will win over the sympathy of a large number of military men to the side of the League.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly inform me about the action taken by you on my suggestion.[2]

Yours sincerely,
CH. NAZIR AHMED KHAN
Khan Bahadur,
Member, Working Committee,
Punjab Muslim League

[1]Now Sahiwal.
[2]Jinnah replied that he had already issued a statement on the subject. See *SHC*, Punjab, 57.
Not printed.

80

J. G. Agha to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/33

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

1 CLAREMONT ROAD,
KARACHI,
3 September 1945

Janab Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been very anxious to pay my respects to you but as I am a govt. servant and awkwardly placed in the political circle of our province, I cannot venture to see you when you are in the thick of political discussions with various groups of the Sind Muslim League. Politically, in my heart of hearts I am as true a Leaguer as any other Muslim could be and, in my humble way, I have been doing my best towards the Muslim cause.

K.B. Haji Moula Bakhsh being a very great friend of mine, I have been discussing with him very often the question of his entering the

Muslim League and serving the Muslims through that organization. I feel that he too is as good a Leaguer as any other good and honest Leaguer could be, but at this stage he finds it very difficult to join the fold as Leaguers themselves are divided into various groups. If he joined a particular group, he feels that he will create further rifts among the Leaguers. Knowing his mind too well, I am hopeful that if you could extend your generosity by calling him and reveal[ing] to him the true spirit of the League, you will have one more true Leaguer among your followers.

Yours sincerely,
J. G. AGHA

81

Ali Mohamed Rashdi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/32

13 LOTIA BUILDING,
RAMBAGH ROAD,
KARACHI,
3 September 1945

Sir,

If I have not tried to seek interviews with you, it is because in this state of your health I do not deem it proper bothering you.

To one matter, however, I propose drawing your kind attention through the medium of this note.

Provisionally, myself and Yusuf Haroon are candidates for Central Assembly from this province. On the basis of the following points, I felt the League high command would take a judicial and just view of my claims and would not at any rate summarily brush me aside for reason of any special soft corner on their part for Mr. Yusuf:

i. Two brothers from one single capitalist family would not be given League tickets. They are young men and one of them could, at the most, get a ticket and the other wait till some other time.
ii. I had beyond doubt better chances of success and this fact the Parliamentary Board could, I felt, at the most verify by calling upon the respective candidates to advance proofs on this point.
iii. From the standpoint of merit I claimed superiority.
iv. Similarly, a comparison between his services and those that I have rendered to the League and to the community, should lead

any unbiased judge to a conclusion in my favour.

v. The Central Parliamentary Board would, as far as possible, follow the principle of making an equitable distribution of seats and not allow them to become monopolies of the boys hailing from the capitalist families.

These were the promises for my candidature. The decision was of course in the hands of the Central Parliamentary Board.

But since your arrival here Mr. Yusuf Haroon and his brothers have started a type of propaganda which is designed to prejudice my position long before the Central Parliamentary Board has even considered our respective cases. I have evidence in my possession and I can substantiate what I say:

a. Mr. Yusuf and his two brothers have been freely saying that you, personally, are opposed to my candidature and that the Central Parliamentary Board, under your orders, will summarily reject my application.
b. Mr. Yusuf's brother has stated before a group of responsible men that I had not the ghost of a chance of receiving consideration as their family carried the three Central Parliamentary Board members in one pocket and yourself in another. This is sheer nonsense, but few men know the inner state of things; consequently, this kind of propaganda has been doing me immediate and utmost harm.
c. During the time of your stay, Mr. Yusuf has been attempting to show off as your pet-boy.
d. They have been, in the course of their conversation, quoting various tit-bits from talks attributed to you, to show that you recognized Yusuf as a formidable force in the public life of this province and that as such, none else in the League could be allowed to come in his way.

I respectfully bring these facts to your kind attention as I am heartily sick of the nauseating atmosphere which has been thus created. We are all your soldiers and we hope and trust that you must be treating us on an equal footing and that where our interests collide, you will do justice.

With respects,

Your obedient servant,
ALI MOHAMED RASHDI

82

M. A. Jinnah to Garrison Engineer, Lahore

F. 1127/399

KARACHI,
3 September 1945

Dear Sir,

BUNGALOW NO. 53 LAHORE CANTONMENT

I am in receipt of your Memorandum dated 27th August 1945,[1] redirected to me here, and I beg to inform you that I am moving about India and all my papers and documents are in safe custody in Bombay.

It is, therefore, not possible for me to send you a copy of the sale deed in respect of the above bungalow, as required by you, for some considerable time. May I suggest that, it being a registered document, you could easily inspect it or even obtain a copy of it from the Registrar of Lahore. I am sorry to put you to this inconvenience, but I hope that you will appreciate my difficulties in complying with your request.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The G.E.,
Lahore Division,
Lahore

See F. 1127/398, *QAP*. Not printed.

83

Fazal Rehman Bader Ajami to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/139-40

CHOWK YADGAR,
PESHAWAR,
3 September 1945

As a worker of Muslim League, I will request as following [*sic*]:

Central and provincial elections will be held in [the] near future, all over India, in which Muslim League will try its best to defeat Congress. But, on the other hand, it is Hindus' policy to buy some small parties of India (e.g. Momin, Ahrar, Muslim Majlis, etc.) and to reduce the number of votes of Muslim League. Above-quoted parties have no personality [*sic*] in India.

It is heard that Khaksars' organisation, which is still independent and has 65% of the whole population of N.W.F.P. on their side, are going to take part in the ensuing elections.

It is the general idea of Muslims that such a position of Khaksars will put Muslim League to loss.

In the above circumstances, I will request you to either meet Allama Mashriqi or write him a letter compelling him to instruct Khaksars to give their votes to Muslim League.

The time is not for internal quarrels—now it is necessary that you and Khaksars should cooperate with one another for the defeat of the Congress.

I will submissively request that you should also be of sympathetic mind (it was the attitude of the great master Muhammad [PBUH]). At this time 50% Muslims of Peshawar have got such an idea regarding you [*sic*].

A letter will be written to Allama Mashriqi also.

If you and Allama Mashriqi will [*sic* for do] not come to a decision, then a majority of Muslims will wire you for cooperation with Allama Mashriqi.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your obedient follower,

FAZAL REHMAN BADER AJAMI

84

Khadija Daudpota to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/138

GULSHAN MANZIL,
PEDRO DESOUZA ROAD,
KARACHI,
3 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is a pity that the Muslim League, which should always be a forward body, has not raised a protest to the Governor for the revision of the electoral rolls. The sitting members in the Assembly are perhaps afraid that they would be unsaddled if the rolls are revised.

I should like to invite your attention to the gross injustice done to Sindhi Muslim ladies, several of whom are highly educated and are yet denied the right of voting, by reason of their names not having been included in the electoral rolls prepared in 1942. In their case, the injustice is further aggravated by the fact that the whole of Sind is represented by the urban constituency of Karachi City only. The result

is that ten years ago one Khoja lady, though utterly uneducated, was returned to the Sind Legislative Assembly, simply because the majority of votes belonged to her community. We now learn with great dismay that the League ticket is being given to a non-Sindhi lady, who is absolutely ignorant of the condition of women in Sind and who, therefore, cannot justly represent them in the Assembly. That this should be allowed to happen while you are here, passes our understanding.

I would, therefore, request you to lodge a strong protest with the Governor, asking him to extend the franchise in the case of Muslim women, if not to the whole of Sind, at least to Hyderabad, so that a real (*Asl*) Sindhi lady may be able to contest the election. Secondly, you would not allow the League ticket to be given to a non-Sindhi outside woman. The League has already been weakened by self-seeking Muslims, and its name will be an anathema to Sindhi Muslim women, if their rights are trampled [on] like this.

I fervently hope that my appeal will not go in vain and that you will see that justice is done to Sindhi Muslim women, and that party politics and personal predilections are not allowed to have their sway in grave national matters.

With profound respects,

I am,

Sincerely yours,
KHADIJA DAUDPOTA
B. A. (Alig.)

85

A. N. Ilkal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 295/1-2

BIJAPUR,
4 September 1945

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

As a representative of Bijapur Dist. Muslims in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and a member of the League Party in the Assembly, I am desired by Muslims of Bijapur Dist. to address these few lines to you.

Our constituency, the Southern Division, will soon be called upon to elect a representative to the Central Assembly. It is our great desire that we should be represented by our own representative from our division, and given the League ticket [*sic*]. This question has been

engaging our attention for the last few weeks and it has now been decided to ask our local leader, Mr. Ahmed Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer,[1] to contest the same. Ahmed belongs to our district as he stays at Bagalkot where he owns an industrial concern and large area of various lands and minerals, i.e. asbestos etc. He is also a resident of Belgaum, our adjoining dist., due to his family connections and his own business concerns there, and I learn from Belgaum Muslim League leaders that they have also asked him to contest the seat. He commands great influence in other Districts of Dharwar, Karwar, Ratnagiri and Kolaba, and I find from recent reports in the press that Muslim League in those districts has promised him full support. Hence he will be the right man to be selected for a League ticket.

About his ability, experience, power of speech and personality, there can be no question. He is a very able man and a first-rank Muslim leader in our Division.

We have asked Ahmed to apply for a League ticket, and we hope that you will be good enough to recommend to the Parliamentary Board to give ticket to our man. By giving ticket to such a powerful candidate, success is sure and certain.

In the end, I am asked to assure you on behalf of Muslims of this district that they have full faith in your leadership, and we pray to God to give you long life and good health to guide us in difficult times ahead of us.

Yours respectfully,
A. N. ILKAL
B.A., LL.B., *MLA (Bombay)*

[1]Secretary, Bagalkot Muslim League, had also recommended Mr. Jaffer for the League ticket. See F. 830/101, *QAP*. Not printed.

86

Mohammad Burhanul Haq to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 830/96-7

JUBBULPORE,
4 September 1945

Sir,

The elections to the Central and Provincial Assemblies are very much talked about these days here, as everywhere else in India. We

are now fully conscious of the fact that the All India Muslim League, as ever before, would this time justify its virtuous stand and would assuredly assert its claim by organising the elections and by giving right guidance to the Muslim electors. We hope that for this purpose the A[ll] I[ndia] Muslim League would set up the All-India as well as the Provincial Parliamentary Boards which would, as has been the practice so far, be constituted on some certain [*sic*] principles previously laid down for this purpose. We are not as yet clear about the method and procedure that would, this time, be followed in constituting these boards or in nominating the candidates from different constituencies. We, therefore, request you to kindly enlighten us about the details of the procedure to be followed in this respect. As we have every confidence, rather unflinching faith, in the organising capacity, the constitutional working and the right judgement of the All India Muslim League, we humbly hope that the all-India office would court [*sic*] suggestions from the different Primary Leagues on this behalf and that some of these suggestions would be acceptable to it and eventually be adopted. We may be allowed to put up our suggestions which are generally based on our experience gained while working with the members of the District and Primary Muslim Leagues and their individual members and which mainly concern the provincial assembly elections.

That the present provincial Muslim MLAs, who have become the members of the Provincial Muslim League by virtue of their office, should not be given franchise in setting up the Provincial Parliamentary Boards. Our reason for de-franchising these members is that in many provinces, during the last term there was not enough chance for testing their good faith in the Muslim League and that in many a case these members have lost their popularity in their own constituencies, i.e. the related Primary Leagues, which they have ignored practically as they could be in the provincial body without the votes of their electors or more widely the Muslim League members.

That the intending candidates for the new elections should not be taken in the Provincial Parliamentary Boards, as candidates may then take undue advantage of their being there, and may exercise influence to get themselves nominated in spite of the disapproval of the Town and District Muslim Leagues. In this way they will, wherever possible, utterly disregard their Town and District Leagues.

The new elections to the Primary and Provincial Leagues are due now and would finish long before the provincial assembly elections, and therefore the coming Provincial Muslim League, after it has been duly constituted, should set up the Provincial Parliamentary Board. It would be expedient as well as just and would minimise any conflict

between the new provincial assembly and the new Muslim League Parliamentary Boards constituted by the existing Provincial Muslim League, which would be gone out [*sic*] before November 45. Hence the present Provincial Muslim Leagues should be debarred from constituting the Parliamentary Boards, which should be left to the coming Provincial Leagues entirely.

The nomination of the candidates should not be left entirely and absolutely to the Parliamentary Board which may not be as well representative of the opinion of the constituency of a particular candidate as the Muslim League of that constituency. The Primary or the District Muslim League should be empowered to nominate the candidate under the sanction of the Board. The Provincial Parliamentary Board should be its controlling and appellate authority in case of discrepancies and decisive [*sic*] constituency nomination disputes.

In the end, Sir, we are thankful to you to have gone through our letter and request you to send us a note clearing the points raised in our suggestions and furnishing us with the details about the matter.

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMAD BURHANUL HAQ
President, Dist. Muslim League

87

M. U. Abbassi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/36

THE ABBASSI PUBLICATIONS,
SOMERSET STREET,
KARACHI,
5 September 1945

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

I wrote and requested you for an interview for [*sic* for to] a deputation consisting of the leaders of poor Baluchi, Punjabi and Pathan Muslim masses on Saturday last. My man has been to you more than once but has returned without a reply. This deputation consists of poor Muslims who do not belong to upper class but belong to poor masses. As they could not reach you because you stay with the capitalists or officials, I have to make a request on their behalf. As the leader of Muslims you should stay in the Muslim League office where you should be within the reach of any Muslim, whether rich or poor. You should set an

example that you are for the poor and if rich people want to see you they should come to the poor Muslim League office to meet you. But you love to live like a grand Moghul in palaces where poor Muslim masses cannot reach you. The Muslim League is for the service of masses and your stay with the class of capitalists and officials will never make you fit to serve them. Your interview with [a] few knights and *nawabs* will seldom show you the sufferings of the poor. It was with this in view that an interview with you was sought which, up to this day, remains unanswered [*sic*].

Now if you care to see the deputation of poor Muslim Punjabis, Pathans and Baluchis, who come to see you to seek justice and keep [*sic*] their cause before you, please reply through the bearer. If not, then throw this letter in the waste-paper basket as the causes of the poor Muslims are always thrown there, and are seldom looked into.

Yours,
M. U. ABBASSI
B. A.
Editor, The Abbassi Publications

88

M. A. Jinnah to M. U. Abbassi

SHC, Sind VI/37

KARACHI,
5 September 1945

Dear Mr. Abbasi,

I am in receipt of your letter of 5th September 1945,[1] and I think you will realize that it is not possible for me to see each and every Muslim or receive deputations from various small bodies, and I have never denied an opportunity to anybody who wants to talk to me on some particular business. I was rather pained to read the language of your letter and I thank you for your advice as to where I should stay and how I should conduct myself. If you will kindly specify your business with regard to which you want to see me, I shall try to find time for you notwithstanding the short time for which I am staying here in Karachi. I have the fullest sympathy for the poor and I publicly referred the other day that the Muslim League is a people's party and our main object is to do our utmost for the social, educational and economic uplift of the Musalmans of India.

I hope you will, in calmer moments, appreciate what I have said.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. U. Abbassi
The Abbassi Publications,
Somerset Street,
Karachi

[1]No. 87.

89

Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/143-8
[Original in Urdu]
[Extract]

MOHALLA CHARPAT,
CHAMBA, CHAMBA STATE,
6 September 1945

Bismillahir Rahmaanir Rahim
Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'Ala Rasulihil Karim

Hakeem al-Ummat,[1] *Khadim-i-Qaum,*[2] may your stature grow,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

People are not unaware of the services you and your party are rendering to the nation.

I would like to draw your attention to Chamba State, situated on the outskirts of the Himalayas. According to the 1941 census, the number of Muslims here was 12,318 while the Hindus and Sikhs together were 1,55,510. The Muslims are living a wretched life here. The atrocities perpetrated on the Muslims are numerous, some of which are given below for your sympathetic consideration:

By lending money on compound interest, Hindu capitalists are grabbing houses, land and other Muslim properties through mortgage and purchase. The Congressites and the Arya Samajists are making it worse for the Muslims. The administration is also usurping the rights of Muslims and ruining them. The government, to prevent the Muslims from owning property, has enacted the Land Alienation Act which mentions sixteen castes eligible to own agricultural land. In the Act itself there is no mention of Hindus and Muslims. The establishment, through another Act, has put many hurdles in

the way of Muslims. In practice the beneficiaries are only non-Muslims. For example, although Rajputs are eligible to purchase land, if a Muslim claims to be a Rajput, they say that a Muslim cannot be a Rajput.

Similarly Muslims are discriminated against in issue of permits to go to hills. Grazing-tax has been enhanced to rupees seven which is quite unbearable for the poor Gujjars.

The Arya Samajis are virtually ruling the State where a Muslim can change his or her religion without permission, a non-Muslim cannot do so even if he so wishes. There are various examples where women, who were unhappy with their husbands, were persuaded to convert to Hinduism. Minor children were also made to go with such converts.

There is a ban on holding public meetings without permission but this applies only to Muslims. Non-Muslims freely hold such meetings wherein they abuse Muslims, especially the League leaders. They boldly call Muslims *maleechh* (impure) and propagate wrong translation of the holy *Qur'an*.

Schools are generally managed by Arya Samajists where there is no question of Muslims being admitted. There, Hindi is compulsory. There are only two State schools wherein Urdu is allowed but in the girls' school only Hindu girls are admitted.

In the whole of the State the officials are almost totally non-Muslims. Even in the lower cadre, a Muslim is hardly seen. In the State Council there are three Hindus and one Englishman.

In short, Muslims are discriminated against in each and every way. Muslims want to organise Muslim League here but the difficulty is that there is nobody to take the initiative. This lack of proper leadership has proved a hurdle in the way of organising Muslims as a community.

Yours obediently,
ABDUL MAJID

[1]Sage of the Muslims.
[2]Servant of the nation.

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (731)

6 September 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

Dr. A. A. Khan, Leader of the Muslim League Municipal Party and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Municipal Corporation, is coming to see you for a discussion on some of the local affairs.

Both Doctor Khan and myself, and if I may say so thousands of the citizens of Karachi who care for a clean public life, are extremely eager to see that Mr. Gazdar does not get the League ticket for the forthcoming general election. Gazdar has misused his membership of the Assembly to an unimaginable degree and if we were to give you even the ninth part of the details these will pain and shock you.

It will be a contemptuous disregard of all moral values if Gazdar is given the League ticket, and we consider ourselves duty-bound to press this point of view before your honoured self.

With the League ticket, either Dr. Khan or myself can beat Gazdar hollow, as he is almost certain to defy the League and contest the election if not allowed to have his own way.

Despite everything, if Gazdar is given the League ticket, then let me assure you, Quaid, that I shall assist him to the best of my ability and then retire from public life atone for this crime.

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

91

V. M. Tarkunde to M. A. Jinnah

F. 190/7-8

30 FAIZ BAZAR,
DELHI,
6 September 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

For some time past, the Radical Democratic Party has been agitating for adult franchise for the coming elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures. Since these elections are taking place on the eve of far-reaching political and economic changes, it is highly unjust and undemocratic to exclude the vast majority of the people from the elementary right to vote. The grant of adult franchise need not cause any inordinate delay, for no constitutional amendment is necessary for the purpose, the rule-making powers under the present Government of India Act being sufficient for extending the franchise to the entire adult population.

I feel sure that the All India Muslim League will fully endorse this democratic demand. I find from today's papers that leading members of the Punjab Muslim League, including the President, have declared themselves in favour of immediate extension of the franchise. I, however, feel that if you, as the President of the All India Muslim League, issue

a statement demanding adult franchise for the coming elections, it is bound to receive immediate attention. Hence, I have today sent you a telegram to the following effect:

> Kindly announce your powerful support adult franchise for coming Central Provincial elections.

The British Labour Government is obviously looking to these elections as a step for the solution of the political deadlock. Obviously, in this situation, if one of the major political parties in the country were to come out with a declaration that it will boycott the coming elections unless they take place on the basis of adult franchise, the authorities will definitely concede the demand. It is thus in the hands of the Muslim League as well as the Congress to secure adult franchise for the people of India immediately. I hope, therefore, that you will consider whether the Muslim League should adopt this course of declaring a boycott of the coming elections unless this demand is conceded.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
V. M. TARKUNDE
Bar-at-Law
General Secretary,
Radical Democratic Party

92

Mohammad Sharif Toosi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/114

WAZIRABAD,
6 September 1945

My respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to offer my most hearty greetings and sincere good wishes on the auspicious *'Id al-Fitr.*

May I remind you here about the old manuscript which is still lying neglected in your Bombay office. In your last letter of 1st March 1944[1] you were pleased to write, "I regret to say that I have had no time even to look into it. It is impossible for me to make any progress with it at any rate at present." More than two years have passed since the manuscript was originally written and during this period many new developments have taken place which necessitate the revision of the manuscript in some respects. My friends too have been persistent in their request that the manuscript should see the light of day. I am prepared to give

time if the manuscript is sent in the original to my present address. May I request you to write to your Bombay office to send the manuscript with its two typed copies in a registered cover to me, and I promise to preserve it with great care and to submit [it] for your perusal and revision after I had [*sic*] gone through it a second time.

The League is making a steady headway in the Punjab. The brave stand taken up at Simla Conference has upheld the honour and prestige of the League and even its sworn enemies now realize that the Quaid-i-Azam is not an agent of British Imperialism, an allegation cheaply indulged in by [the] Congress press and the Congressite Muslims in the past.

I continue as usual to send my contributions to the *Eastern Times*. The *Dawn*, however, is shut out to me as I cannot fulfil the condition that every article should be a typed one. My articles are now contributed under different pen names to avoid being unnecessarily harassed. I refer you to the *Eastern Times* of 5th September which contains the leader from me under the head "Pakistan Defined". Thereafter, at least two leaders a week will be my contribution as the acting editor has gone on leave.

[*Last para omitted*]

Yours sincerely,
M. R. T.[2]

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Pen name of Mohammad Sharif Toosi

93

J. G. Agha to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/38

1 CLAREMONT ROAD,
KARACHI,
7 September 1945

Janab Quaid-i-Azam,

Allow me to relate to you one of the important political episodes of our province. Ever since my return from Army service, i.e. 1-4-44, I found that almost every Muslim of importance was very anxious to see that Haji Moula Bakhsh was brought in [to] the Muslim League. I also was asked to put in my best efforts to persuade him to join the fold. This tug of war of approaches and reproaches continued for a long time. I also continued with my efforts and persuasions on my

friend, K. B. Moula Bakhsh. We used to argue for hours and hours and during the course of these arguments, I was convinced that he was as true a Muslim as any other good and honest Muslim could be, and his inclinations were more to [*sic* for towards] the Muslim League than to any other political organization. But unfortunately due to certain circumstances which he has now related to you personally, he could not be bold enough to take his decision of joining the League. On the one hand, he did not know which of the League parties in Sind he should join and, on the other hand, a very strong influence of certain Congressites and temptation offered by them kept him away from taking a decision. Mr. Nihchaldas also played a very important part in this drama. I remember there was a time when Haji Moula Bakhsh spent days after days in discussing political matters with various groups and parties. One would find him closeted on one and the same day either with Mr. G. M. Sayed or with Mr. Sidhwa or with Mir Ghulam Ali or with Mr. Nihchaldas, each trying to use his charm on him. This state of affairs continued for some time till last July when, in Hyderabad, certain influential Leaguers made a concentrated attack on him. This was the first time when he opened his mind to the Leaguers. He said to them that he was prepared to take up the cudgels openly for the Muslim cause, provided all the groups of the League merged into one.

I found this a definite advance on his part. To me also he repeated the same difficulties. He did not know which of the parties he would join. It was sometime in the last month that he met Sir Ghulam Hussain and discussed with him his difficulties. Unfortunately other groups of the League took a very unkind view of these discussions. They feared that Ghulam Hussain-Moula Bakhsh pact might belittle their influence and relax [*sic*] their grip and hold on the political situation of the province. As a result of this, all of them suddenly stopped their activities in persuading Haji Sahib to join the League. In fact counter-attacks were made on him and he was being pictured as a heathen among true Muslims and a breaker of peace in Islam. Certain prominent Leaguers started reaching [for] a very prominent opponent to be put against him in his constituency. At first they attempted to persuade K. B. Khuhro to oppose him and when they failed to do so, they asked Sir Ghulam Hussain to allow his son to stand from Shikarpur constituency. This unfortunate move, I am sorry to say, was not a wise one. All our previous efforts to persuade Haji Moula Bakhsh were frustrated. Fortunately at this time we received the happier news of your impending arrival. I was sanguine that if a meeting between you and Haji Moula Bakhsh was brought about, all these troubles in Sind will perhaps come to an end. I, therefore, asked Haji Sahib whether he had any objection to

meeting you. I found that he was agreeable; in fact he desired that he should open his mind to you, relate to you his side of the picture in what he thought of the Sind politics from his point of view. Having known this, I approached certain prominent Leaguers to request you to see your way to meet[ing] Haji Sahib. To my utter surprise I found that they shirked to [*sic*] take up the initiative. They said that such a move on their part at this awkward time will jeopardise their own position with the rest of the League. I was not prepared for this unexpected disappointment. I found myself in a fix. I know I was too small a person to approach you directly. However, my humble thanks to God Almighty, Who gave me courage to write to you. You know the rest of the story and the press comment on it. I hoped that your meeting with Haji Moula Bakhsh will create a healthy atmosphere among us, but unfortunately it is not so. Some individuals who do not desire that Haji Sahib should come into the League are very much perturbed and are bent upon seeing that he does not come in.

Allow me to venture and request you once again not to leave this matter where it stands now. You have met the gentleman and known him and I am sure you must have come to the conclusion that he has no serious objections except sentimental ones. He is a true Muslim in his heart of hearts and if he is tackled properly and is detached from the Hindu influence, he is bound to enter the League fold. I would therefore humbly request that prominent Leaguers may be advised not to demonstrate unkind attitude towards him. If you so desire, I may ask Haji Sahib to see you over again either here or in Quetta. I am sure you will be able to convince and convert him.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
J. G. AGHA

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M. A. Jinnah to J. G. Agha

SHC, Sind VI/40

KARACHI,
8 September 1945

Dear Mr. Agha,

I received your letter of 7th September[1] last night and I understood from Mr. Moula Bakhsh at the conclusion of our talk that he will consider the whole matter and let me know his decision. However, I

shall be glad to see him again, if he so desires. But you know I am leaving on Monday, 10th September, for Quetta and, therefore, I can see him this evening at 5-30, as on Sunday and Monday before my departure, I shall be over-crowded with various matters that require my attention.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

J. G. Agha, Esq.,
1 Claremont Road,
Karachi

No. 93.

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Makhdum Abdul Rashid to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/42

TANDO GHULAM ALI,
HYDERABAD, SIND,
8 September 1945

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I belong to Punjab Province, but now I am a domiciled Sindhi. Sir, I had written my most humble ideas to your honour long ago in 1942,[1] regarding the slow progress of the League, and the quick advancement of the so called Congress of show-boys, purely a Hindu body.

In reply to that your honour had sent me a letter which was most precious and full of praiseworthy and decent advices.

Respected Quaid, I as a staunch follower of the Muslim League and Vice-President of many Muslim student organisations in Hyderabad, Sind, heartily welcome you on your arrival here in the land of Indus.

Sir, I am writing this letter for one very urgent talk [*sic*] of today. Yesterday I read in the papers that K. B. Haji Moula Bakhsh and Pirzada Abdul Sattar, ex-Ministers, has [*sic*] desired and requested your honour to very kindly enrol [them] in the League organisation. The above persons are the only members of the so-called United Party, headed by late K. B. Allah Baksh, who was one of the enemies of the All India Muslim League. Since, according to the announcement of H. E. Lord Wavell, the elections are at hand, so many respectable people have desired to join the League.

Sir, we don't desire such people, whose motto is to join one party today and another party tomorrow for their selfish aims, which are certainly detrimental to the interest of Muslim nation.

If a man remains in one organisation for a long time, be it the Congress or the League, they surely are men of principle, but those who change their ideas every now and then are certainly dangerous, and K. B. Moula Bakhsh and Pirzada are one [*sic*] of the examples. It is quite probable that they may get the League tickets now, and later on when they are elected, they may change their principle. So I earnestly request you, our most respected Quaid, to kindly go deep into this matter and don't (for God's sake) allow them to come into the League fold.

Lastly, it is my earnest prayer that God Almighty may give you long life and ever increasing prosperity and strong health to do the work of betterment of the backward Muslim nation.

Kindly accept my *'Id* greeting, I pray you may enjoy hundred *'Ids* to serve the Muslim community.

I hope your honour will give me your worthy reply[2] containing [your] opinion.

May you live long, our respected Quaid-i-Azam.
With best respects and regards, Sir,

Yours most obediently,
MAKHDUM ABDUL RASHID
B.A., LL.B. (student)

[1]Not traceable.
[2]In his reply, Jinnah thanked him for his suggestions. See *SHC*, Sind VI/43. Not printed.

96

Sarwar Shah Gilani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/44

AL JAMA'T,
KARACHI CAMP 3,
8 September 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I submitted before you the well-known schemes of organizing the Pakistan mosques, *zakat* and *auqaf* in 1943[1] before the Karachi session of the All India Muslim League. You appreciated and promised to put it before your Working Committee. A "religious sub-committee" was formed to consider my scheme and other schemes of organizing the Musalmans on Islamic lines by the "Committee of Action".

In the meantime you wrote four or five letters to me in which you encouraged me to work for this Islamic mission. In one of your letters you

wrote to me that you have sent a letter of introduction to Nawab of Mamdot (if I wanted to work in Punjab). In that letter you told me that Nawab of Mamdot and Mian Mumtaz Daultana will be willing to cooperate with me.

Last year, in December 1944, I took the coffin of Hazrat Sayyed Jamalud Din Afghani, the saint-philosopher of Islam, with the Afghan Consul from Karachi to Lahore and arranged there for the historic procession and *janaza* prayers at the Shahi Mosque. I was staying with Nawab of Mamdot as guest at Lahore, where he told me that he had received a letter from Quaid-i-Azam concerning me. You were so sympathetic towards this Islamic scheme and myself at that time, that you sent a letter of introduction.

But, now when I have actually started to put a practical shape to this scheme in Sind and have started a first-class weekly [news]paper for this purpose, you have discouraged me. In Punjab, I did not require any introduction. In Sind I need it, because it is a new province for me. I suggested the name of K. B. Khuhro for introduction and cooperation, but you said, "I can't interfere in local affairs". I am sending you the Sind edition of the scheme published in my paper. A copy of the original all-India scheme is also attached herewith. Is this a local affair? This is the Islamic scheme on which the future of Khilafat-i-Pakistan depends. Perhaps you know that I am one of your workers who started and propagated the Pakistan ideal in Punjab when Pakistan was not even declared as the objective of the A. I. M. League. I am working for Pakistan since 1932, rather before.

I think you were worried with something else and were sitting in an angry mood when I saw you the other day. What I requested was a few words of introduction to K. B. Khuhro, who had been in jail since I started my activities in Sind. You admitted that Khuhro is the proper man in Sind, but you were not willing to say anything to him.

I can't understand why you were so generous in writing a letter of introduction to Nawab of Mamdot. Is it not the same scheme I am working for?

Quaid-i-Azam ! It is not your refusal to take interest in the scheme you once appreciated but the manner you bluntly refused.

I was not asking for a local affair. I was requesting you for the same Islamic object for which you have promised to help.

Quaid-i-Azam! I assure you I have great love for you. You remember I kissed your hand last year (for love).

May God give you long life to establish Islamic State of Pakistan,

Yours,
SYED SARWAR SHAH GILANI

[1]See *AFM*, 142/22-3. Not printed.

97

Kuli Khan to M.A. Jinnah

F. 1104/292-4

PRIVATE/PERSONAL

2 THE MALL,
PESHAWAR,
8 September 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I wish you a happy *'Id* and [may] God Almighty give you a long life. *Aameen*. On return from Bombay I gave your message of unity to the Muslims of NWFP.

I make below certain suggestions for your favourable consideration:

1. Please give order to Abdur Rab Nishtar, Abdul Qaiyum Khan, the new convert Bar-at-Law, Sameen Jan Khan, pleader, Bakht Jamal and S. Aurangzeb Khan to suspend their professional practice up to the end of new elections and to visit rural areas day and night. From the League fund they should be given at least rupees one thousand if they are willing to accept the money. These men must take the message of Pakistan to every corner of the province.

2. Please nominate leader of Muslim League now in place of S. Aurangzeb Khan because Aurangzeb Khan is unpopular in some circles. You know all the Muslim Leaguers but I would suggest name of Abdur Rab Nishtar. Your order will be accepted by all Muslim Leaguers, otherwise there would be two parties in selection of the leader. Let Nishtar carry [on] as leader [for] elections at present. New leader can be elected after the elections.

3. Sir Noon and your goodself should summon to New Delhi, or any place suitable to you, the following [*sic*] Ahrar leaders and if you will tell them that today the question of Islam and Hinduism is seriously involved and unless the Muslims show united front to the Hindus and British Government, there would be great and eternal loss to the Islamic cause.

Disunity in the Muslim camp is very dangerous in this election. The Congress is inviting all the Muslim parties like Jami'yyat al-'Ulama, Ahrar and others—kindly do summon them and give them an opportunity for the Muslim unity—we should give in the press that Quaid-i-Azam has summoned all the leaders of Muslim parties to such a place for the sake of one voice of Muslims. It will create a great effect on the minds of Muslim voters—you are Quaid-i-Azam, and please try to win these small parties. If they would not come under the flag of

Quaid-i-Azam it would be their natural death and they would lose all sympathies. Sir Noon can arrange the meeting for you. There is a meeting of All-India Ahrars in Lahore on 14, 15 and 16 September in connection of [*sic*] the coming elections in India—if you approve, you may authorize Sir Noon to proceed in the matter at once.

I hope your health is improving. Sir Noon should pay a visit to NWFP as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
KULI KHAN

98

Habibullah Khan Tareen to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/153

TAREEN MANZIL,
TAREEN ROAD,
BAHAWALPUR,
8 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Take from my mouth [*sic*] the greetings of happy *'Id*. No bound of [*sic*] joy when I received your kind and valuable letter dated 23rd August.[1] Thank you very much for your best constructions [*sic*] for me to arouse a spirit in the Muslims of the Bahawalpur State.

The lives of our[s] are moulded and character is determined by two things; first, the aims which we set before us, and second the strength of will with which we pursue those aims. Every sane Musalman should be able to give an account to himself of what he is living for and what goal he has set himself to reach. So everyone knows that the Muslims of India have one aim and only one which [is] to achieve the Pakistan. We are progressing happily to our goal, Pakistan, by leaps and bounds and success is coming towards us. We know that we are not alone but God is with us.

It is with pleasure [that] I inform you that my elder brother Khan Hayat Tareen is a member of All India States Muslim League Council. The late Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, who was very kind to him, wrote for the establishment of a branch of State Muslim League in the Bahawalpur State. For this purpose he met the responsibilities [*sic*] of the State's public people [*sic*], who welcomed him. According to the Societies Act of Bahawalpur Government, " No political party is

allowed which concerns outside the State parties." So he was unable to maintain [*sic*] the branch of State Muslim League in the Bahawalpur State under this Act. He was not disappointed but he continued [*sic*] a new *Anjuman,* namely Anjuman Islah-o-Taraqqi. Its aims are to inspirit [*sic* for inspire] the Musalmans by socially, economically, educationally and politically [*sic*].

I pray to God for the success of Muslim League in the forthcoming elections. A gleam of success arise[s] in my heart by coming [of] Sir Firoz Khan Noon, and Abdul Qaiyum Khan in Muslim League and we invite others to come and serve their nation.

I heartily congratulate you for your best and noble deeds and we are ready to die, if you need, for the sake of Pakistan.

Praying for your long life, and with my best wishes for your happiness,

Yours faithfully,
HABIBULLAH KHAN TAREEN

[1]Not traceable.

99

M. Azizul Haque to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/145

SECRET

5 MANSINGH ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
9 September 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since we last met, the political situation has taken a new turn in view of the decision to have an early election. I am not too certain when the election will actually be held, but in view of the decision to have the election as soon as possible, I feel I should stand as a candidate on Muslim League ticket from Presidency-Burdwan (Bengal) Muslim Constituency for the Central Legislature. I shall like if you kindly let me know as to whether you approve of this.[1]

With kindest regards and best *'Id* greetings,

Yours sincerely,
M. AZIZUL HAQUE

[1]See No. 151.

100

Ghulam Bhik Nairang to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/60

AMBALA,
10 September 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I gather from the [news]papers that you are leaving Karachi today for Quetta and will thence go to Kalat after a couple of days' stay. This trip, I take it, is intended as a holiday to which you, more than anyone else, are pre-eminently entitled. Under such circumstances, you should not be pursued by business letters purporting to be urgent and all that, and I am one of those who are always most reluctant to disturb your well-earned and much-needed leisure. But in spite of all this, I feel constrained to address this letter to you and request your early attention to it.

I enclose a copy of a letter which I sent you by registered post on 28 August 1945.[1] This will speak for itself.

As soon as the above-mentioned letter had been [*sic*] despatched, I learnt from the papers that you were off to Karachi, but I thought that the letter would be redirected to you wherever you may be. Not having received any reply so far, I am afraid the letter may be lying at Bombay for you to see on your return. Hence I am sending a copy.

Since I wrote to you on 28 August 1945, it has been notified by the Central Parliamentary Board that applications by intending candidates for election to the Central Assembly are to reach the Chairman on or before the 30th September, so that I must decide some few days before the 30th instant whether I am to stand or not.

For this reason I am in need of definite expression of your views[2] about the points mentioned in the last paragraph of my letter dated 28 August 1945.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG

[1]No. 62.
[2]See No. 120.

101

I. I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Misc. I/66

SHAHRU CASTLE,
MOHAMED ALI ROAD,
BOMBAY,
10 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has invited applications from those desiring to contest the forthcoming elections to the Central Legislature on the Muslim League ticket by the 30th of September 1945. He has also directed that one copy of the application along with an application fee of Rs. 500 should be sent to the President of the Provincial Muslim League concerned by the same date.

You are representing the Musalmans of Bombay on the Central Legislative Assembly and I hope you will do the same at the next election. I am enclosing herewith two copies of the application forms for your use and request you to send the forms,[1] duly filled in, as directed by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR

[1]See No. 106.

102

M. A. Jinnah to I. I. Chundrigar

SHC, Misc. I/67

KARACHI,
10 September 1945

Dear Mr. Chundrigar,

With regard to my standing for the Central Assembly, many friends in Bombay thought that I should stand because at this particular juncture some very important questions may come up before the next Assembly. That is the view here also. Under the circumstances I have decided to stand for the Muslim Bombay constituency. I will send in my application in the ordinary course to the Central Parliamentary

Board, and according to the rules, will send you a copy of the application[1] as President of the Muslim League of the province, along with a deposit of Rs. 500 before the 30th of September for the Provincial Parliamentary Board to deal with it according to the rules.

I am leaving Karachi in a couple of days for Quetta. Please communicate with me direct at Quetta now. I would still like to know what is the general opinion as to my standing for the Assembly seat and then decide within a week, so that I may be able to comply with our constitution and the rules that are laid down.

Hoping you are well, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

I. I. Chundrigar, Esq., MLA,
Abid House,
Lamington Road,
Bombay

[1]See No. 106.

103

M. A. Jinnah to Abdur Rab Nishtar

SHC, NWFP I/61

KARACHI,
10 September 1945

Dear Mr. Nishtar,

Many thanks for your letter of August 31st,[1] which reached me here a few days ago. I was very much pressed with work, and so I was not able to reply to your letter earlier.

I am very thankful to you for all the information that you have given me and the picture of the situation in the North-West Frontier Province. I was very glad to learn that our prospects are bright and improving everyday regarding the forthcoming elections.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum has been in communication with me, and he is good enough to take the trouble of coming to see me at Quetta on the 20th instant. I wonder whether you would consider it advisable that you should also accompany him. I would like to see you if possible. I have had a very strenuous time in Karachi, and I hope to get away within a couple of days to have some little rest at Quetta. If you are coming, please let me know telegraphically.

Thanking you and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, *MLA*,
Advocate,
Peshawar

[1]Not traceable.

104

M. A. Rauf Abbasi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/130

THE DAILY *HAQUE*,
MURSHIDABAD PALACE, GOLAGANJ,
LUCKNOW,
11 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

No doubt you must be aware of the outstanding services that have been rendered to the cause of the Muslim League by the daily *Haque*.

In these days of trouble and strife when propaganda of the coming election, on which so much is banked, is required on a very large scale, I would make bold to suggest that you call together a conference of Muslim League-minded newspapers, as soon as possible for you, and give them precise directions for carrying out this propaganda most effectively, and arranging co-operation between them in this work of paramount importance.[1]

May God Almighty bless you, and hoping that this letter finds you in the enjoyment of perfect health,

I am,
Respectfully yours,
M. A. RAUF ABBASI
Editor

[1]Jinnah thanked him and stated that his suggestion would receive full consideration See *SHC*, P&P III/131. Not printed.

105

A. H. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/332-4

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

P.O. BOX NO. 605,
KARACHI,
11 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am really very much thankful to you for the very kind interest you have taken in the affairs of this college [Sind Muslim College]. By not agreeing with the proposal that this institution be handed over to the Govt., you have saved the only Muslim institution in Sind, and the Muslim youth from servitude.

2. Since you want the Muslim public to run this college, I feel I shall be failing in my duty if I do not disclose the real factors which are contributing towards its failure. Before doing it, let me assure you, Quaid-i-Azam, that I am your loyal and devoted follower and am prepared to sacrifice my all at your command. It is in this spirit that I am writing these few lines for your kind perusal; and I hope you will take note of them and keep them to yourself. I further assure you that all the members of the staff on the arts side possess the same spirit and are prepared to serve this institution as their own.

3. Coming to the main subject, I must tell you that it is not the finances alone which are an obstacle in our way; but more than that some inherent defects in the constitution itself, lack of supervision and mismanagement are the real impediments. With the increased grant-in-aid from the Govt. we shall be able to run this institution; but if the following defects are not removed, in spite of financial stability, the college will not progress in the right direction. The following facts may kindly be taken into consideration:

a. In all other colleges, the principal who is a wholetime paid officer is the secretary of the board; and this fact alone is responsible for the successful running of all the Hindu institutions in this province. On the other hand, in this college, the secretary is elected every year by the board from amongst its own members. Thus he can neither be an educationist nor a wholetime officer. As a part-time officer, he cannot possibly supervise the affairs personally and naturally leaves them into the hands of his clerks.

b. The principal, who is an educationist, a wholetime paid officer and responsible to the university, board and the public, is thus left at the mercy of the clerks of the honorary secretary. This position will never be acceptable to any self-respecting principal. The principal can only attend

the meetings and has got only a consultative voice in the college affairs. Some of his proposals are never put before the board and most of his recommendations go unheeded. The whole of the staff on the science side was appointed without my recommendations, with the result that a very powerful Hindu element, in spite of my vehement opposition, was introduced and thus the exclusive Muslim character of the institution was lost. What is the use of calling it a Muslim college when the science section is managed, independently of the principal by a Hindu gentleman who has been given equal salary, grade and even status along with the principal. When we are not free even in our own house, how can we carry out one uniform policy which may be beneficial to our own interests. If this college has got to be run by Muslim money and Muslim public, this Hindu element has got to be eliminated; otherwise let it be handed over to the Government.

c. In spite of having a Muslim scientist as the head of the science section on Rs. 250 or Rs. 300, we have got the ex-Principal, Mr. Butani, who is only a B. Sc. on Rs. 638. There are five non-Muslim professors in this college, who are drawing more salaries and better grade than the Muslim professors of equal qualifications. In one case, a Hindu lady, who is a B. Sc., has been allowed to draw Rs. 150 while a Muslim lecturer who is an M. Sc. from Aligarh has been made to serve under her on Rs. 100 p.m. In the science section, which is only up to the intermediate, there is a wastage of Rs. 1,200 p.m. In the light of the above facts, do you really think that the so-called Muslims of Sind will be able to run this institution on Islamic lines?

4. And this has all been possible due to the presence of one man, Khan Bahadur Ghulam Ali Nana, the present Honorary Secretary, who is noted for his pro-Hindu proclivities and was determined to introduce this powerful element into a Muslim college in order to bring about a fusion of the Hindu and Muslim cultures. Well, if this policy is to be carried on, our hands are off; and all the Muslim professors are determined to leave this institution. This policy can only be tolerated in a Government institution.

5. All these things require my personal interview with you; and I would humbly suggest that you may kindly write to Hon'ble Pir Ilahi Bakhsh that he may depute me to Quetta or Kalat with all the facts and figures of the college, for your kind perusal. In case I am not required to see you personally, I will send the required note, in accordance with your instructions, within a week's time to your Kalat address. In the latter case, I will also send my own comments which may kindly be kept confidential.

6. In the end, my frank opinion is this that either this institution be allowed to be handed over to the Government; or we should be allowed to run it on purely Islamic lines so that we should be able to mould the character of the Muslim youth in our own way that may be beneficial

to the interests of the Muslim nation. The latter policy can only be possible in Sind, if a constitution of the type of Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi, which has been so ably drafted by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, is also introduced here.

With best regards,

Yours obediently,
A. H. SIDDIQI
B.A. (Hon.), Ph. D. (London)
Principal, Sind Muslim College

106

M. A. Jinnah to I. I. Chundrigar

SHC, Misc. I/69

KARACHI,
12 September 1945

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of my application to the Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League, offering myself for the forthcoming elections of the Central Legislative Assembly from the Bombay Muslim constituency, and according to the rules, I am also enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs. 500, by way of deposit.

Please acknowledge receipt and oblige,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The President,
Bombay Provincial Muslim League,
Shahru Castle,
Mahomed Ali Road,
Bombay

Enclosure to No. 106

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
(See Rule 11)

NOMINATION PAPER

Name of the constituency for which the candidate is nominated	Bombay City Muhammadan Constituency (Urban)
Name of candidate	Mohamed Ali
Father's name	Jinnah

Age	68 (sixty-eight). Born 25th December 1876
Address	Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill
Denomination (*state whether non-Muhammadan, Muhammadan, Sikh or European*)	Muhammadan
Constituency on the electoral roll of which the candidate is registered as an elector	Bombay City Muhammadan (Urban)
No. of the candidate in the electoral roll of the constituency in which he is registered as an elector	D Ward, 194
Name of proposer	Mahomed Haji Ahmed
No. of the proposer in the electoral roll of the constituency	1491, B Ward
Signature of the proposer	Mahomed Haji Ahmed
Name of the seconder	Mahomed Dada Toffic
No. of the seconder in the electoral roll of the constituency	1484, B Ward
Signature of the seconder	Mahomed Dada Toffic

DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE

I hereby declare that I agree to this nomination.

MOHAMED ALI JINAH
Signature of candidate

DECLARATION
[*Rule 11 (5)*]

I do hereby appoint Khan Bhadur Haji Hassanally P. Ebrahim to be my Election Agent for the election.

MOHAMED ALI JINAH
Signature of candidate

107

Mukhlesur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/172-3

VERY IMPORTANT

NARAYANGANJ,
DACCA,
12 September 1945

My dear Sir,

Please accept '*Id Mubarak* first of all. The '*Id* declares that all the Musalmans are brethren for one another. I remember the poor on this day very much. Once I heard a Hindu gentleman saying to another

that with whom Mr. Jinnah will bring [*sic*] Pakistan when almost 50% Musalmans had died of starvation in the last famine and almost 75% Musalmans are beggars. I think he was quite right.

I would fervently request your honour to have the poor Musalmans brought to society [*sic*] and to prepare them to fight for achieving Pakistan. For this purpose, I would request the All India Muslim League to set up some cloth mills, shoe factories, iron mills and some other industrial factories, where the poor can work and earn their livelihood. This will strengthen the financial foundation of the Muslim India. At present we have got factories and mills set up by non-Muslim communities only. We must have some for ourselves (constructed by all the Provincial Muslim Leagues with their own capital). As a member of Muslim League, I expect an encouraging reply from you. I believe that Pakistan is our birthright and the Muslim League our only organisation. I am ready to sacrifice my life for achieving Pakistan.

I remain,
Sir,
One of your best admirers,
MUKHLESUR RAHMAN
Secretary,
Organising Committee of Dacca Muslim Students' Union

108

Khan of Kalat to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (602 B)

PALACE, KALAT,
13 September 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am very glad to welcome you in Baluchistan and my State once more and earnestly hope that your stay with us will contribute to your and Miss Jinnah's health considerably. As an after-effect of the *Ramazan*, I do not feel quite fit to visit Quetta but may hope to meet you soon when you come over to Mastung.

I am sending my Chief Secretary and the Private Secretary to see that you are quite comfortable there.

With all good wishes to Miss Jinnah and you both,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD YAR

109

Mohamed Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, UP IV/18

LUCKNOW,
15 September 1945

Provincial Legislative Assembly dissolved. Will Muslim members remain ex-officio members of Provincial Council? Also, will League Assembly party function to elect representatives to Provincial Parliamentary Board? Please wire immediately. Council meeting sixteenth.

ISMAIL KHAN

110

M. A. Jinnah to Mohamed Ismail Khan

Telegram, SHC, UP IV/19

QUETTA,
15 September 1945

Nawab Ismail Khan, President [U.P.] Muslim League, Lucknow

Your telegram. Dissolution Assembly does not affect Muslim League party under our rules and as electorate constituted by the rules it is entitled elect one member Provincial Parliamentary Board.

M. A. JINNAH

111

Adamji Heptulla to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/182-83

HEPTULLA PARK,
2 HASANABAD LANE,
SANTA CRUZ, BOMBAY,
15 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah,

Since the Muslim League claims to represent all creeds and classes

of Muslims, and those outside the League are considered to be tools of the enemies of Islam, I make the following suggestions:

i. I find that during elections to the Municipality or the Provincial or Central Legislature, the League gives tickets to approved candidates only, equivalent to the number of seats reserved for Muslims. This procedure gives cause for rift amongst Muslim Leaguers themselves as only those people get tickets who have influence with the Selection Committees and also leaves power in the hands of a few in a highly placed position. This tends to [be] very near fascism.
ii. The very principles of Islam being very democratic, these principles should be sponsored in order to solidify the Muslim League as the only representative body of Muslims in general.
iii. As a first step, I would suggest that, as far as nominations are concerned, for the above-referred public bodies, the League should give tickets to approved candidates without any limitation as regards numbers, and then let the most popular candidate succeed.

2. If these suggestions of mine are adopted, I am sure, before long, the League will be stepping on a permanent footing and will be ensuring hundred per cent success for League candidates in the forthcoming elections in spite of any opposition from non-Leaguers, and many a minority communities [*sic*] amongst Muslims will have no cause for any apprehension in future.

3. I shall be obliged if you will let me have your views in the above matter or let me publish this letter to invite public opinion thereon.

Yours truly,
ADAMJI HEPTULLA

112

I. I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/297

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE,
MOHAMED ALI ROAD,
BOMBAY 3,
15 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 10th instant from Karachi.[1]

The unanimous opinion here is that you should stand for the Central Assembly seat from Bombay and give Bombay the privilege of representing the League's stronghold in the Central Assembly. Please send your application[2] as mentioned in your letter under reply.

I hope Miss Jinnah has by now completely recovered and that you will be able to have much needed rest at Quetta so that you may be able to give the Muslim nation your best services in its hour of need.

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR

[1]No. 102.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 106.

113

Pir Mohammad Kamran to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/324-5
[Original in Urdu]

PESHAWAR,
NWFP,
16 September 1945

Respected pride of nation, Quaid-i-Azam,

Your sincerity and determination has revived the spirit of Islam amongst the Muslims. God may grant you good health and long life.

I wish to make the following suggestions in the light of the conditions prevailing in the NWFP:

i. For election purposes, election boards, comprising three honest and popular persons, should be set up in each district. Care should be taken to give due representation to the rural areas in these boards.
ii. The boards should assess the local situation by touring the province and recommend the names of candidates to you. Approval of candidates and final decision should lie with you.
iii. The entry of Abdul Qaiyum in the Muslim League has filled the vacuum of leadership in the party. He should take part in provincial politics rather than joining the centre.
iv. The urban and landlord constituencies are completely secure for the Muslim League. If in these two constituencies, men of good reputation are nominated it would result in the forfeiture of the security of their opponents. We are ordinary soldiers of the Muslim League and ready to act on your every command.

With prayers,

PIR MOHAMMAD KAMRAN
MLA
Durbar Rajoia Sharif, Hazara

114

Mohammad Warial to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/47

NOOR-I-ISLAM HOTEL,
NAWABSHAH,
17 September 1945

Sir,

I, Mohammad Warial, President, Muslim Naujawan Jami'at, and my party of Nawabshah town had submitted a little amount of rupees thirty only in the League Fund on 13 Sept[ember] 1945, when your honour was going from Karachi to Quetta by Lahore mail. We had submitted this amount at Nawabshah station at the time of Lahore mail's arrival at Nawabshah station. Your honour had accepted the same.

We have started this Jami'at since [*sic*] four years. Though we are getting very little donation, still we are not discouraged. Our motto is to repair the damaged mosques and provide *kafans* and death ceremonies [*sic*] for those who died without heirs.

We, the members of this Jami'at, request your honour to kindly have a programme here at Nawabshah, as so many Muslims did not know about League. The *karkuns* and the leaders have done nothing for the League.

If your honour may come once here at Nawabshah,[1] we hope the League will come in force [*sic*].

We beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
MOHAMMAD WARIAL
Proprietor

[1]Jinnah replied that it was not possible for him to visit Nawabshah in the near future and advised the Jami'at to do their best for Nawabshah. See *SHC*, Sind VI/48. Not printed.

115

Keshav Das to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/155-7

9 G. I. C. HOSTEL,
ALLAHABAD,
17 September 1945

Respected Jinnah Sahib,

I have been thinking of writing to you several times but my hands had not enough courage to do so. Whenever I opened the writing-pad my hands trembled, and I stopped to think how should an humble man like me address a great man, the Quaid-i-Azam. But today my trembling hands had to muster courage to attempt so bold an enterprise.

I have read much about Pakistan, as much as a man of my position could, but I am sorry to say that in spite of my efforts I have failed to understand it. Though I liked the idea, and still like it, yet I do not know on what basis it is to be established. When all other means have failed me I think it proper to refer the matter to you, the ultimate authority on the subject. I hope you would kindly favour me with a definite reply and not recommend merely books, which may only contribute to my anxiety. Please inform me [of] all the basic principles involved in Pakistan with all its particulars. No doubt it may be a waste of time to you, but it would clear the anxieties of many student friends of mine. If you think it proper, you may take the trouble of replying.

Being an economics student, I am led to think it would not be detrimental to India's progress as a whole. The country needs industrialization on a large scale. And this is possible only when there is one govt; division would lead to chaos in the economic sphere of the country. I think you would be more experienced in all such problems, so will you kindly take the trouble of answering the following questions:

i. What would be the condition of the Hindus within the Pakistan region? Will they be treated as aliens or they shall enjoy some freedom. If so, what kind of freedom would they enjoy? Shall they be permitted to live in those areas or not?
ii. Shall the Pakistan State be a unitary one or a federal one?
iii. Will it be dictated by the policy of the western Muslim states or shall it have its own policy? If it follows its independent policy, what that policy would be?
iv. How shall large-scale economic industries be established, especially

the hydro-electric schemes? Shall the power generated in Pakistan be exported, and in case of need, will it be imported from the Hindu State?

v. What kind of education would be given to the people in Pakistan State? Shall the people be taught to love each other and unite or to remain separate?

vi. How shall the roads, railways, etc., be governed? How will they be shared? At present they belong to the Central Govt. But when Pakistan is seceded [*sic*] what would be their arrangement?

vii. Will Pakistan be worked under the present Constitution of 1935 Act or without it?

I have wasted much of your precious time. But I hope you would kindly give a little attention in replying to it and removing my anxiety and facilitate [*sic*] me to form a right judgement of my own.

Awaiting an early reply,

Yours ever more,
KESHAV DAS
Student of XII

N.B. Though I am a Hindu, I hope you would not mind replying me.

116

Raghib Ahsan to Abdur Rab Nishtar

SHC (604)
[*Original in Urdu*]

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
18 September 1945

Respected and kind Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

What I have come to know of you from Sahibzada Ibadat Yar Khan (Alig.) and other friends made me an admirer of yours. In distant past, Sultan Khan Talahi, the Mir Jaffar of Sarhad and recently Abdul Ghaffar Khan have tarnished the name of Afghans of Frontier. It behoves you to efface these black spots and thus include your name among those who have cleansed the Frontier history.

Knowing you to be one of the ardent admirers of the sage of Islam, Allama Iqbal (may *Allah* bless his soul), made me bold to approach you and hence I

am sending two parts of the manifesto of the Bengal Muslim League[1] which I have jotted down on the request of the Working Committee of the Bengal League. I am sending this to you as, in my view, you are a prominent Iqbal devotee. Unity of thought produces unity of a nation. Faith and religion are the basis of this unity. The link that connects Bengal and Frontier—from Syed Ahmad Shaheed's movement of *jihad* up to the present Pakistan movement—is the unity of religion. But now the forces of Gandhism, Marxism and Kamalism (his secular politics) are active to destroy this unity of our nation. The question is what effort is being made to avert this danger and save our working class as well as the educated people from the storm of this heathenism?

I wonder how far the common man and our youth will come to our support with us [*sic*] on the strength of mere slogans. It is imperative that we should present before them some concrete and real objectives and some solid ideology that may inspire them to make great sacrifices for the nation, and save them from such evils as Socialism and Gandhism. I have tried to fill this gap in our ideology in Part I of the manifesto of Bengal League which should form the ideological basis of our movement.

The second thing is the shape of Pakistan, its political and economic system. The religious scholars, who have been the supporters of the League, frequently enquire about this system. What position the religion will hold there? What will be the position of religious scholars and the system of Islamic Jurisprudence comprising *Qazi* courts, *Sheikh-ul-Islam and Mufti-i-Azam* and assembly of *'ulama* (proposed by Allama Iqbal)? In Section B, Part II, an attempt to answer these questions has been made. Please refer to the English letter along with the explanatory note of constitution.

As you are a thinker of the Frontier and a prominent Iqbal devotee and a League leader, I would request you to please include in the Frontier League manifesto as well as the All India Muslim League manifesto, Part III concerning Islamic institutions and try to save Muslim youth and common Muslims from Marxism and Gandhism.

Hope you will give an early reply to my letter.

A servant of Iqbal's devotees,
RAGHIB AHSAN
M.A.
Member, Working Committee, Bengal Muslim League,
Member, All India Muslim League Council

[1]Not traceable.

117

Shafee Khalid to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad I/63

INDO-AMERICAN TRADING CO.,
NIZAMSHAHI ROAD,
HYDERABAD, DN,
18 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sorry to poach [*sic*] upon your precious time, when in fact, you really need a little rest.

Yet, this letter is written with a purpose and with the hope of getting sufficient encouragement from you. If you will please remember, during your stay in Hyderabad, one day you were kind enough to pat me on my shoulder and tell me, "well Mr. Khalid politics is all right but it is for you young people to develop the economic side of the community."

As I am given to taking deep impressions, these words went straight to my heart and changed my entire mode of thinking, and since then I have been giving more attention, first to the development of my import and export business with America (which had received a setback during the slump) and, secondly, to the formation of schemes for the development of Muslim areas.

One of my schemes for the establishment of a dairy farm with its allied products is under the consideration of the Hyderabad State, permission for which is expected in a fortnight or so. I have also submitted my schemes to the Bhopal Government for other profitable industries, which I hope to establish in due course.

I also wanted to establish a pencil factory in Hyderabad State, and some other industries are still in view. I am glad to have the cooperation of another zealous co-worker, but regarding the pencil factory, we are of the opinion that it could be worked up more profitably in the Kalat State, because the real juniper wood, which is required for the manufacture of pencils, is found in abundance.

In this connection, I have been in correspondence with the Chief Secretary, His Highness the Khan of Kalat, whose letter of the 28th March is before me and which is very encouraging.

My local commitments, however, did not permit me to give this matter an early attention. In the meantime, from private enquiries, I have found that the Kalat State is still an undeveloped area and there are possibilities of establishing large-size industries, such as tanning,

mining, dairy farming, fruit canning, pencil manufacturing, etc., and with its coastline and central position, Kalat State could be turned into a big workshop for central India and the adjoining area of our Pakistan.

My purpose in addressing these few lines is to request you to kindly draw the attention of the authorities concerned towards the possibilities of industries there, and if possible to put in a word or two in my favour, so that I may be given all facilities for a proper survey of the State as also towards the establishment of industries, schemes for which will be drawn up after due consideration.

I want to pay a visit to the Kalat State as soon as I am free from my present work in hand and I hope that the survey and my report about the possible development will be of immense benefit to the State as well as to the Muslim nation.

So much for business. Regarding the coming election for the Punjab Assembly, I am anxious to place my services at your disposal. I want to be in the thick of fighting, and as I actually belong to Punjab where I have family connections, I think I could do substantial work for the Muslim League during the election campaign.

With every best wish and due respects, I remain, dear Quaid-i-Azam, always at your service,

Yours very sincerely,
SHAFEE KHALID

118

Mohammad Abdullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/191

VILLAGE BASHINA,
MIRPUR BAZAR,
SYLHET,

19 September 1945

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

At this critical history [*sic*] of Muslim India much will depend on the formation of League Parliamentary Boards in different provinces. All possible care should be taken to eliminate the self-seekers in obtaining League nominations against the consensus of public opinion. Taking advantage of time-worn legislature the band of self-seekers advanced their own cause casting to four winds all sense of decency and propriety. They did not hesitate to indulge in various trades and businesses at

the cost of the constituencies. Naturally, a great deal of resentment prevails against those sitting members. In the interest of the greater cause of Muslim India and Pakistan, no stone should be left unturned to nominate only those candidates from the League who are likely to command the confidence of the majority of the electors. The avowed enemies of Islam will marshal all their resources to discredit the League and will feel much relieved if any blunder be committed in the selection of candidates. Let this humble servant of Islam and a life-long admirer of your goodself submit the following for your consideration:

i. Parliamentary Board may be manned by those selfless workers of the League who have some sacrifice to their credit and who are men of high integrity and character and who are not likely to seek election to the legislature.
ii. An odd number of members may constitute such Board. Majority of the members may be selected from outside the province. Nominations of the candidates may be called for and three persons from among the League workers may visit the constituencies and study public opinion independently and submit their respective recommendations in respect of each candidate separately in a sealed cover to the Board. These covers should be opened and reasons stated against and for each candidate may be properly weighed and sifted before the final nominations by the League be [*sic*] made. Any false step may jeopardise Muslim cause at this critical juncture.
iii. These three League members may be selected from inter-district [*sic*], so that they may not be unduly influenced in any way.
iv. They may arrange to meet as many voters as possible in a constituency in the absence of the candidates or their agents and submit the recommendations confidentially. They should make it a point not to hobnob with the candidate or those who are likely to unduly influence their individual judgment in their favour.

The humble servant of Islam,
MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH
M.A.

119

I. I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/298

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE,
MOHAMED ALI ROAD, BOMBAY,
19 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 12th instant[1] from Karachi together with your application for the Muslim League ticket for election to the Central Legislative Assembly from the Bombay City Muslim constituency and the cheque for Rs. 500 enclosed therewith.

A meeting of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board will be held on the 3rd October 1945, when all the applications for Muslim League ticket for elections to the Central Legislature from the Muslim constituencies of this province will be considered and recommendations will be made to the Central Parliamentary Board.

I hope you are keeping good health and getting the necessary rest at Quetta.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR

[1]No. 106.

120

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Bhik Nairang

SHC, Punjab III/61

QUETTA,
19 September 1945

Dear Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang,

I thank you for your letter of September 10th,[1] and I am sorry that I was not able to reply to you earlier, as I was very much pressed with various matters the moment I reached Karachi. I am glad that matters in Sind have very much improved and there is every hope of their working smoothly and harmoniously. I have noted all that you say about Punjab, but it is up to our people now to face all the difficulties that you have pointed out and do the best they can. The central machinery and myself

will do all that we can to help the Province of Punjab.

As regards your candidature for the forthcoming elections to the Central Assembly, I am afraid I cannot express any view directly or indirectly. It is for the Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League to decide who should be the official candidate, and all the matters that you have referred to will have to be considered by them in selecting the League official candidate and giving him the ticket. You must get the rules relating to the procedure that an application has got to adopt from the Central Parliamentary Board, and it is their function and duty to provide you with a copy. I think I have replied to both your questions as regards your own candidature and the extent to which, if at all, the League can bear election expenses of individual candidates. These matters are entirely the function and duty of the Central Parliamentary Board and the Committee of Action, who will have to work conjointly in all these matters. I thank you for all the information you have given me.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Esq., MLA,
Ambala City,
Punjab

No. 100.

121

Fazil Mooraj to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (606)

CUMBALA HILL,
BOMBAY,
19 September 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I do hope and pray to God that you are recouping your health and that your sister is also now in excellent health.

Ever since I met you at Mount Pleasant Road, I have been active and have tried my utmost to serve the cause of the Muslim League. There is one obstruction in my way and that is the attitude of the All India Shia Political Conference. This Conference gets great support from the Khoja Shia *Isna-i-'Ashari* leaders. I had free talks with them and am assured by them that these very people who are antagonistic

to the Muslim League will readily join the League and become its strong support[ers] if you, Quaid-i-Azam, will make a clear declaration [that] in Pakistan the social, cultural, political and religious privileges and rights of all sections of Islam and of all other religions of the people residing in Pakistan will be fully safeguarded.

Of course in the press report dated 20th March[1] of the interview you had with the Shias of Punjab, you have made it clear that the basic principle of the constitution of Pakistan will be freedom for all religions. What these people want is the mention of all sections and minorities. Such promises are being held out by the Congress and it is on the strength of this that the Muslim President of the Congress is able to draw in his fold many Shias, Ismailis and Dawoodis. Even some Ismailis and Dawoodis gave me the same impression. One impression was quoted that at the express desire of some influential Muslim League personalities, in the Municipal Urdu schools in Bombay a new *Kalima* introducing the names of the four Caliphs was made compulsory for the children of all sections of Islam. It was at the representation made by a deputation of the Shias that the then Mayor, Mr. Nagindas Master, had it discontinued.

I earnestly beseech you to give this matter your serious consideration. If you like you may write to me in reply[2] to this letter with permission to publish it.

One thing I may honestly state that I do not believe Mr. Hooseinbhoy will be brought round.

Yours sincerely,

FAZIL MOORAJ

[1]The press report was in fact dated 30 March 1944. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 445-6.
[2]See *SHC* (635). Not printed.

122

M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Habibullah

SHC, Bengal IV/57

QUETTA,
19 September 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your telegrams the last being dated 13th September,[1] which reached me here and I beg to inform you that the best course would be for you to see Sir Nazimuddin first as I hope you will understand that I don't know exactly your position. I, therefore, cannot

over the head of the Muslim League party and its leader, give you an interview, which would be misunderstood. Please therefore see Sir Nazimuddin.

Yours truly,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Bahadur of Dacca,
37 Mcleod Street,
Calcutta

[1]See *SHC*, Bengal IV/56. Not printed.

123

M. Azizul Haque to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/146

SECRET

5 MANSINGH ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
20 September 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You may remember that you brought the case of the *Vatan* to my notice. I arrived after my tour just before *'Id* and I immediately took up the matter; and I have just passed orders, allowing more paper to the *Vatan*. The *Vatan* had been getting roughly about seven and a half tons per month and we are now permitting ten tons. I enquired from the Editor and I find that ten tons would, for the time being, meet all his demands.

I have also permitted the publication of the *Tanvir* to be edited by Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman. The weekly paper the *Chandrika* of Malabar has also been permitted to be converted into a daily. A new Muslim Bengali paper is being permitted in Bengal named the *Mohammadi*, and in addition the *Morning News* is getting an extra quota. There are some other Muslim papers which have also been permitted.

You may remember that you mentioned the case of certain Arab merchants who were ordered to be deported. I immediately sent a code telegram from my tour to Sir Francis Mudie to reconsider the case. I have just received a reply from him that he had looked up the papers and that in view of the very strong recommendation of the Bombay Government he regretted he could not interfere with the decision arrived at. He has further stated that nothing can be done by way of staying orders passed in this case.

You may recollect the discussion which we had as regards the

future line of action *vis-a-vis* the Central Legislature. Since Lord Wavell's statement,[1] the situation has taken a new shape and I feel that I should take an early opportunity of discussing these matters with you. I do not know what your present programme is, but I shall be grateful if you kindly let me know when you are likely to return from Quetta so that I may have an early opportunity of meeting you.[2]

I trust you are now well by the grace of God. I saw in the papers that Miss Jinnah was not too well. I hope she is also now well by the grace of God.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. AZIZUL HAQUE
Member, Viceroy's Executive Council

[1]Issued on 19 September. See No. 116, *TP*, VI, 282-3.
[2]See No. 151.

124

M. A. Jinnah to K. Abdullah

F. 1104/320

QUETTA,
21 September 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] and beg to inform you that you are misinformed that there is any ban against Khaksars. All that the Muslim League has decided is that the members of the Muslim League cannot join any other political organization including the Khaksar organisation, which has recently developed into a political body.

As regards the constitution of Pakistan, it is not for any individual or any one body, even for the matter of that for the All India Muslim League, to frame a constitution for Pakistan, and, therefore, the course adopted by the Khaksar organization is not a practical one, because the constitution can only be framed by the *millat*, through its chosen representatives, which, in modern language, is called the constitution-making body and that body can only be formed when the boundaries of Pakistan have been defined. Once it has been done then the chosen representatives of the people would form the constitution-making body and they will, as a sovereign body, deal with the question of framing of the constitution. I have repeatedly pointed out that every Muslim who believes in the creed, principles,

policy and programme of the League is welcome to join the League.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

K. Abdullah, Esq.,
Egerton Road,
Peshawar

[1]See F. 1104/321-2, *QAP*. Not printed.

125

M. A. Jinnah to Abdur Rab Nishtar

SHC (612)

QUETTA,
21 September 1945

Dear Mr. Nishtar,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th September,[1] delivered to me by Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, and I thank you for it and for all the information you have given me. I didn't really mean that you must come, as you must have observed from my letter,[2] with Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, or on or before the 20th September. I merely threw out a suggestion that if you could conveniently do so, I would welcome it and I don't think there is any need for you to take the long journey to Quetta at present. If I think it is necessary, I would ask you to take the trouble of doing so.

I have discussed the whole position of the Frontier with Mr. Abdul Qaiyum and we have had a long talk at Simla and discussed the pros and cons, when you were there in connection with the Simla Conference. If you will carry out what we both thought, after our discussion, was the right course to adopt, I have no doubt we shall win hands down in the Frontier, but you must be determined, fearless and bold. This is a very critical moment in the history of Muslim India. I find that some members of the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board are reaching Peshawar very soon. The first thing for you to do is, in consultation with them and other leaders, to form a really good *ad hoc* Parliamentary Board, as the Provincial League is not able to function and it is instead being managed, controlled and supervised by an *ad hoc* committee which was appointed some time ago.

As regards the Afghan *Jirga* people, it is not possible for us to recognize them as a separate Muslim political organization. They are

welcome to join the League and you are right when you say that the Muslim League cannot agree to recognize their organization as a political body, but certainly, they can confine their propaganda to the reform of the Afghans as a guild but they must accept the creed, principles, policy and programme of the All India Muslim League. Nor can we depart from our constitution and policy that it is for the Provincial Parliamentary Board, when set up, to deal with the question of the selection of candidates subject to appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board or its supervision. It is therefore not possible for me or anybody else to enter into an arrangement with any other Muslim organization or negotiate with regard to putting up the League candidates. In other words I agree with you that it is not satisfactory unless the Afghan *Jirga* joins the Muslim League wholeheartedly, and I do hope that you and Mr. Abdul Qaiyum may be able to make them understand that this is the best course for them as well as for us and in the interest of Muslim India they should not hesitate to join the *millat*, when they agree with everything that we stand for as indicated by you in your letter. Finally, once more I urge upon you to carry out the course which we discussed and you were in complete agreement with it, with determination, courage and fearlessness.

Hoping you are well, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar,
Peshawar

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 103.

126

Saadut Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/85

NANPARA PALACE,
LUCKNOW,
21 September 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The solid stand taken by you at the Simla Conference has made me firm in the conviction that the Muslim League is the only organization that is fearlessly and honestly championing the Muslim cause under your able leadership, and that any Musalman who dares to go against

it shall be committing a sacrilege. Overwhelmed by your statesmanship and overjoyed by the thought that it is being utilized for the purpose of bringing gain to the Musalmans of India, I have decided to work for the League in my province and to do my utmost in winning the elections. I am looking upon you to guide my future moves in the League circle and to advise and instruct me accordingly.

With these few words I feel honour[ed] in placing myself and my humble services at your command.

Yours sincerely,
SAADUT ALI
Raja, Nanpara & Mohamdi Raj

127

M. A. Jinnah to Fazal Karim

SHC, Madras I/104

QUETTA,
21 September 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 12th September[1] and I thank you for it. I am grateful to you for your contribution to the League funds and the draft enclosed for rupees five thousand and seven hundred only on behalf of the Punjabi Leather Merchants residing in Madras. The official receipt will be sent to you in due course.

As regards Madras affairs, which you have been good enough to draw my attention to, may I request you to send all the information to the Committee of Action. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, as you know, is the Convener of the Committee of Action and it is really their function to attend to these matters. The Committee of Action was appointed for the very purpose of organizing, strengthening, supervising and controlling the various Provincial and District Leagues all over India. I do hope that you will take the trouble of putting all facts before the Committee.

Thanking you and the Punjabi Leather Merchants for their very generous donation,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Fazal Karim, Esq.,
235/1 Angappa Naick Street,
Madras

[1]Not traceable.

128

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/195-8
[Original in Urdu]

DURGA,
22 September 1945

Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam,
Salaam-i-Masnoon

I am recording my observations covering the period of the preceding thirty years. I faintly recollect the days of Sir Syed and remember that Hindus readily acquired education while Muslims debated about it. *Maulvis* considered learning of English as un-Islamic. Gradually, liberal-minded Muslims started appearing on the scene and the influence of *Maulvis* waned. Subsequently, education became popular amongst the Muslims but the percentage of educated Muslims *vis-a vis* Hindus was quite low. Both the communities considered education as a means to employment. Hindus got educated earlier and completely monopolised all the Govt. departments while Muslims kept shuttling between pillar and post [*sic*] for employment as few vacancies remained to be filled. With great efforts they managed to get some opening.

Now the era of women's education has started. Even in this field Hindu women took a lead. Muslims do not consider education good for women. As a result jobs for females were filled by Hindu women. Some enlightened Muslims arranged for the education of their womenfolk but such women cannot do any useful work as there are no jobs for them. They have however become spendthrift [*sic*]. Usually, Muslims belatedly follow others and suffer consequently. Hindus flourished in trade while Muslims abhorred it, and consequently lagged behind. It now appears that, despite innumerable sacrifices made by the Muslims, the Hindus will control the future Govt. and the Muslims will have to accept whatever is given to them.

God may grant you long life. I believe that in the entire Muslim world a great man like you has not been born so far. Muslims have accepted you as their leader, and even your opponents acknowledge your wisdom.

Hindus, being a wise community, grab whatever benefit comes their way and then they strive for more. Muslims, on the other hand, look for the full benefit initially and discard the piecemeal opportunities. Even if Pakistan is achieved, most of the benefit will be derived by the Hindus. Muslims will succeed only with the help of Hindus. Please accept

whatever advantage comes your way, otherwise you will lose everything.

A WELL-WISHER

129

Abdur Razaq Moghul to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/200

KAMBER, SIND,
22 September 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith a cutting from the *Tribune,* Lahore, dated 19.9.45, in which it is clearly indicated that Allama Mashriqi, the supreme leader of Khaksars, is willing to join Muslim League.

The unity of the two Muslim organisations of India is fondly desired by all the Indian Muslims. Hope you will kindly condescend to fulfil the long cherished desire of Musalmans.

Pray remember the strength of the unity of the nation and reaching the goal of Pakistan by adopting it. Due to the present conditions the same may kindly be purchased even at a very exorbitant price. Kindly favour me with a reply.

With best regards,

Yours obediently,
ABDUR RAZAQ MOGHUL

Enclosure to No. 129

ALLAMA MASHRIQI'S OFFER TO MR. JINNAH

Willing to join Muslim League if—

PESHAWAR, Sept. 16—Allama Mashriqi, in an interview, on the eve of his departure for Lahore, said that he desired to see Indian Muslims united on one platform.

He said, I am even now prepared to join the Muslim League, provided it definitely recognises some reasonable share for the poor masses and does not retain all the power exclusively for certain *Khan Bahadurs.* The first step in this direction should be to reorganise the League on more democratic lines and the League President and the Working Committee should be elected directly through a general election all over India.—A.P.I.

130

Aley Hasnain Ansari to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/56

MUSALMAN BOARDING HOUSE,
UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD,
22 September 1945

Our respected Quaid-i-Azam,

In response to my letter, as a representative of Muslim Hostel, addressed to Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, requesting to join the Muslim League, I have received his kind and favourable reply.

From his letter I infer that he is readily willing to join the League.

No doubt since 1941 onwards, he has been proving himself to be harmful to the Muslim League and the Muslim nation as a whole but he is repenting for that at the same time. He has lost all his honour and prestige. All this is sufficient to make him understand and bring him on the right path. God forgives three times and even more. League being, after all, a human organization, there is no reason why he should not be forgiven if he prays to you for that.

As a Musalman, my sincere feelings are with him and my deep-hearted love and respect to you. I pray to you, our great and respectable Quaid-i-Azam, to take the necessary but favourable action, please.

I hope to receive your kind and favourable reply.

True copy of his letter is attached herewith.

Yours sincerely,
ALEY HASNAIN ANSARI
M. Sc. (Pre.), C.T.

Enclosure to No. 130

SHC, Bengal I/57

My dear brother,

I have received a letter purporting to have been written on behalf of the members of the Musalman Boarding House, Allahabad University.

I thank you for the letter although I do not agree with your statement of facts. You say that the honour of the Muslim nation is at stake. I do not agree. As you will find from my letter, it is only panic which has seized the Muslims of India for which there is no justification.

You then go on to say that it is not the time for us to be divided amongst us etc. Permit me to point out that for this division the present leaders of the League are entirely responsible. I am the oldest member of the League in India at the present moment having taken a very prominent part in the organisation of the League at Dacca in the year 1906. Since then I have occupied the highest office of honour in the League and I challenge anyone who can show a better record of service to the League than my humble self. When I was the Chief Minister at the head of the League Cabinet in Bengal from the 1st April 1937 to Dec. 1941, I alone fought the Congress against their oppression in the Congress-governed provinces and it was I who alone fought the machinations of our enemies. Unfortunately some of the Ministers in the Cabinet conspired to overthrow me and seize power for themselves. They submitted mass resignations and thereby broke[up] my Cabinet and broke[up] my party and then sent an ex-parte confidential letter to Mr. Jinnah. I do not wish to go into details, but Mr. Jinnah expelled me from the League in 1941.

Since then I made various attempts to come back into the League but I have been offered most humiliating terms and the Bengal leaders of the League have always resisted my attempts to come back to the League because they know if I am taken back in the League again their powers would be gone and they will not be in a position to manage things according to their own will. Mr. Jinnah has been listening to false reports and has not seen fit to take me back in the League.

Please remember that I cannot join the League unless Mr. Jinnah lifts the ban he has imposed on me. I have tried to induce him to lift the ban, but he has not accepted my prayer. In these circumstances, I am surprised that you are appealing to me to join League for the sake of Muslim solidarity. I cannot join the League as long as the ban remains. I think you better appeal to Mr. Jinnah to square up the differences that exist in the community in order that the Musalmans may unite and work together. If this letter does not satisfy you, please let me know the points on which further clarification is needed.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

131

A. B. Yusufi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/62

THE DAILY *SARHAD*,
PESHAWAR,
22 September 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The matter which I wish to bring to your notice may not be very important for the present, however, at this juncture when all the forces are being collected against the League, I deem it my duty and venture to write to you a few facts for your information, which run as under:

2. Mr. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, Leader of Khaksars, recently paid a visit to Peshawar. He delivered an address in a Khaksar camp showering abuses and misrepresentations on our Quaid-i-Azam. As an old friend he paid a call and I returned the same. During conversations (in my personal capacity) we had good opportunity to discuss the possibilities, of the League-Khaksar unity.

3. He is no doubt ignorant of any etiquette and the inconsistency has dominated his mind to such an extent that he cannot stand by his word nowadays. However, we had a long talk and he agreed:

(a) That he will altogether finish his movement (Khaksars) and will join the Muslim League provided Quaid-i-Azam declares that the doors of Muslim League are open for Mr. Mashriqi.

(b) That he will not press the so-called Khaksar Constitution, rather he will bury it deep if the above condition is fulfilled.

(c) That he will request that the members of the League should strictly observe the rules and regulations already adopted by the All India Muslim League (in his opinion the Leaguers are not observing their constitution strictly).

4. I have written to Mr. Mashriqi for the confirmation of the above conditions, though I am of the opinion that in order to make [*sic*] confusion he will create new points instead of confirming the above.

5. If he be sincerely ready to stand by his words and confirm the same in writing and give up his movement and the so-called Khaksar Constitution altogether, then I think there shall remain no constitutional ban on his entering the Muslim League ranks. However, this is a matter for our Quaid-i-Azam to decide and we have to obey his orders. I shall be highly grateful to have your command[1] in this connection or in connection with the Muslim League.

Wishing you good health, rest and prosperity for the service of Islam and the Muslims,

A. B. YUSUFI

[1]See No. 155.

132

K. Ahmedulla to C. R. Rajagopalachari
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 880/207-8

DILKUSHA,
HIMAYAT NAGAR,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
24 September 1945

My dear Raja Jee,

The resolutions [that] have been passed against you in Madras are not surprising. I am a pro-Congress Muslim and I am simply disgusted with the mentality of the bigoted Hindus, who are unfortunately in the Congress. They have no idea of toleration, forgiveness or understanding of other man's point of view. Excuse me to say [*sic*] that this is the mentality of slaves who, when they get a little chance, want to dominate and force their point of view on others through operation [*sic*]. Exactly what has been done in the case of prohibition. If the Muslims do not trust Hindu *raj*, now they have come to the conclusion that they are perfectly right. For example, suppose the majority take it into their head to stop [*sic*] mutton, to stop their [*sic*] call for the prayers, they will at once legalise it. The idea behind the resolutions, which have been passed against you, is nothing more or less [*sic*] except to get the premiership of Madras for one of their relations or friends. When men of your calibre are subjected to such kind of tyranny and insults for only a little difference of opinion on "Quit India" Resolution, what will be the lot of poor Muslims under the tyrannical rule of these communal-minded bigoted liars. I am afraid the Hindus have never learnt the art of governing and winning over people, as they never ruled over anything except in mythology [*sic*] or some pre-historic imaginary empires. Please point to me a single instance in which Hindus have ruled other communities. The three years of Congress rule, we can never forget. Put this letter before those people who have passed

the resolutions and send me a reply.

Yours sincerely,
K. AHMEDULLA

[PS.] Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah should make a note of this and redouble his efforts for Pakistan. He can understand the mentality of these communal-minded Hindus, who are rather puffed up under the imagination [*sic*] that England will hand over India to rule through some third class Hindu gentlemen, who have no tact [*sic*] of ruling in their blood. I think Mr. Rajajee's chief sin [was] that he tried to reconcile with Muslims; we can see through it. We are not afraid of these howling lots.

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Hafizur Rahman Malik to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/159-60

AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE,
BARAUT,
DIST. MEERUT, U.P.,
24 September 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

You must be aware about [*sic* for of] the forthcoming trial of Indian National Army men, women and officers. These people are not Japan's agents but they are patriots who wanted to overthrow foreign rule from [*sic*] India. This Army consists of Muslims as well as Hindus. I humbly request that you must also take part in saving these precious lives who tried to liberate India. Their aim was noble but circumstances did not allow them to reach their goal.

They perhaps will be treated as war criminals and traitors. It is very sad and shameful on the part of the Allies to count these brave hearts as war criminals. If the members of I.N.A. are called war criminals, then French underground and army under General [Charles] De Gaulle;[1] men under Marshal Tito[2] also fall in the same category. One who fights for the liberation of his country is not a criminal but a patriot. The first and foremost aim of the Muslim League is independence. The Americans also fought against the British Govt. and liberated their country. It is the birthright of every Indian, be he a Muslim or a Hindu, to fight for his country's independence.

You are the man, one of the greatest lawyers the world possesses, who can save these precious lives from guillotine. As a Muslim, it is your foremost duty to defend the righteous.[3] The holy *Qur'an* also preaches to do the same.

It is no use writing much about these [persons] to a great man like you; but you will please excuse me for being enough [*sic*] to write you this.

With best of my regards,

Yours sincerely,
HAFIZUR RAHMAN MALIK

[1]Leader of the French Resistance during World War II; President, 1944-45, 1959-69.
[2]Leader of the Yugoslav Resistance during World War II; Premier, 1945-53; President, 1953-80.
[3]Jinnah had issued a statement on the subject on 15 September, see Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 229.

134

Iqbal Masud to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/40

29 S.S. EAST, MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
24 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I know that you are so occupied in the national work these days that it will be difficult for you to pay full attention to the letters that might be pouring in from your followers. Nevertheless, I venture to distract your attention for a little while as the matter that I am going to deal with is of too great a concern to the future of Muslim India, though the humble suggestion that I beg to offer may be of little value to you. Still I consider it my duty as a member of the democratic organisation that the Muslim League is to contribute my suggestion.

No one realises better than you the significance that the coming elections have for the destiny of the Muslims. They are a matter of life and death for us. It is also futile to try to convey to you the importance that Punjab occupies, as it will be the determining factor of the elections. If we lose Punjab we lose everything. It must also not have escaped your attention what nefarious activities the ministry, in conjunction with its Governor is carrying on in order to thwart the attempts of the Muslim League to sweep the polls. All sorts of illegal and unconstitutional means are being employed to prevent the League workers from conveying

the message of Pakistan to every hearth and home. Meetings organised by Muslim League are on one pretext or [an]other being banned. The sincere workers of League are being harassed by the district police authorities and every impediment is being placed in their way. These things are quite apart from the coercion and bribery being used by the officialdom in order to ensure the votes of Muslim zamindars and villagers for the Unionists and Ahrars. You must have a first-hand knowledge of these things as you are in close touch with the Provincial League. I was alarmed to learn that despite all the efforts made by the Provincial League to secure a quota of petrol for election work, the government has stubbornly refused to allow it. All these activities are being carried on with the tacit sanction of Bertrand Glancy, [Governor] who has his own interests in getting the present Ministry returned with good majority.

And these things are only a foretaste of what is to come. At the polling booths, further hooliganism will appear. The ignorant Muslim masses will be deliberately misled. The open ballot being the system prevalent in Punjab, all sorts of threats will be used against those who vote for the League. I don't know what else is in store for the League at the hands of the wretched fellows now in power.

I, therefore, request you to give this matter the consideration that it deserves, and straighten the matters. The Provincial League has already passed resolutions asking the British Govt. to recall Bertrand Glancy and to ensure free election in the province. If only you were to lend your powerful voice to this demand , it might be taken notice of. You might as well threaten to boycott the elections if the affairs in Punjab are not set right and if the Governor is not recalled. For it is no use fighting the elections under such hostile conditions when chances of success appear to be growing infinitesimal. And I cannot for a moment believe that if you were to issue such a statement or to communicate such a resolve to the British Prime Minister, they would dare to ignore your demands or carry on elections without Muslim League participating in it [*sic*]. We are waiting for the outcome of Noon-Tiwana talks. If the desired unity emerges out of this, well and good, otherwise I think the way I have suggested is the only alternative.

I think that you, being in much better position than myself to judge these things, will give this matter a serious thought and try to find out a solution on the lines that I have humbly suggested.

Accept, Sir, the best wishes from one to whom nothing is more dear than the cause for which you are so valiantly fighting,

Yours,
IQBAL MASUD

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Mohamed Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/20

CENTRAL OFFICE, ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGANJ,
DELHI,
24 September 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As we had discussed at Karachi, I am writing this to request you for early remittance of the amount of Rs. 10,000 to be contributed to the Central Office of the All India Muslim League to meet the additional expenditure incurred by the office on account of the fact that the secretariat work of the Committee of Action has been entrusted to that office. I understand that the Central Office has exhausted all the funds at its disposal and is now short of money.

The actual expenditure of the Central Office is reported to have been Rs. 11,339-12-9 in 1942-43, Rs. 12,979-4-6 in 1943-44 and Rs. 23,463-8-3 in 1944-45, which means a surplus expenditure of over rupees ten thousand due to the additional expenses incurred by the Central Office on establishment, stationery, postage, etc.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KHAN,
Chairman, Committee of Action

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M. A. Jinnah to Mir Haider

SHC, Punjab I/55

QUETTA,
24 September 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 1st,[1] and I hope that by now you have understood the constitutional position and the rules and regulations that have been laid down by the All India Muslim League, and also you must have read my statement in the press. In the

first instance, it will be for your Provincial Parliamentary Board, which is going to be set up very soon, to consider all the applications and select the candidates, who will be the Muslim League official candidates. Anyone whose application has been rejected by the Provincial Parliamentary Board has a right to appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board who will be on the spot to deal with the matter and dispose of all the appeals that may be filed before them but then theirs will be the final decision. These are the two tribunals constituted by us, and I, as the President of the All India Muslim League, cannot interfere directly or indirectly with their functions, as I have made it clear in my recent statements and speeches. Of course, I shall be glad to have a talk with you, apart from the constitutional position indicated above, when I am visiting the North-West Frontier Province, which will probably be in the middle of November.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Major Mir Haider,
Sunny Bank,
Murree

[1]No. 78.

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M. A. Jinnah to Mian Mumtaz Daultana

SHC, Punjab III/38

QUETTA,
24 September 1945

My dear Mumtaz,

I am enclosing herewith a letter[1] for you and the Punjab Provincial Muslim League to consider.

Also I would like to bring to your notice that recently in Quetta I happened to meet some people from Dera Ghazi Khan, whose names are as follows:

Sardar Najmuddin Mazaree,
Sardar Moyen Azam,
Sardar Saifur Rehman, and
Mr. Abdul Hakim B. A.

They seem to think that the central authority of the Provincial Muslim League is neglecting them, although they are ready to do all they

can to support the League in the forthcoming elections in the Punjab.

Similarly I met Mian Fazal Karim, Secretary of the Muslim League, Hazro, Dist. Campbellpur, and they are very anxious that you should immediately send some leaders to Dera Ghazi Khan and Campbellpur. Of course, you know the position better than I do but I thought it worth my while to draw your attention to this matter as a result of my talk with them.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mian Mumtaz Daultana,
3 Durand Road,
Lahore

[1]Not traceable.

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M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Sharif Toosy

SHC, P&P I/115

QUETTA,
24 September 1945

Dear Mr. Toosy,

Many thanks for your letter of September 6th.[1] I am afraid I cannot apply my mind at present to the manuscript referred to by you, as my whole attention is now concentrated on the forthcoming elections.

I am glad that you are still active and making contributions to the press, and I thank you for the various suggestions you have made in your letter.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mohammad Sharif Toosy,
Headmaster,
M.B. High School,
Wazirabad,
Punjab

[1]No. 92.

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Homi P. Mody to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/108

BOMBAY HOUSE, FORT,
BOMBAY,
24 September 1945

My dear Jinnah,

I do not know whether you have seen the Memorandum compiled by Dr. Matthai and myself on *The Economic and Financial Aspects of Pakistan*. I am sending you a copy with this.[1]

We have attempted a detached, factual analysis of the problem, and I hope we have done something to remove the facile assumption that Pakistan is absolutely unworkable. I am conscious that our conclusions will not appeal to you in so far as they stress the need for a definite understanding between Pakistan and Hindustan in matters of defence and economic development as a prerequisite to separation, but this is our view, and I can only claim that it has been arrived at without any sort of political bias and with every desire to appreciate the point of view of the Muslim community.

I hope you are keeping fit. Though I have not seen you for a long time, I have refrained from troubling you when you have so many preoccupations and anxieties.

With kind regards,

HOMI P. MODY

[1]Jinnah replied that he would certainly read the Memorandum with great interest, and that he was much better See *SHC*, Non-Muslims I/109. Not printed.

140

M. A. Jinnah to F. K. Khan Durrani

SHC, P&P III/127

QUETTA,
24 September 1945

Dear Mr. Durrani,

I received your letter dated 23rd August[1] some time ago and noted everything that you said, but I was far from well at the time, and there

were so many other matters of urgent importance that I was not able to reply to your letter earlier. You will observe that I am here in Quetta just now, and I am glad to say that I am very much better, and I hope that the climate of this place may help me to recuperate.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

F. K. Khan Durrani, Esq.,
65 Railway Road,
Lahore

[1]No. 47.

141

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/91

QUETTA,
24 September 1945

My dear Hassan,

I have not heard from you for a long time. Please let me know what is happening in Bengal and what you people are doing to face the forthcoming elections. Don't you think that Bengal, headed by Ispahanis, should handsomely help the Provincial and the Central Muslim League Funds? You must have been following how magnificently Bombay has acted. It is high time that Bengal should not lag behind. This is the time, and the most critical time, when the League should be supported handsomely and generously by those who are in a position to do so. Please keep me in touch with what you people are doing and how things are developing in Bengal. You must have read the recent statement of Naushar Ali, your ex-President of the Assembly, and the various intrigues that are going on in co-operation with the Congress leaders.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

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Mohammad Khalilullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/59

CONFIDENTIAL

C/O POSTMASTER,
BOMBAY,
24 September 1945

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

I attended the A.[I.]C.C. meeting on behalf of my daily the *Hamdam* and the diatribe which was levelled against Musalmans and their League was simply obnoxious. Jawaharlal and Patel snubbed Iftikharuddin and Dr. Ashraf and open challenge was thrown to the Muslims. As I wrote to you in my previous letter,[1] the Muslim intelligentsia has awakened to the grave dangers threatening them and it is high time that you showed some leniency towards those Leaguers who had been expelled years ago. If the ban imposed on Huq and Sir Sultan is lifted, I assure you they would come into our fold. Patel and others are depending on Huq's cooperation and they openly said that while Bengal's millions were dying of starvation, Muslim League ministry was busy whitewashing their misdeeds instead of tendering their resignations and the Congress is bound to make capital out of it. Fazlul Huq has written to me only today, "I cannot join the League unless the ban is lifted." It is high time we gave a shock to the Congress and lifted the ban from all Muslim Leaguers. Sinking personal differences, whatever they may be, I would earnestly request you in the name of Islam to show the spirit of our Prophet [PBUH] and forgive the past misdeeds, allow them to rejoin the League and fight the show-boy of Congress.[2] Huq further writes "Let Mr. Jinnah do what the Prophet [PBUH] did after the conquest of Makkah..." and "I do not believe that the time is critical for Musalmans. Pakistan is not an issue, the British imperialists have raised this issue in order to sidetrack the real issue before the country. As regards Pakistan, no election is necessary to find out what is known to everybody. Practically all the Musalmans are for Pakistan and non-Muslims are against it... I hope you will write to Mr. Jinnah and try your luck..."

Sir Sultan and many others are also sure to follow Huq. Please in the name of God forget and forgive and let us all conjointly face the Congress and as I wrote to you there is only one man who can shower abuses on Congress and it is Fazlul Huq.

I shall be going to Calcutta the moment I hear from you the good

news. Sir Firoz would also agree with me in this respect.

With prayers for your long life,

Yours affectionately,
MOHAMMAD KHALILULLAH
Ex-Minister, Education & Local Self Government, Patiala

PS. Please be good to send me a wire lifting the ban of Huq so that I may run up to Calcutta by the first train and bring him over to your door. Nazimuddin would not grumble as he knows me well.

[1]No. 50.

[2]The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a nationalist Muslim leader, was lampooned as such by Jinnah.

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Khwaja Habibullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal IV/58

37 McLEOD STREET, CALCUTTA,
25 September 1945

Dear Sir,

I have the honour of sending you a telegram[1] requesting for an interview at whatever place you desire, so as to place before you certain matters for your consideration and for the consideration of the All India Muslim League Working Committee, especially so after the appeal which was made by you and subsequently by the Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League on similar lines. In your statement you made it clear that it was your desire that all the Musalmans of India should stand solidly behind you and the Working Committee on your demand for 'Pakistan', that the All India Muslim League was the only organisation which represents the views of the hundred million Musalmans, and that at this moment all personal quarrels should be forgotten and everyone should work for the attainment of the Muslim League goal.

In response to my telegram, I have received your reply,[2] the latter portion of which I have not been able to understand. According to the Constitution, the President of the Provincial Muslim League is head or leader of the Muslim League organization in Bengal, and the Muslim League Parliamentary Party elects a leader from amongst itself for matters relating to legislative works within the Assembly and Council. At present, Section 93 is enforced and the legislature is not in existence.

New elections are being held soon and for that purpose the Provincial Muslim League is holding a meeting and creating the Parliamentary Board for running the elections. My reason for wishing to see you, as you are head of the League Organisation, was to place my point of view and place certain facts before you so that you and the Working Committee would be able to get the views of some of us who have differed many times with the Muslim League Parliamentary Party in the way the party had been run and if you and the Working Committee had so desire [*sic*] after enquiry had found that statement which I have made was substantially correct, then you would have seen that in future things would not happen which will bring about a cleavage in Muslim ranks in Bengal.

I would earnestly and sincerely appeal to you as the leader of the Musalmans to give me an opportunity of an interview[3] and pleading certain facts before you and if you feel after hearing me that my cause better [*sic*], would be to place the same facts before the President of the Provincial Muslim League or his Secretary, I shall most certainly do so.

I remain, Sir,

Yours very truly,

K. HABIBULLAH

Nawab Bahadur of Dacca

[1]*SHC*, Bengal IV/56. Not printed.
[2]No. 122.
[3]See No. 183.

144

S. Sadiq Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/209

AMRITSAR,

25 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I find from your recent speeches that you have come to the conclusion that Congress, with the help of Muslim traitors and hirelings, is bent upon to impose [*sic*] Hindu *Raj* on Muslim majority provinces. You also claim that Muslim League is the sole representative of India [*sic*], and in order to prove it, you are asking Muslims to return all Muslim League representatives in the coming elections. I cannot say about other provinces but I am not over-optimistic about [the] Punjab. In my opinion,

we will have about half the Muslim members in the Provincial Legislature. At present we have got 22 members, at the most our number will be nearly doubled, i.e. we will have about 44 out of 88.

If we come to terms with Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, with the exception of two or three Congressmen and Ahrars, God willing all the Punjab Muslim MLAs will be Muslim Leaguers. Such state of affairs is bound to give great impetus to the Muslim League cause in NWFP, and there is every likelihood that they will follow our example by returning the Muslim Leaguers in overwhelming majority, and thus not betray Muslim India. In my humble opinion it is much better to re-admit Malik Sahib in Muslim League and get solid support of [the] Punjab. If we do not make up with him and Malik Sahib betrays us on a higher issue such as Muslim League is not the sole representative of Muslim India, how would it help us if we dub him as an arch-traitor of Pakistan and lose Pakistan just as we lost Bengal in 1757,[1] although it is certain in a few years time he will be removed from premiership by his Congress, Mahasabhai and Akali supporters, after he has served their purpose. Division amongst Muslims is triumph of Congress and its minions, and there is nothing which they fear more than peace amongst us. So I would appeal to you to come to the Punjab and save us from permanent enslavement. [The] Punjab, as its name shows, never had the same boundaries and its boundaries have been always changing in the past and, with the control of Army in the Centre, it can easily be converted into Muslim minority province, by adding a number of adjacent Hindu districts or even its constitution can be suspended and all guarantees to the Muslim nation be treated as a scrap of paper.

Yours sincerely,
S. SADIQ HASAN
Bar-at-Law, MLA

[1]Refers to Mir Jatar's defection and concomitant defeat of Siraj-ud-Daula at Plassey

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Rafiq Mahmood to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/214-5

TANK GARDEN ROAD,
SIALKOT CANT.,
25 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In view of the great strength that the Muslim League and the Pakistan

Movement are mustering, and especially in view of the great and far-reaching effect that the attainment of this ideal will have on the Muslim world of India [*sic*] and [of the] other problems with which the Muslims are in no way less concerned, I would consider it high time to touch upon one of such important problems that are sure to crop up in due course, and seek your esteemed clarifications on a rather disputable point.

I quite admit that no official statement has yet been made by the League authorities regarding the common language of Pakistan. So I cannot say definitely which language will be the lingua franca of Pakistan. But whatever the circumstances, I am sure the Pakistanists [*sic*] will have to choose between Arabic and Urdu only and make either language their lingua franca.

Leaving aside the religious sentiment of some of our *'ulama* which may favour Arabic for this purpose, Urdu seems to have the greatest likelihood of becoming the lingua franca of Pakistan. This is also borne out by the queer [*sic*] attitude adopted by most of the Leaguers who seem to be too anxious to see Urdu in its full bloom and who would not hesitate even wishing [*sic*] Urdu to enjoy a world-wide sway by becoming an international language. In fact these Leaguers seem to be quite serious about it.

Let alone other aims, if any, to me an average Leaguer, if moved by these two ends, the latter of which may be only a very minor aim: the attainment of Pakistan, and making Urdu not only the lingua franca of India but also of the whole world, making it an international language. But I am of opinion that there is a very grave contradiction in terms underlying these two aims which, I am sorry to say, nobody seems alive to. I cannot see how these two aims can go together. In fact one contradicts the other.

It is obvious that the Hindus are already a kind of prejudiced [*sic*] against Urdu. They think it to be the language of Muslims. Now if Pakistan is established and if Urdu is made its national language, the Hindus are sure to discard it as being the language of Muslims. Thus Urdu will be reduced to the status of a merely communal and religious language which it is certainly not, and let alone being an international tongue [*sic* for language], it will never be able even to retain its present position. Even worse will be the situation, if Arabic is made the common language of Pakistan, because in that case Urdu will lose its sway not only in Hindustan but even in Pakistan.

Thus the achievement of Pakistan will certainly turn out to be inimical—rather crushing to the cause of Urdu language and literature, which are our great and highly valuable assets.

It is because of such doubts and confusions troubling my mind that I have ventured to pen down these few lines. As a humble Muslim and a sincere believer in Islamic creed, therefore, may I seek, Sir, your

esteemed opinion as to:

i. which language will be the common language of Pakistan,
ii. whether there is no apparent contradiction in these two claims, and
iii. whether it will not be injurious to Urdu, no matter whatever language becomes the lingua franca of Pakistan.

Awaiting your early favour of a reply,

Yours faithfully,
RAFIQ MAHMOOD

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Makhdum Abdul Rashid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/212-3

TANDO GHULAM ALI,
HYDERABAD,
25 September 1945

Bismillahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have already dropped your honour [*sic*] a letter at Karachi, when you were staying there. After that, Sir, I had a long talk with you at Hyderabad railway station, when you were going to Quetta. Sir, as a student worker I am doing my utmost to plead the League cause, but the trifle [*sic*] tensions between the small groups in the Muslim League circle in Sindh has arisen [*sic*] to such an extent that Baloch [*sic*] are against Syeds, Pirs are against the well-wishers of the League, and so forth. If this is the condition, really Sir, it will affect the Muslim League.

Allama Mashriqi, the well-known "fool" [*sic*] leader of Khaksars is coming to tour Sind Province, so it is quite essential, Sir, that you or the big [*sic*] representatives of the Muslim League must come and deliver lectures, not in Karachi only, but at least in all the district towns of Sind, which is quite essential. There are some parts in Sind, where masses absolutely don't know what actually League is. There is another example in the landlords constituency; there are two candidates—one Hon. Sir Ghulam Hussain, another Mr. Bhurgari; both are Leaguers. Sir G. Hussain will get the League ticket, but why then Mr. Bhurgari should contest at all, being a Leaguer against a Leaguer!

Respected Sir, your coming to Sind and the Punjab, during the days of elections, is quite essential. I earnestly hope that your honour will

put light [*sic*] on the matter and oblige.

In the end I pray that God Almighty may give you long life and ever increasing prosperity to serve the Muslim cause, till we achieve our destined goal, Pakistan.

With kindest regards,

Yours most obedient servant and follower,
MAKHDUM ABDUL RASHID
B.A., LL. B. *(student)*

N.B. The volunteers of the Khaksars are coming from all over Indian States to help Khaksars in elections.

147

Mohammad Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 906/88-91

HUSSAIN BUILDING,
NEAR IMPERIAL BANK,
AMRITSAR,
25 September 1945

Bismillahir Rahmaanir Rahim
Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad*, Quaid-i-Azam *Paindabad*
Tum salaamat raho hazaar baras
Har baras ke hon din pachaas hazaar[1]

Quaid-i-Azam,

Your sanity and political intelligence has been admittedly acknowledged by the world at large. The unqualified defeat you have given to the Congress in Simla Conference and the meanness and bigotedness [*sic*] of the Congress you have brought to light cannot be helped to refrain [*sic*] from being praised by the enemies even.

Quaid-i-Azam! It is well known to you that such a delicate and precarious time has never come for Muslims of India in political sphere as the present one. It is inevitable that during the few comings [*sic*] either the Muslims will attain Pakistan or will be made extinct from the surface [*sic*] like the backward communities of Bhil, Gond and other untouchables. And they will never be brought [*sic*] to stand on their own legs by any efforts whatsoever. The value of the coming elections has risen still more by the recent declaration of Lord Wavell.

Quaid-i-Azam! You know much better than us all that the success in attainment of Pakistan depends upon the elections in [the] Punjab. It is

also in your knowledge that out of the ninety Muslim seats in the Punjab there are thirteen seats earmarked for urban areas and seventy-seven will go to rural areas. These seats are always in the hands of *Lambardars* and *Zaildars* whose god is the Unionist Party. There is no doubt that Nawab Mamdot, Daultana, Shaukat, Raja Ghazanfar Ali and Ata Mohammad Jahanian are striving against the Unionist Party since one and a half years [*sic*], and I can safely claim to say that so much strenuous efforts as in the Punjab, no province of the country has done, but I do not wish to keep the matter in the dark that the influence deeply rooted in the minds of rural public cannot be dissipated in a short period of one or two years. Especially, in case when the Unionist Government has done very good and beneficial things for the uplift of rural agriculturists by passing most useful Acts for them. This is the Unionist Party which has relieved the poor Muslims of crores of rupees of debts of Hindus which they could not get rid of even for centuries to come. To crown all this, the agriculturist here in the Punjab has been enabled to become a rich man by increasing the value of his produce.

Quaid-i-Azam! In the light of these facts, this is a fact that if Khizar and Co., by some understanding or amalgamation with the Muslim League, stand on the Muslim League ticket, then the status of the Muslims in India can rise to an enviable standard, and the Muslims then can fly [*sic*] with colours. In short, the affiliation of Khizar and Co. with Muslim League will mean having in hand a key to open the lock of Pakistan, and we have to get in hand this key at any cost. The promise to give the name of Unionist to the members after the elections in the Assembly Hall now carries no weight, because when Khizar and Co. will stand on Muslim League tickets from the rural areas, the name of the Unionist will itself disappear. Hence this promise can accrue [*sic*] no loss at this stage to the Muslim League except advantage in every respect.

Quaid-i-Azam! Believe it please that the cooperation of Khizar and Co. with the Muslim League will prove an automatic death for Ahrars, Khaksars, Muslim nationalists, Jam'iat-ul 'Ulama, Muslim Majlis and Momins, etc. Quaid-i-Azam! Ahrars, Khaksars and the like classes are creating disturbance at the excitation [*sic*] of the Congress in the Punjab. These outlaw [*sic*] organisations are attributing such filthy and silly blames to the Muslim League and your worthy self will bear abuses [*sic*] that none can tolerate. And it is inevitable that there will be a great row between the Muslim League and the Ahrars and Khaksars to adversely affect the Muslim League by this inter-fights [*sic*] and its fruit will be reaped by the Unionist or the Congress Parties, but if Mr. Khizar comes to the Muslim League, then all these naughty

organizations will die their own death.

Quaid-i-Azam! I wrote a letter to Sir Firoz Khan Noon about a month ago inviting his attention to the matter and I hope he will approach you after discussing the things with Malik Khizar Hayat Khan. I have reasons to believe that you will be liberal and large-hearted enough to forego [*sic*] and forgive the past shortcomings of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and try your best to embrace him at any cost whatsoever. Your this generous act will be so precious and it will be remembered with admiration for ages to come.

Quaid-i-Azam! I most earnestly request you to bestow your special and cool attention to the suggestions laid down above for goodness' sake and also to the fact that if and when a big personality is out-classed and this out-casting [*sic*] is published in the papers also to make all and sundry known of the same, then according to human nature, the out-classed will pursue his self-interests and will sacrifice all things for his personal motives, even if he may have to proceed against the dictates of his right conscience for the attainment of his objects to maintain his rank and designation. Otherwise it is an undeniable fact that Khizar is far better than Sikandar, and Fazlul Huq is far better than Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy in all respects. Will your goodself be gracious enough to revise your views about Fazlul Huq with a generous eye so that the Muslims may be benefited by this worthy personality.

In the end, I do hope that, with due and deep consideration of the present political atmosphere, you will be generous enough to embrace the poor Fazlul Huq and the outclassed [*sic*] Khizar once again.

I am sending you the copy of a letter dated 17-9-1945,[2] addressed by me to the Viceroy.

I pray it may find you and the sister in excellent spirits.

Quaid-i-Azam! For God's sake always keep due regard for your health, because to my belief your health is the health of ten crores of Muslims in India.

With prayers, in the end, for your good health and the amalgamation of Khizar and Co., with Muslim League, I beg to end this letter.

I am, Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours very sincerely,

MOHAMMAD HUSSAIN

Secretary,

Muslim Shawl Merchants' Association

[1]Urdu poet Ghalib's couplet meaning, "May you [the last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah] live for a thousand years and may each of those years have fifty thousand days".

[2]See F. 906/85-7, *QAP*. Not printed.

148

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/93

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
25 September 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter written to the Maharajkumar of Mahmudabad in reply to his printed circular of the 16th of this month.

I regret my commitments in Calcutta, which are exceptionally heavy this month, will not allow me to leave the city even for a day. I have therefore taken the opportunity of expressing my views in writing, which views, had I been in Lucknow, I would have placed before the meeting.

I hope you will enjoy a quiet holiday in Quetta and will return hale, hearty and strong.

The Muslim League Parliamentary Board will be constituted in this province in the last two days of this month, and I sincerely hope and pray that the election and selection will not lead to internecine warfare. There are some disquieting signs already on the horizon.

The Fund Raising Committee has been duly constituted and work in all seriousness has commenced a couple of days ago. I only hope and pray that the response to the appeal that we shall be making within this week will be as large as you anticipated. When we discussed the question of finance at the last meeting of the Working Committee I was not as optimistic as you, and I still hold the same view. However, you have my assurance that I shall work against my own view to the utmost of my capacity in order to prove that I was wrong and you were right.

With kind regard to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

Enclosure to No. 148

SHC, Bengal III/94

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
25 September 1945

My dear Maharajkumar,

I thank you for your printed letter of the 16th of this month,[1] received by me on the 22nd instant.

I agree with you whole-heartedly that "the voice of the Shias must reach the Muslim League in a friendly way and not in the form of any outcry from a hostile camp." Any other course will be suicidal for our small community and we shall be falling into the trap laid for us by those who do not wish us well. We should avoid becoming pawns in the hands of these men. They have not and cannot have any love for the Musalman to whichever *firqa* he may belong. He will be used so long as it suits them and, when their object is served, thrown overboard without compunction.

The brotherhood of Islam is the greatest binding force of our religion and the Muslim League in India is the only body which represents it one hundred per cent. If the Shias are to get justice, they shall get it from their brothers-in-faith and not from those who have sworn to keep the Musalmans down and to work for the further advancement of their own people. The Muslim League will not and cannot afford to ride rough shod over the legitimate and reasonable claims of the Shia minority. Some may be inclined to think that I am writing in this strain because I am a prominent member of the Muslim League. This is not so. Had I been outside the League, my conclusions would not have been any different. I strongly hold to the view that the salvation of the Muslim nation in this vast sub-continent of India lies in its unity. United we shall fight any organisation or opponent, but divided, the Muslims will be crushed and the Shias, who constitute a very small minority among them, will suffer greatly.

As I have stated, the Muslim League is the sole authoritative political organisation of the Musalmans and, therefore, in theory, in practice and in fact it represents all the sects of Islam and that is the reason why the majority of the Shias and the most prominent of their leaders are active Muslim Leaguers.

To serve their own ends, a handful of Shias are playing into the hands of people who seem to be bent upon misleading the outside world into believing that the Shias of India are not with the Muslim

League. It is for a statesman of your calibre, whom *Allah* has blessed with clear foresight, to expose these men and to put an end to their mischief once and for all. They are not only a danger to the Shias but also to Muslim India.

I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that the League exists only to unite the Musalmans and to fight for their legitimate rights and hence it will assist you in your mission of uniting the Musalmans and of securing for the Shias their just and legitimate share in Muslim patronage, political, social and economic.

I am sorry I am unable to participate in the Conference and request you to forgive me for my absence. You may, if you consider it necessary, place my views, expressed in this letter before the meeting.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN ISPAHANI

[1]Not traceable.

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Sardar Bahadur Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I /66

STRICTLY SECRET

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY HALL,
PESHAWAR,
26 September 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you are quite fit and have enjoyed your stay in Quetta. I have gone through your brief statement,[1] which you gave at Karachi about the Indian National Army personnel. In fact, I strongly feel that you and the Muslim League should take the matter in hand and play a leading part in saving these valuable lives, and arrange for their defence etc. I contacted Nawabzada Sahib with a view to impressing on him the desirability of doing something for these people. My object in so doing is two-fold. One, even though their action in joining the Indian National Army is not justifiable, the circumstances under which they did so were such that they had no alternative, and the Englishmen on the spot were partly responsible for creating those unfortunate circumstances for these poor people. So, they must be defended and protected, irrespective of caste, creed or religion. They may not have a very good case legally,

but, in view of the special circumstances, referred to above, it would not be asking for too much for a man of your position to appeal to the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief that as they have won the war and Indians have played a very dominant part, the Indian National Army should be treated with clemency, and any attempt on the part of the bureaucracy to court-martial them and condemn or convict them will create wounds which will never be healed up. Secondly, most of them are Muslims and politically it will be a good move on your and our part to take up their case with the Government of India, because you know when they come out they are not going to forget what we did for them, or what some other party did for them. Even now, their kindred are looking up to you for some help.[2] Your statement was very brief and the impression it has created on the Indian National Army people is not very encouraging. They expect more from you. I suggest that you should come out with a clear statement, wherein you should say that India is not going to allow the flower of its humanity [*sic*] to be disposed of in the manner in which the British Government contemplates to do. Furthermore, it would be a very good thing if you say in that statement that you intend to see the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief in this connection, and impress on them the desirability of treating them very leniently. India is in the throes of very big changes, and if anything untoward happens in this connection, it will leave a permanent scar and create bad blood which will not pay either the British Government or anybody else. You should make it clear in your statement that if the Government persists in trying them, in that case Muslim League will arrange for their defence etc. and set up a committee forthwith.

Tonight I had practically made up my mind to give a statement to that effect, and in that statement make an appeal to you to take a leading part in the matter, but later on I thought that it would be a good thing to approach you through the agency of this letter, and leave the matter to your discretion. This matter is very urgent and calls for your immediate attention. We are already late.

I am quite all right, and pray for your long life. Kindly acknowledge my letter, and, if possible, let me know what you propose to do.

Yours sincerely,
SARDAR BAHADUR KHAN

See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 229.
[2]See No. 160.

150

P. C. Mahamood to Abul Kalam Azad
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 880/220-21

BADAGARA,
NORTH MALABAR,
27 September 1945

My dear Moulana,

I beg to bring home to you the following facts for your kind consideration. I find that you are leaving no stone unturned to [word missing] the apprehension of the Muslims that the Hindu rule will spell ruin to the Islamic culture and faith. But the so-called Congress-Hindu leaders unwittingly justify the fears of the Muslims beyond all shades [*sic*] of doubt. For example, I beg to quote the main points stressed in an article written by Mr. H. Kelappan, the veteran Congress leader of Kerala, who is generally greeted as Kerala Gandhi. It was published in the *Mathrubhoomi* weekly, the only nationalist journal of Kerala.

i. That all the communal schools be abolished and general schools be established instead,
ii. that a uniform dress be introduced for all people, irrespective of caste and creed,
iii. that all the mosques, churches and temples be thrown open to all people,
iv. that the encouragement extended to the religious institutions be withheld,
v. that all the communal restaurants, libraries, co-operative societies be declared illegal,
vi. that the study of religion in schools be prevented,
vii. that imparting of religious instruction to children be deemed unlawful,
viii. that the inter-marriages between different castes and creeds be legalised and every impetus be given to it,
ix. that the religious proselytisation and religious propaganda be declared illegal,
x. that priest-craft and the existence of communities be done away with,
xi. that the animal sacrifice, caste system, and untouchability be stopped,

xii. that the religious conception supposed to be contrary to the morality and brotherliness of the people and welfare of the country be declared illegal.

Dear Moulana! In this connection I beg to point out that this very Kelappan was the President of the Malabar District Board a few years back, in which capacity he endeavoured to implement some of the above points. He sent a circular letter to all the heads of the Muslim schools under him asking [them] to discontinue the recitation of *Fateha* [*sic*] at the beginning of the school which they used to do till then; and insisted to [*sic*] recite *Janaganamana* instead. The agitation over this circular was so strong that he thought it worthwhile to withdraw the order forthwith. Further, he abolished so many Muslim schools on the plea of economy, which also precipitated an intense agitation throughout Malabar. The staunch Muslim nationalists of Kerala, such as Mohammed Abdurahman and E. Moidu Maulvi, also took part in the agitation levelled [*sic*] against him, and I hope that they will bear testimony to these facts. Though I am too insignificant a being, I am always a thinker and a dispassionate critic.

In the light of the above facts and other acts on the part of the so-called Congressmen, how could we expect fair and square play [*sic*] from the Hindus. Will you please enlighten me how you could serve Islam which you so dearly love and serve by making common cause with them? I hope and trust that you will take up courage to call a spade a spade and give a correct lead to the Muslim India of which you were a champion.

Requesting to be favoured with a kind reply, notwithstanding your multifarious preoccupations. May *Allah* bless us all. *Aameen*

Your brother-in-Islam,
P. C. MAHAMOOD

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M. A. Jinnah to M. Azizul Haque

SHC, Bengal III/147

QUETTA,
27 September 1945

Dear Sir Azizul Haque,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 9th,[1] forwarded to me here, and of the other one dated September 20th,[2] and I have noted all that you said in those letters.

As regards your intention to stand as a candidate on Muslim League ticket from Presidency-Burdwan (Bengal) Muslim Constituency for the Central Legislature, you know that it is the Central Parliamentary Board that alone can deal with the applications of prospective League candidates, and I cannot do or say anything which is likely, directly or indirectly, to influence them in the discharge of their duty, as they alone are entitled to select the official League candidates. Of course, if any applicant is not satisfied with their decision, he has a right to appeal to the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League. May I inform you, if you are not already aware of the fact, that the Chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board is Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, from whom can be obtained the application forms, the constitution and the rules which regulate the matter of entertaining applications, and the conditions and procedure for the selection of the Muslim League candidates.

My present programme is that I shall be here till at least the middle of October, and then I shall stay at Karachi for about a week on my way back to Bombay, where I hope to be by the end of October, and then go up to Delhi.

Many thanks, I am much better now, and so is Miss Jinnah.

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hon'ble Sir Azizul Haque,
5 Mansingh Road,
New Delhi

[1]No. 99.
[2]No. 123.

152

M. A. Jinnah to Mubarek Ali Khan

SHC, FC I/75

QUETTA,
28 September 1945

Dear Mr. Mubarak Ali,

I am in receipt of your letter of August 1st[1] and also of August 17th,[2] with the text of the resolution passed at the dinner of the India Muslim League of America on August 17th at the Sheik Restaurant, 241 Fifth Avenue, New York City. I most cordially thank you and the members of the Muslim League of America for the whole-hearted support you have given to the All India Muslim League and my leadership.

I read with very great interest the speech in the *New India Bulletin,* a copy[3] of which you were good enough to enclose along with your letter of the first August.

As regards the future, I have instructed my Secretary to send you as much literature as is available and I shall be very glad if you will be good enough to keep in touch with me, as we need the American public to understand the creed of the All India Muslim League and our goal of Pakistan and the policy and programme of our national organization. Our demand is an honest one and our cause righteous, and division of India is the only solution to the Indian constitutional problem which can be effected by establishing Pakistan and Hindustan, two independent sovereign States, for Muslims and Hindus, respectively.

Thanking you again for your good wishes and your personal references to me, [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

Dr. Mubarek Ali Khan,
New York

[1]No. 2.
[2]See *SHC,* FC I/74. Not printed.
[3]Not traceable.

153

Badi-uz-Zaman Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/62-3
[Original in Urdu]

KULPAHAR,
DISTRICT HAMIRPUR, U.P.,
28 September 1945

Bismillahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Sardar-i-Millat, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The Muslims of *Qasbah* Kulpahar have and will continue to have full sympathies with you and the Muslim League. The ML was established here ten to twelve years ago and the Muslims had worked hard, with great interest and success during the last elections.

Since next elections are to be held shortly, I want to highlight some important issues to which a reply is solicited. A number of letters about these issues were sent to the UP Muslim League, Lucknow, Dist. Muslim

League Hamirpur and others which remain unreplied . I am, therefore, bothering you and expect a satisfactory reply to the following questions:

i. The name of the newspaper which publishes the proceedings of ML and provides true guidance to the Muslims.
ii. The name of ML office, which could provide guidance to us and to whom our activities might be reported.
iii. The source of receipt books for ML membership and of obtaining posters for propaganda in favour of ML candidates during the elections.
iv. The relevant office from where list of voters of Central and Provincial Assemblies might be obtained.
v. The names of candidates from our constituencies.
vi. The particulars of speakers who would visit our areas for election propaganda and their programme, may please be intimated.

It is hoped that a reply will be sent urgently as the opposition has already started their propaganda vigorously to which a reply must be given urgently . It is regrettable that no guidance is forthcoming and we do not know how things will get going.

Wassalaam

Servant of Muslims,
BADI-UZ-ZAMAN KHAN
Secretary, Qasba Kulpahar ML

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Mohammad Zakaullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/62

SIMLA,
29 September 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Let me at the outset express my heartfelt concern over your health and pray to God for its restoration at the earliest moment. I should now like to bring to your special notice an authentic version of the Punjab government machinations against our organization and some humble suggestions to counter them.

I remember, when you were in Simla, I already apprised you of the evil designs of the Glancy-Khizar government to crush the League, but, the advent of elections having given fillip to their nefarious intentions, latest developments in this connection are alarming. Very reliable sources of information at my disposal give cause to believe

that Governor Glancy, annoyed at the League insinuations, has made the Unionist cause his own unreservedly, and is bent upon harassing the League bitterly in the Punjab so as to vanquish it at the polls. He is reported to be so enthusiastic in this direction that even Khizar's disinclination to oppose the League (if conceivable) may not upset his programme. In such an emergency he will certainly look to other stooges to provide him with a screen to give fight to the League. This state of affairs has so encouraged the English I.C.S. men that they are offering their services to suppress the League in order to please the Governor. It is understood that the Home Secretary offered and was accepted for appointment as Election Commissioner and a Deputy Secretary in the Transport Department is being transferred to Multan as Deputy Commissioner. Both these officers are well known for their ruthless methods. Multan, as you know, is a stronghold of the League and this officer is being sent there to oppress and coerce the voters. In sub-divisions mostly Hindu officers are being posted for similar purposes because as Hindus they are not only in favour of the Congress but also out to kill the Muslim League. Officers who have been in the stations for short periods are being transferred in the interest of elections. Suitable Revenue Officers from the point of view of Unionists are also being re-shuffled. About forty Police officers have been or are being transferred. These are facts which can be proved. You can very well understand how free elections can be held under the circumstances. As you know, the rural people depend mostly on these officers for their daily needs and the ignorance of the poor electorate is being ruthlessly exploited. We won't want any favour. We need a free atmosphere. Some of the officers who have been selected for sub-divisions are those who were previously condemned and passed over for promotion and they are given the hope that their work in the elections will earn them their promotion for which they were previously considered unfit. For instance, a Hindu P.C.S. officer, whose promotion to the selection grade and rank of Deputy Commissioner was stopped by the order of the late premier, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, for corruption etc., and who has been passed over by a dozen officers, has been posted to Pindigheb in the Attock District particularly on account of his grievances towards late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan so that he may use his venom against his son Sardar Shaukat Hyat if he stands from that constituency and should generally work against the family of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan. This officer, it is understood, has been assured of promotion if his efforts in the election prove successful. Similarly another Hindu officer, who was passed over for promotion, is being posted to another Muslim sub-division for the same purpose. The present

Chief Secretary, an Indian Christian (a Hindu convert), who has been specially selected for this post and who has personal relations with Khizar and his family is allowing himself to be used freely for these transfers and posting of officers. There are several other instances which could be given to prove that the Unionist Government is using the officials for their own ends, which is most reprehensible and is a negation of democracy.

The Unionist bureaucratic machine has also not remained jammed all the while, and active persuasion of permanent Government officials to coerce the illiterate masses into voting against the Muslim League has been going, of late, at a brisk space. Influential public servants are being summoned and plainly told to enlist support for the Unionist cause in their circles of influence and necessary transfers to suit this purpose are being made in scores. To counter these influences, a strongly-worded directive from Whitehall as well as New Delhi, warning against such malpractices and clearly outlining reckless punishment of the defaulters, is the pressing need of the hour. I, therefore, request you to press the authorities in London and get some such directive issued at the earliest moment. Immediate recall of Sir Bertrand Glancy, dissolution of the present cabinet are other imperative demands of justice and fair play in the province. It should further be ensured that none of the present ministers has anything to do with the care-taker Government. I am sorry to have encroached upon your precious time. But the matters here are moving at such a pace that I simply could not help it, for, I am convinced that nothing short of your personal intervention in the matter would save the situation.

The second important point which ever haunts my mind is the selection of League representatives for the coming elections. I hope that the League high command will see that they are not taken in by the Punjab's pretenders and self-seekers this time and only right type of men are sent to the assemblies. This can, however, be achieved through strict vigilance over the activities of the Provincial Parliamentary Board by the Central authority. Again your personal interest in these affairs alone might help in rooting out corruption, for which your headquarters should kindly be moved to Lahore as early as practicable; so that this toughest of the election battles is fought under your gracious command, and by deriving the great inspiration emanating from your exalted self, we, the soldiers of *millat*, [may] turn the tables on the foe.

In the end, I beg to assure you of my unflinching loyalty to you, my Quaid-i-Azam, and beg to place as an humble soldier my valueless service at the disposal of our national organisation, the All India Muslim

League, to be utilized in any way deemed proper by the authority.

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD ZAKAULLAH
President, District Muslim League

155

M. A. Jinnah to A. B. Yusufi

SHC, NWFP I/64

QUETTA,
30 September 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 22nd,[1] and I note what you say. There is a great misapprehension that there is a constitutional ban on any Khaksar joining the Muslim League. It is a mere false propaganda. What was decided by the All India Muslim League was that no Muslim Leaguer could join any other political organisation, including the Khaksars' organisation, whose policy, programme and activities were of a political nature and were hostile to the All India Muslim League, its creed, policy, and programme, for it is obvious that a person cannot owe allegiance to two political organisations which are fundamentally opposed to each other.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

A. B. Yusufi, Esq.,
The daily *Sarhad*,
Peshawar

[1]No. 131.

156

M. A. Jinnah to Shafee Khalid

SHC, Hyderabad I/64

QUETTA,
30 September 1945

Dear Mr. Khalid,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 18th,[1] and thank you for

it. I will certainly draw the attention of the Kalat authorities to your proposal, and I hope that it may lead to some concrete result.

Thank you for your offer to place your services at my disposal in connection with the forthcoming elections for the Punjab Assembly. I would suggest that you should get in touch with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, as it is the primary function of the Committee of Action and the Parliamentary Board of the All-India Muslim League.

Thanking you for your good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

Shafee Khalid, Esq.,
Nizamshahi Road,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]No. 117.

157

A. Sattar Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/161-4

5 RESIDENCY ROAD,
NAGPUR C.P.,
30 September 1945

Most Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

In the midst of your extremely important preoccupation with the work of organizing the election campaign throughout India, I most humbly and respectfully venture to place before you the following few lines, with the request that you may be kind enough to give the same your most favourable and sympathetic considerations:

That since the beginning of this year, the Muslim students of this province were seriously contemplating to [*sic*] start an English weekly newspaper from our province. The absence of any Muslim English paper in the province was being keenly felt and it was considered that this was a great handicap and a serious drawback in the work of organizing the Musalmans of our province. The existence of various Government restrictions and regulation in this respect, however, prevented us from executing our plans and as such we were waiting for a suitable opportunity to start the above paper. With the end of hostilities, the situation has considerably improved and there are now greater chances of our securing the necessary permission for starting

the above paper. We have therefore decided to bring out the first issue of our weekly newspaper which would be named the *Muslim Times*, from the 1st. November 1945. It might interest you to know that we have collected about Rs. 5,000 from amongst the students themselves and as per our plans we shall not collect any donation or demand any financial help from anybody . Our scheme is that with the Rs. 5,000 which has been contributed by the students themselves we shall start the paper and then send out a party of students to tour the entire province and enrol about three thousand subscribers of our paper and demand the annual subscription in advance. By this method we shall be able to collect a fairly large amount, and this plan of ours has met with the approval of our provincial leaders. We have fixed the annual subscription of the paper at Rs. 7 and, considering the fact that this is a very small amount, we hope to enrol about three thousand subscribers from our province.

I now beg to approach you with a humble request that in order to help us in enrolling as large a number of subscribers as possible, you may be kind enough to favour us with a special message containing an appeal to the Musalmans of this province to help us in this noble cause by becoming subscribers in large numbers. This will have a very beneficial effect and I hope that you would be kind enough to help and encourage the Muslim students of this unfortunate province. Moreover, it is the desire of my colleagues that I should request you on their behalf to kindly permit us to print on our said newspaper your worthy name as Patron-in-Chief of the said paper. If this is not in any way objectionable to you I shall be grateful if you will kindly give us your esteemed approval .

I need not stress the necessity and importance of an English Muslim weekly in our province. This necessity becomes all the more important and great in view of the forthcoming election to the legislatures.

I earnestly pray that you may be kind enough to grant our above humble request and favour us with your kind message at an early date to start with our work immediately.

Hoping to be excused for trespassing upon much of your precious time and awaiting the favour of your esteemed reply,

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. SATTAR SIDDIQUI

General Secretary ,

C. P. & Berar Muslim Students' Federation

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Resolutions passed by Budaun Muslim Students' Federation

F. 958/167-9

BUDAUN,
30 September 1945

Resolutions unanimously passed by the Council of Muslim Students' Federation, Budaun, under presidentship of Mohammad Iqtedar-uddin Hasan, MA(Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law, ex-MLA.

1. a. While reiterating our implicit faith in the Muslim League, the only representative Muslim political organization of ten crores of Muslims of India and our unflinching confidence in the exalted leadership of our illustrious Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, we declare our unshakable determination to do everything humanly possible to achieve our cherished goal of independence, namely Pakistan, for the attainment of which no sacrifice shall be too great for us.

b. We also declare that in the forthcoming elections, the results of which are bound to affect the destiny of Muslim nation, we pledge to place our entire services and resources at the disposal of the League. In furtherance of our resolve in this connection, we propose to make a personal and effective appeal with all the power at our disposal to each and every Muslim individual with a view to ensure [*sic*] cent per cent success for the Muslim League candidates, in keeping with the past record of the League in the district . At the same time, however, we are not afraid of any opposition from the Congress or its subservient agencies which we shall face with utmost resolve, courage and strength, however great sacrifices we may have to make. We think that in the Muslim nation's lifetime in India the present is a very critical time and the forthcoming elections have put us to a very severe test of life or death; and as such we are confident that, through God's help, the Muslims will close all ranks, compose all differences and promptly rally round the banner of Islam to stand united on one platform under one organization namely the Muslim League which is their sole representative body.

We have lately noticed with great regret and surprise the attitude of men like Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, since his release from jail, which has been consistently one of open challenge and hostility towards the Muslim nation. His provocative utterances, culminating in his latest performance of contemptuous disregard of the Muslim League, and his proposed direct contact with Muslim masses, as announced at the

last meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Bombay, is a deliberate affront and insult offered to the entire Muslim nation. By his unwise declaration, he clearly implies that either the Musalmans are thoroughly disorganized or he hopes to win them over by some temptations. It is true that of all the persons in the Congress he, by virtue of his and his family's past relations with Muslims, might have been the most qualified to make an approach to Musalmans. But we respectfully remind him that the past is not the present, and he and his organization (the Congress) are alone to blame for this change. We, therefore, earnestly trust that wiser counsel shall prevail with him and he shall desist from undertaking any such venture, at least in Budaun. He should have realized that in the same old game practised by the Congress in 1938, what type of response and reception did his friends, including the Congress Ministers, meet at Budaun during the last by-election. Such mischievous move by the Congress did incalculable harm, both to Muslims and Hindus, who were thrown into welter and chaos through a series of communal riots. If, in spite of these hard facts, he still persists in his designs he alone shall be responsible for all consequences.

3. While taking no notice of certain servile and subservient Muslim agencies set up by the Congress, solely to create disruption in the solidarity of Musalmans, except to be firmly of the opinion "Let the dogs bark and the caravan shall pass", we once more earnestly appeal to our brethren who have not yet joined us to follow the illustrious lead of so many distinguished gentlemen who had so long been away from us and who, at last, had to come to their own fold.

This meeting of the Muslim Students' Federation of Budaun utterly condemns the most bigoted and communal behaviour on the part of those non-Muslim students of Lucknow University who cannot tolerate to [*sic*] give a fair deal to their fellow Muslim students even in things like the University Union which is nothing more than a debating society. Their misbehaviour culminating in riots, is a typical forerunner of *Ram raj* which, as Mr. Patel openly declared the other day, the Congress wants to establish in India. We send all our good wishes and a message of deep sympathy to our brethren, the Muslim students of Lucknow University, who have been the victims of all that aggression. Let them, however, take consolation in the fact that the day is not far off when all their labours shall be rewarded and, by God's grace, we shall have our freedom under Pakistan under which nobody shall dare do a thing like that wherever we may choose to live.

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A. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/30

MUNICIPAL OFFICE,
KARACHI,
[*Undated*] *September 1945*

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As you may remember, when Mr. Yousuf Haroon was a candidate for the seat which had become vacant by the demise of his revered father, the late Hajee Sir Abdoola Haroon, in the Central Legislative Assembly, he had offered to pay a donation of rupees one lakh towards the construction of Jum'a Masjid in Karachi if he was elected unopposed. Accordingly, a deputation composed of your goodself,[1] K. B. Khuhro and Sheikh Abdul Majid waited on Lady Haroon to recover the amount of the promised donation after Mr. Yusuf Haroon was elected unopposed to the Central legislative Assembly due to his being officially nominated by you, but I am sorry the deputation returned disappointed as Lady Haroon wanted to evade payment.

Now that the elections are approaching, and Mr. Yusuf Haroon is again a candidate, it appears to me that this is an opportune time to enforce payment by him of the promised donation, and also to secure donations from rich zamindars who may be in the field in the forthcoming elections.

As you will agree with me, a Jum'a Masjid worthy of the city of Karachi is an urgent necessity, as in the absence of it, the faithful cannot offer congregational prayers. It has not been possible to supply this long-felt want of Jum'a Masjid for want of funds, and it seems to me that we must seize the present opportunity to collect as much funds [*sic*] as possible for this very laudable object. Even persons in humble positions like Mr. Nawabdin, military tailor, have made handsome donations without any earthly "quid pro quo" and it is only fair that persons, in the position of Mr. Yusuf Haroon, should at least pay what they had promised. May I request that during your stay in Karachi you will kindly use the great influence that you wield with the Muslim world to see that the cause of Jum'a Masjid for Karachi Muslims, which I know is very dear to you, received due support and the promised donations are made forthwith .

I am very anxious to pay my humble respects and I shall be much

obliged if you will kindly let me know when I can do so.

With best respects,

Yours obediently,
A. A. KHAN
Secretary, Jum'a Masjid Association

[1]Jinnah, denying he had waited in deputation on Lady Haroon, replied that he did not approve of anyone getting a ML ticket on promise of payment of any kind, which was most improper, and that he could not be a party to any such arrangement. See *SHC*, Sind VI/31. Not printed.

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Malik Raja Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/58

TALAGANG,
DISTRICT ATTOCK,
Undated [September] 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

This is a request from a Punjabi Muslim, aged father of a Punjabi military man taken in prison by the Japanese at the fall of Singapore in January 1942. I have been receiving regular family allotment of my son and one or two letters from him while he was in Japanese hands. Since the fall of Rangoon it is learnt that he is suspected to be a member of the National Army organised by Subhas Chandra Bose, and may be tried in Court Martial. To represent the cause of such people there has been formed a sub-committee and I urge upon you, being the recognised leader of the Muslim India, to very kindly approach the Viceroy in representing the cause of such Muslims under trial.[1] As a matter of fact, these were made to serve as such by force by Japanese otherwise they were in active service at Singapore against Japan till the fall of Singapore. During the tenure of their being prisoners of war they have undergone such a beastly treatment from the Japanese that they had to accede to their desire, otherwise they are not such war criminals as in Germany and Japan. Your approach to the Viceroy is sure to bring good results for all such Muslims under trial, which I hope you will very kindly do.

With best regards,

RAJA KHAN
Retired Salt-Inspector

[1]Thanking him for drawing his attention to this problem, Jinnah referred to his statement issued on the subject promising to do all that could be done. See *SHC*, Punjab I/59. Not printed.

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/95-6

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
1 October 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The clouds pointed out in my last letter[1] have burst. The squabbles that were being carried on for a couple of weeks behind the *purdah* have, to the regret of every true and honest Leaguer, now come before the public and the tug-of-war [for] power is being demonstrated in the limelight of publicity.

On the 29th September, the Provincial League Council met and disgraceful scenes were witnessed. The Hindu and even some of the Muslim newspapers carried the news of the hooliganism with banner headlines, much to the shame of the Muslims who put the League above personal ambition. The struggle, with all its attendant ugliness, is for power in Bengal.

The game of pull devil, pull baker is being played by Sir Nazimuddin and his henchmen on one side and Suhrawardy and his lieutenants, among whom are Abul Hashim, Provincial League Secretary, and Lal Mia, a recent convert to the League's creed and still thoroughly unreliable and a regular signatory to anti-League documents and notices of public meetings, on the other. Each wants to be the next leader and Premier of Bengal. Those of us who have refused to be partisans in this shameful fight have been left out in the cold by both. Neither of the groups has selected men who would see that only first-rate candidates are selected by the Board. Each was out to secure for his own group a majority on the Parliamentary Board so that he may select candidates, good, bad or indifferent, who in return would implicitly vote for his leadership. When these squabbles began to assume a serious form, some of us, including Siddiqi, Haji Abdul Razzak and my elder brother, met the two leaders individually and begged of them to compose their differences at this most critical juncture in Muslim political history. Each blamed the other and nothing tangible resulted. The tempo of the fight gained more momentum until it reached the state of ugliness as exhibited at the meeting of the Council on the 29th September. Both groups prepared panels of their candidates for the Parliamentary Board and did all they could to see them returned. Not a single selfless servant of the League, including myself, not one who puts the organisation above the individual, found a place on either of the

two panels. Actually, Suhrawardy, when speaking over the telephone on the eve of the election of the Council's nominees, said to me that if I undertook to support his group on the Parliamentary Board implicitly, he would press his supporters to include my name in the panel. In reply, I told him that while I appreciated his offer to include my name, I could not accept it as I have not and will not sell my conscience for anything in the world. I told him that right through my political career I have not participated in petty quarrels between individuals and groups and that I could not possibly change my outlook so late in the day. I told him that if I were returned to the Parliamentary Board I would decide every question on its merit and shall vote in support of the best candidate from the purely League's point of view. I considered integrity and service to the cause to be the best qualifications of a candidate. He said that as the margin of difference was expected to be very narrow, namely 4 to 5, he would not be able to get his supporters to accept my name. Sir Nazimuddin did not even think of including my name in his panel. This is the respect that persons who are above petty party wranglings receive at the hands of the so-called leaders of the Province. Being a member of your Working Committee, I feel this humiliation all the more and am suffering it for the present in complete silence although I feel I have enough strength to do mischief if I want to.

I was appointed Treasurer of the Election Fund by the Working Committee and this appointment was published in the press five weeks ago. A few days later, by another decision of the Working Committee which was released to the press, Sir Nazimuddin was elected President-cum-Treasurer. At the first meeting of the Fund Committee, I told Sir Nazimuddin that I could not understand the sudden change in the treasurership and most of the merchant members of the Committee present insisted that I alone should be Treasurer. A meeting of the Working Committee was called a couple of days later and I was again elected Treasurer of the Fund. We started work in earnest and collected Rs. 15,000 when reports of the rift in the League's upper two [*sic*] reached the ears of some members of the Committee and collection efforts automatically ceased as some members of the Committee felt that they could not appeal to their brethren to give money, if it was to be spent in propping up or bringing in the supporters of an individual instead of it being judiciously spent on League propaganda and in the selection and support of the most suitable candidates from the League point of view. On the 30th September the Council of the League continued its business which was to elect its five representatives on the Parliamentary Board. Before voting, each leader was sure of his success. Sir Nazimuddin had already collared

four seats, namely, Moulana Moh[amma]d Akrum Khan, himself, Mr. Fazlul Rahman, MLA (representative of the Assembly), Mr. Nurul Amin (representative of the Bengal Legislative Council). Nazimuddin felt that he would win at least two out of the five Council seats and thus have a clear majority on the Board. On the other hand, Suhrawardy and the Provincial League Secretary, Abul Hashim, a person with a communistic outlook, were certain of carrying all the five Council seats on the Board. My elder brother warned Sir Nazimuddin some days ago that he was being misled by his own supporters and that he should compromise and avoid a fight; but he was so cock-sure of his success that he did not pay any heed to the advice and warning. I did not attend the meeting nor did I participate in the voting. The results were announced late last evening. Suhrawardy & Co. have won all the five Provincial Council seats. Among Suhrawardy's group there are at least two dangerous persons and in Nazimuddin's group one or two are worthless. I am afraid the Parliamentary Board as constituted, may not have the full confidence of the people and particularly the confidence of persons who will be called upon to pay big money to the Fund. This will be the position if the Parliamentary Board, as constituted, functions properly and there is no tug of war among the members. I had decided to tender my resignation from the treasurership of the Election Fund and also to resign my membership of the Provincial Working Committee. My elder brother has prevailed upon me not to take this hasty action but to write to you and seek your valuable advice. My own feeling is that as I cannot stoop low enough to support one individual against another, and as I cannot suffer humiliation at the hands of these people, it is best for me to get out. I have been, like most of the non-party men, slowly squeezed out of everything, every time. So why should I hang on and suffer this indignity?

Bengal is an unfortunate Province indeed. Whereas Muslims are closing their ranks in other provinces to meet the Congress/Mahasabha challenge, we are fighting within our own camp and are providing an excellent weapon for our enemies to wield against us. I have placed before you the naked facts as I see them. I shall be most grateful if you will give me the benefit of your advice and guidance at a very early date in regard to the submission I have made to you for opinion.

Thanking you in advance and with kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

I am,

Yours very sincerely,

HASSAN

[1]No. 148.

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Nasiruddin Raza Husain Rasheed Turabi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (636)

NAMPALLY,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
1 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You remember that I had gone out to Bombay along with Mr. Abul Hasan Syed, President, Ittehadul Muslimeen, and we had discussed about the urgent questions of Shias.

Abul Hasan Bhai, I do not [know] why, is so anxious for the future, and what has made him take up this question as a leader anyhow. Maharajkumar Mahmudabad had telegraphed to me to discuss the matter beyond this All Parties [Shia] Conference. The reply, with all sincerity, I have forwarded to him, is herewith enclosed.

I am of the opinion that any resolution from this forthcoming session of the All Parties [Shia Conference] will have nothing to do either with the States or with the places where Shias are in insignificant minority. I am trying my best to abstain [*sic*] Shia *'Ulama* from this so-called All Parties [Shia] Conference. If I get any instruction from you I will carry it out accordingly.

Yours sincerely,

R. TURABI

Enclosure to No. 162
Nasiruddin Raza Hussain Rasheed Turabi to Maharajkumar of Mahmudabad

SHC (637)

NAMPALLY,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
[Undated] 1945

My dear Maharajkumar,

It was a surprise to get, all of a sudden, your formal invitation to attend the meeting at Lucknow on the 29th and 30th instant. As I am busy and otherwise engaged, I regret that I am unable to leave the station.

The question under discussion was in my mind when I met the Quaid-i-Azam and he had asked me to inform Mr. Ali Zaheer to see him personally. When I met Mr. Ali Zaheer at Hazrat Saeed-ul-Millat's

house at a dinner, I conveyed this message and asked him to put his demands before Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Jinnah, in person. I entirely agree with you when you say that "the voice of the Shias must reach the Muslim League in a friendly way and not as an outcry from a hostile camp"; but to make their demands carry more weight and confidence, they will have to settle certain preliminaries and first build up a sound and sure foundation. My considered opinion and some proposals I am putting before you may be considered in the forthcoming discussions.

i. It is my faith that our glorious past is continuous with our poor present and shall infallibly help us in building up a brighter and more glorious future.
ii. History proves that organised hostile governments with all their financial backing, public support and autocratic power failed to annihilate the Shias; therefore, I am confident that any number of joint electorates or majority governments can ever [*sic* for never] be able to ignore the rights of the Shias.
iii. As long as there is disunity between the [word illegible] schools of thought in the community, inferiority [words illegible] and scarcity of capable political leadership, there would be fear, apprehension and clamour.
iv. Before placing our demands, I think we should thoroughly organise the community under a single religio-political body, guided by a capable leader, who should have the entire confidence and whole-hearted support of every member of the community. It is then alone that our demands would have weight and our decisions shall have power. It is then that others shall seek our co-operation and we shall not have to beg at the door of others for that which is our right.
v. In conferences and meetings, masses are usually swayed by emotions and resolutions are passed in the heat of the moment, without in any way taking into consideration what adverse social, economic and political effects such resolutions shall have in places where Shias are in insignificant minority. No such resolutions, I am sure, shall be entertained in the forthcoming conference that would tend to widen the gulf between the different communities of Islam and endanger the life, political and social security of Shias scattered in distant parts of India.
vi. Demand for separate electorates, safeguards for the community or discriminatory treatment, I think, is premature and not quite politic at this juncture, not only because it would show our fear of the majority communities, but also because the Paramount Power at present is not prepared for any alteration or reconsideration of its decisions.

vii. All reliable statistics pertaining to Shias—their strength, educational and economical [*sic*] condition, social status and other data—can only be obtained and analyzed where there is a well-organized and fully supported central body with [words illegible] corner of the country and all of these work in harmony and full co-operation for a common end with full enthusiasm.

viii. When we are organized and united in this manner, we cannot only be in a position to send our representation consisting of level-headed politicians and pick of the intelligentsia to the Muslim League for our rights and demands but we shall also be in a position to stand for our right of self-determination which cannot be denied by any well-meaning sincere man possessing common sense.

ix. Traders and businessmen are the backbone of the community but due to their occupation they have to adopt only one code of politics—the success of their business. Yet the guidance of the central body be such that their political views are not swayed by their personal or vocational incomes or losses; that religious and communal considerations with them do not occupy a secondary position and let them not be biased politicians with ever changing politics. Guidance and advice of the centre will be such that every member of the community and especially businessmen and traders prepare themselves for every sacrifice demanded by the critical situation of the present.

I am afraid I have taken a lot of your time. In conclusion, I thank you for your invitation and assure you that I shall do my best to try and organize the Shias of south India provided that enumerated principles are kept in view in forming the central body and drafting its aims and objects. I wish your efforts every success.

Yours sincerely,
R. TURABI

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Tewfiq Saleh Husseini to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC I/22

JERUSALEM,
1 October 1945

Palestine case at crossroads and threatened by Jewish massing [of] all their world resources. Your Arab brethren appeal for real Muslim

support to outbalance Zionist efforts, protect first *qibla* and third holy mosque and uphold Arab and Muslim aspect of Palestine.

TEWFIQ SALEH HUSSEINI
Acting Chairman,
Palestine Arab Party

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Hasan Reyaz to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P II/5

DELHI,
1 October 1945

Dear Sir,

I am writing this [letter] after a very long time. For some time I was under a self-imposed ban because of your health. After that the state of affairs here did not allow me to write. Now, though belated[ly], I want to preface my unusually long letter with my usual reports.

The Musalmans of India are showing signs of wonderful development of political sense in them, both individually and collectively, since the Simla Conference. They appreciated your marvellous Simla stand like a grown-up nation. They are feeling very proud of your wonderful move, which made the so-called national Provisional Government an obsolete idea, with full consciousness that you bypassed the clever Hindu leadership which was making for coup d'etat [*sic*] through the back-door.

Now they are responding to your appeal for funds with a religious zeal. It is really in your leadership that the Musalmans have developed a taste for politics undiluted from [*sic* for by] *Mullaism*.

Your '*Id* message this year excelled all the previous ones. It really thrilled the Musalmans and endeared you, greatly still, among them. I congratulate you on that, if I may.

The recent declaration of the British Government, as far as I can see, is retrograde, though, in this respect that they have not reiterated the promise made to the Musalmans that no machinery for the constitution-making and the constitution itself would be valid without the consent of the Musalmans; they have tried to meet some of the objections raised by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League in its resolution of April 1942 against the Cripps Proposals. There would be a consultation about the formation, powers and procedure of the constitution-making body and alternative or amended schemes will be considered. But how the Viceroy will select or get elected the

representatives of the Legislatures for consultation and draw his conclusions, that is a question.

Now something about the *Manshoor* which I have been avoiding to write so far. The *Manshoor* is now nine months old as a daily. Its circulation is above four thousand. It might have been double this number by this time had our despatch and distribution been properly organised. This most important department of the *Manshoor* and the *Dawn* both is hopeless. I have never seen such a clamour against irregular despatch and distribution of any paper before. We have one stock argument against every complaint—the difficulties of printing press. Difficulties of printing we, no doubt, have but everything is not due to it.

The *Manshoor* is also not getting enough advertisements yet. This important source of income is not receiving due attention in the case of the *Manshoor* by the management.

As for the *Manshoor* as a paper, I can only say that it is not yet quite up to the mark I have in view. It still requires much to be done. But I very much doubt that I would ever be allowed to do all that. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the Director, has little or no interest in the *Manshoor*; and the Manager is too interfering in the editorial affairs. He is out to dominate the Editors. His lust for power and authority knows no bounds. He is hampering the progress of the paper by interfering in the editorial matters and neglecting his own duties.

You will be surprised to know that I have been able to see the Director only three or four times during the last nine months in spite of my repeated requests to do so. The *Manshoor* is left entirely on [*sic*] the mercy of the Manager.

The first matter I was called by the Nawabzada through the Manager to discuss, after my persistent requests, just about a week before we started the *Manshoor* daily, was to fix the number of my staff and their scales of pay. I had proposed twelve members for the editorial staff, in my original scheme, including the local reporters. In that discussion the Nawabzada reduced that number to six including myself. I had to give way. But, during the very first week, it became clear to me that it was impossible to carry on with that staff. I explained the position to Nawabzada Sahib by reducing the whole work into hours and minutes and he was fully convinced that I was short of hands. He allowed me two more translators in spite of opposition from the Manager. The Manager felt annoyed at this and is trying in every way possible to reduce my staff again to six. By the way, I respectfully inform you that the strength of the editorial staff of the *Dawn* is thirteen.

Next came the question of my pay as the Editor of the daily *Manshoor*. The Manager got that matter settled as he liked with the Nawabzada

without any reference to me. I wrote a letter to you at the very time, reporting the matter, but I withheld it as you were not well. Now I enclose the same letter[1] herewith for your kind perusal if and when you feel inclined to do so.

This is extraordinary, indeed, that the Manager should have a say in the matter of fixing the salary of the Editor-in-Chief or the strength of the editorial staff.

We have been given no teleprinter. We get our news from the A.P.I. office through our office peon. Therefore we cannot publish the news which is received in the A.P.I. office after 11 o'clock in the night; while other papers can put in the news till 3.30 a.m.

We have got no local reporter.

We have got only one peon while the *Dawn* office has got about a dozen.

I cannot get my post direct. The managerial clerk receives it and sends me only once in 24 hours at midday. All the urgent matters requiring prompt attention of the Editor rest suspended till then.

I have been allowed no imprest money. Once I purchased three books for Rs.14 but the Manager refused to pay the bill. I had to pay it from my own pocket. We have got no reference books or any books whatsoever.

We have not been provided even with a cheap timepiece to regulate our timetable.

The Manager, as he has got full control of money, incites the members of my staff to insubordination.

If I engage any outsider, or put any member of my permanent staff to do double duty, in case of emergency such as sometimes arises, when more than one member of my staff go on leave, the Manager refuses to pay for that.

I drew the attention of Nawabzada Sahib in August last, and also later on, towards this state of affairs and many others, both personally and in writing. He was fully convinced and he promised me to put things in order; but nothing has come to pass yet. I rang him many times but he avoids seeing me. I am told that the Manager threatened him of [*sic*] his resignation from the managership of the *Manshoor* and he got unnerved.

Not only the Manager but his clerks are bullying me. Zyauddin, a clerk in the *Dawn,* whom I had engaged on Rs. 50 p.m. when I was managing the weekly *Dawn* just for love of labour and the interest I had in the paper, asked me to appoint one of his relatives as my assistant in the *Manshoor.* I refused to do so because the man was not fit for the job. Again he asked me to accept his own articles on payment. I refused this also. Since then he is doing constant propaganda in conjunction with the local Urdu journalists who aspire for the

editorship of the *Manshoor* or a job in the staff. I am reliably informed that this fellow, certainly with the connivance of the Manager, gets not less than forty letters everyday containing allegations against me, despatched to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan through the different agencies. There is a regular blitz going towards all this, but to no avail.

I and my staff are labouring in sheer helplessness. I have no alternative left but to seek your protection against the managerial high-handedness and the Director's apathy.[2]

Apologising for this long tiring letter, I wish you good health, long life and success in your great mission.

Yours sincerely,
HASAN REYAZ
Editor, the daily Manshoor

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Jinnah informed him that he would consider what could be done in the matter after he had seen him in Delhi. See *SHC*, P&P II/6. Not printed.

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G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind VI/53-4

KARACHI,
1 October 1945

Provincial Parliamentary Board met for three days. Adjourned *sine die* today owing serious differences. Kindly direct Central Parliamentary Board reach Karachi immediately otherwise situation serious as some members holding private meeting and issuing tickets.

G. M. SAYED

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Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah & Others to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind VI/49-52

KARACHI,
1 October 1945

Parliamentary Board started deliberations from 29th September.

Work commenced smoothly, tickets for four Larkana, two Jacobabad, four Nawabshah seats allotted unanimously. Today Chairman, G. M. Sayed adjourned meeting *sine die* after proceedings had begun. Majority of members against postponement. Chairman's ruling illegal, unconstitutional, high-handed. He desired his favourite Sayeds be allotted tickets in Tharparkar [and] Hyderabad Districts. Majority wanted fair decisions allotting tickets [to] such candidates who enjoy majority support in constituencies, having reasonable chances of success. This upset Sayed, hence illegal ruling calling Council meeting on 12th. This Council packed with Sayed's henchmen. Our Board answerable Central Parliamentary Board and All India Working Committee. Consequently pray wire Sayed stopping Council meeting. Your Board presence essential [on] 12th. Pray wire advice both sides. Reach soon. Wire date arrival.

GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH
MOHAMMAD AYUB KHUHRO
PIR ILLAHI BAKHSH
MIR GHULAM ALI

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Mohamed Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/21

PESHAWAR,
1 October 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter which Qazi Isa handed over to me. We arrived here on the 27th and since then we have spent a most busy time—deputations from the various districts, meeting and interviewing more than two hundred people. From all that we have heard and seen, I can give you the good news that people of this Province are veering round to the League, but still lot of hard work has to be done if the League is to derive full benefit from the anti-Congress views and sentiments of the people. We are fully aware how our late ministry brought a bad name to the whole League organization and what a bad show they made of the opportunity given them to serve the people and strengthen our organization. No Minister is free from blame and feelings of the people are against every Minister. Serious charges of corruption and nepotism are levelled against all of them. I was shocked to learn that even Nishtar, for whom I have always had some regard,

is also considered an undesirable person. Your wishes in the matter will be conveyed by me to the Central Parliamentary Board who will no doubt pay the greatest respect to them. Bulk of the people are of the opinion that no ex-Minister or present MLA should be on the Board. Such views have been expressed before us with great deal of force and vehemence, both by the [word illegible] and others. We spent a day at [word illegible] on our way here and we propose to spend another on our way back. We are leaving here tomorrow as I have important engagements in U.P. from the 5th.

There is another point on which I wish to write to you and that is to request you to send me a cheque for rupees 20,000 in connection with the election campaign which will start immediately after the selection of candidates by the Central Parliamentary Board on the 8th. I am asking for this sum with full agreement of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. You may rest assured that we shall try to spend the money carefully and keep separate accounts of this and other sum[s] received on this account. This cheque may kindly be sent to New Delhi, care of Nawabzada where I shall be till the 10th.

I hope you are recuperating rapidly. We want you to shift to some more accessible place as soon as you feel quite fit, from where to consult you on important matters as they arise. Any delay in taking decisions may worsen the situation.

With kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,

M. ISMAIL KHAN

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Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/315-40

BEGUMPETT,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
1 October 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have returned from a fairly exhaustive tour of the United Kingdom, U.S.A., Canada and certain other countries in Europe. I was anxious to take the earliest opportunity of personally reporting to you my impressions on the general economic and political situation; but on my arrival at Karachi, I heard from Mr.[Hatim] Alavi that you were

likely to remain in Quetta for another month or so and that I might not have the honour of meeting you even sometime after that as you would probably proceed to Lahore from there. I have, therefore, decided to convey some of the points through this letter which I felt must come to your notice at the earliest possible.

To my great surprise, I found that in the delegation, which consisted of no more than seven delegates and about [an] equal number of advisers, there was complete lack of co-ordination and harmony. The general tendency prevailing was to hold back any information or contacts made to one's own self and avoid any possibility of making that available to any other colleague. In that respect, I am sorry to say, I found the Tata Group even worse than Birla. All I can say, in fairness, is that the narrow tendency was not entirely on religious and sectarian basis, although I wish I were in a position to state that the atmosphere was free of communal feeling. There was quite an exhibition of jealousy and distrust, for example between Tata and Birla, and in like manner it was between all other members of the delegation. There was some common ground between Ajaib Singh, Chinoy and myself, but even that was more or less casual and certainly of not much material value. This experience positively makes me feel that there is little chance of India's economy developing on collective lines: the very authors of the so-called Bombay Plan themselves completely failed when they were subjected to a very mild test during the joint tour. Any planning, therefore, from our point of view, of economic development will have to take the above facts fully into account. If any collective development is aimed at, that I believe can only be the sequel to a very strong Government organization with a dictatorial character about it.

Apparently, the visit of the delegation was sponsored with some definite object and with great keenness by His Majesty's Government. I found ample proof of this throughout the journey. One aim of H.M.G. might have been to extend and strengthen direct trade relations between Indian and British industrial and mercantile communities and to gain the sympathies of the former in favour of Britain in preference to America or other countries in Europe. I have also reason to believe that the H.M.G. themselves wanted to get a first-hand knowledge of the reactions of the important industrial and commercial people of this country in regard to the changing political and economic situation. Of course, during our stay, the Government of United Kingdom changed hands and the new Government had its plate full with domestic and foreign affairs. For some time, therefore, after our return from the U.S.A., we remained neglected by the new Government. Later, however,

the new Government also exhibited a good deal of interest in us.

I was considerably handicapped owing to Ispahani's inability to join, I am told, due to his health. My other colleagues, therefore, at least in their political activity had a very positive advantage over me. Added to my difficulties was also the fact that Sultan Chinoy had quite often different views to my own in political affairs. Single-handed, therefore, I had to make the best of the situation and I tried to cover as much ground as possible without coming into actual direct conflict with my colleagues. Combined with Ispahani, I believe, the situation would have been entirely different. As it is, my own attempts have at best only partially counteracted the work done by my other colleagues. In economic and commercial matters they were absolutely distrustful of each other but on political platform they were undoubtedly united.

I had a long interview with the new Secretary of State, Lord Pethick-Lawrence. In Lord Pethick-Lawrence, I found a mature statesman with an open mind to reason and ready to take every viewpoint into consideration. I finally concluded in my own mind that his attitude towards Muslims on the whole and towards States need not be regarded as unsympathetic. I argued some points with him with regard to the Indian political situation and, I believe, I have succeeded in convincing him over certain issues. He is comparatively easy of access, and I am sure, if kept in regular contact and correctly informed, can be relied upon to take a fair and just view of the situation and can be got effectively interested in further political and economic development of India.

I have reasons to believe that Sir Zafrulla Khan has been in fairly constant and possibly intimate touch with the Secretary of State for India and other influential people in London during his stay abroad. To my mind, his contacts in England should be more effectively utilized. He should visit Great Britain and America more frequently and, taking advantage of his personal contacts, should convey the Muslim viewpoint to the prominent personalities in both these countries. I should make it clear here that Sir Zafrulla Khan's contacts are not very wide, but those he has are extremely influential and effective.

I met Sir Stafford Cripps on certain occasions and had one lengthy discussion with him about various problems concerning the Muslim interests and that of Hyderabad. He carries in the British Cabinet, at the moment, the privileged position of authority on Indian affairs, and I understand from reliable circles that his opinion on Indian affairs carries a great weight. However, I was also cautioned by several people, who are in the direct know of things, that on major issues such as the final constitution of India, Cripps' opinion might easily get

over-ruled by Mr. Attlee and several other members of the Cabinet. It is also a fact that Cripps is not regarded sound on the domestic and on various foreign issues, by his own colleagues and other ranks of the Labour Party. He is certainly disliked by the prominent industrialists and financiers of the country and one day it need not come as a great surprise, if for one reason or [an]other, Cripps leaves the Cabinet. This is an important factor which has got to be borne in mind. Most of the other members of the British Cabinet at the moment, I feel, have no definite views formed on issues relating to India. If they are properly contacted and kept informed of the actual conditions in this country, I believe they can more than counteract Cripps' pressure.

Cripps positively appears to be a believer in one India. The main theme of his arguments with me was the economic inter-dependence of one part of India on the other. To his mind, it is an impracticable proposition that there can be two political divisions of any closely-knit economic unit like India. He illustrated, time after time, the Union of Soviet Russia and the results achieved there by politically uniting people of different castes, creeds and races. With him political and ideological differences are surmountable, but the division of an economic unit which, no matter rightly or wrongly, has developed during the past hundred years is impracticable. I am not in a position to say whether these are Cripps' genuine and final views or he was trying to gauge me by a tone of finality in his arguments. My reason for this remark is that Mr. Birla, who had a long interview with Sir Stafford, is reported to have returned in a very dissatisfied and unhappy mood. It is possible that Cripps conveyed to Birla quite opposite views. Whatever be the position, I feel almost certain that Cripps is more inclined towards one India and that is a force that has got to be taken into account and counteracted.

The fact is fully known to you that the propaganda of the Congress has been fairly extensive, both in U.K. and in America. However, that propaganda is not usually of matured or skilful order. The thinking public who, to some extent, does get influenced by the propaganda mostly directed against [the] British and Muslims is quite often also eager to know something of the others' viewpoint. The ground, therefore, is definitely ready to receive the Muslim viewpoint, if it is properly exposed to them.

I have had conversations with several influential officials and non-officials, in both Great Britain and America. I believe, as a rule, conversations featuring the Muslim viewpoint should be conducted on cultural and ideological grounds rather than religious. To an average American and Britisher's mind, religion appears something old-fashioned,

indicative of the primitiveness of the people. They genuinely believe that, given more education, happier circumstances, and better living conditions, the people in course of time will get over their religious feelings and will adjust themselves under economic pressure and political exigencies. However, that is not their conclusion when one talks to them of differences in culture and ideology. With some senators and thinking people in America and several parliamentarians and other influential people in England, I tried to argue on the lines of fundamental cultural and ideological differences that exist. Briefly, my theme was that, rightly or wrongly, for thousands of years, Hindu culture is based on inherent differences between section and section of society and that it will remain so for centuries to come, no matter how much education is imparted to them. On the other hand, fundamentally, the Muslim culture is based on equality of every element of human race and does not admit [of] any distinction arising from birth, caste or any latent ethics. No matter which ideal is right, the fact remains that they are both diametrically opposite to each other and any amount of external pressure cannot bring them together. This theme has appealed to most western minds and I have reason to believe that certain influential persons, for instance Sir Patrick Henon, who leads the Conservative Group of the Midland Counties, are likely to base their arguments on this theme when the issue comes up before the House of Commons. A number of influential persons in commerce and industries have also grasped this viewpoint fairly clearly and, no doubt, to some extent they will bear influence on public opinion.

A meagre attempt has been made by the Congress to bribe the press on both sides of the Atlantic. In my opinion, such a course is neither honourable nor absolutely necessary. The proper exposition of facts before a select few and an approach to the proper persons through social channels can have the desired effect. A few people with intelligence and social bearing inspired by you and having sufficient financial means can do a great deal of service. It would activate their efforts if they can also, at the same time, have some more concrete commercial propositions on their hands. It would help them to get a direct approach to the influential commercial and industrial sections and government departments, both in the U.K. and U.S.A. Such a course would not involve the Muslim League into any undue expenditure and will probably achieve results by far superior in quality and volume to the work done by the Congress representatives. It is a fact that Mr. Birla, in spite of his strong financial position and prospects of voluminous business, has left on a good many people a much poorer impression, both of himself and his community. I certainly find no

indication of any sympathy for him or his class either in British or American industrial and mercantile sections. There were several parties [to] whom he made [an] approach for collaboration, [who] at the end approached me of their own accord with better terms than they had offered to Birla. In one or two instances, when I asked them the reason for this unbusinesslike behaviour, they frankly told me that they felt more confident of their future with me than with Birla.

There are two main points in world affairs over which public attention is focussed in London and Washington and they are obviously Russia and the Atomic Bomb. There is not even an attempt on the part of an average American to conceal distrust of Russian policy and the future aims of Russia. The Britisher probably feels alike but does not express himself so freely. They both feel, no matter what the United Kingdom and America might do, the secret of Atomic Bomb cannot be maintained for any length of time. The American defence policy is based on the industrialisation of Latin America and close economic and friendly relations with those States. They also wish to prepare China to serve as their first line of defence. The result is that America is pouring millions of dollars into China to re-organize the economics and to develop the industrial potentialities of that country. I am told that there were no less than 26 Chinese industrial and commercial delegations of one description or another present in Washington when we were there. The Americans believe that even semi-organised and partially industrialised four hundred millions of China favourably inclined towards America would help to maintain the balance of power.[1] Britain also is inclined to pursue a similar policy in regard to India and on that account I feel that there is a certain amount of genuineness in the intentions of Britain to raise the standard of living in India and to allow partial industrialisation. Britain, however, as usual is more cautious politically and harbours the traditional distrust of India as well as of America. Consequently, the development in India would probably proceed with a slower pace.

I do not think Britain is fully decided whether one India is a better safeguard against Russia or a divided India. There are people who feel that any attempt to enforce a common rule will leave the people in a state of continued dissatisfaction which would be extremely undesirable from the point of view of defence. Another school of thought believes that two distinct divisions would probably keep one in constant conflict with the other. They are not unmindful of the past history of the Muslims and generally believe that Muslim India with the moral and possibly material support of the rest of the Muslim world would eventually dominate over the Hindu India.

The unformed public opinion, both in the States and in the United Kingdom, can very well be canalised in a direction favourable to Muslim interests by a sustained and intelligent propaganda. I believe that it would be desirable to attempt some sort of collaboration in this regard with the Arab world and other Muslim countries.

I shall now relate some of my impressions in regard to the economic and industrial development of India and other points that are more directly related to our tour. The following paragraphs I am reproducing from a letter that I shall send to Sir Azizul Haque and two or three other Hon. Members of the Government of India which, I hope, you would not mind:

"In a couple of functions arranged soon after our arrival at London we were brought in contact with the leading industrialists and businessmen of the United Kingdom. From the very commencement we were glad to find that a spirit of goodwill and understanding prevailed around us. The Federation of British Industries and the Association of British Chamber of Commerce furnished all the information needed and gave every assistance in establishing personal contacts between the members and the Indian delegates. Numerous individual discussions expelled [*sic*] many of the doubts which we had in our minds about the intentions of the British industrialists and businessmen in regard to the legitimate aspirations of India towards industrialisation and economic uplift. It was, therefore, easier to get down to brass tacks and to the ways and means.

"With the exception of a few formal speeches and one or two discussions on general lines most of the conversations were between individuals on each side. There were very few occasions on which the members of the delegation (I hope I am right in using the expression) exchanged views among themselves on the general issues. There were several instances when members of the delegation were discussing individually the same subject with the same people but with entirely different viewpoints. This caused a certain amount of surprise on the other side. The other drawback was the inadequate technical assistance with the delegates in dealing with more specific proposals. Whatever technical advice that [*sic*] was available was limited [to] a few and the others had to go almost without it. Any suggestion for pooling the resources and working on a common ground was not generally favoured. Had the suggestion been accepted, I feel, each member of the delegation would have benefited a great deal more and the duplication of energies would have [been] greatly minimised.

"I for one do not believe that an average British industrialist is over-anxious at making [*sic*] large investments in the industrial enterprises in

India. There are, no doubt, a few large organizations which definitely wish to have a controlling interest in certain key industries but those may be regarded as exceptions rather than the rule. More commonly, the British industrial organizations are either inclined to co-operate with [*sic*], in some form or other, or are indifferent to the industrial activities in India. The tendency on the part of many was to gauge in each instance the technical and business capacity on our side and to adjust their attitude accordingly. If the assistance sought from them was of a limited and specific nature, it was forthcoming in an unreserved manner and on reasonable terms. If the collaboration sought was on very broad lines amounting to their sharing large responsibility, the price demanded, either in one form or other, was usually high.

"Generally a British manufacturer of capital goods is anxious to sell his goods. In most cases, he is facing great difficulties by way of limited designing and drawing office staff, disorganised production and uncertainty of allotment of raw materials and labour. If an enquiry is sent, he generally weighs it and gives serious attention only if he is convinced that the enquiry is genuine and might result in immediate business. His proposals in that case are sound and his quotations finally come down to a reasonable level. Compared with pre-war standards the prices today are anything from forty to seventy per cent higher, depending on the class of goods and the capacity of the manufacturer and technical and production facilities at his disposal. In certain classes of goods, such as textile machinery, the price level is unreasonably high and, I feel, it is being artificially maintained.

"The delivery [period] in most cases, is six to nine months more than the pre-war period. In textile equipment, they are anything from two to four years.

"The National Association of Manufacturers in the U.S.A. is the counterpart of the Federation of British Industries. They offered every assistance and extended their co-operation although it was not of the same degree as the F.B.I.'s. Quite naturally from their point of view, discussions with us were more of an academic nature owing to the dollar exchange situation. Nevertheless, most of the individual contacts were fruitful and great deal of information was thus available. There was a great eagerness on the part of the U.S. Government officials of the Treasury Department, the Import-Export Bank, the State Department and the Commerce Department, and the banks, manufacturers and exporters to find an early solution to the exchange difficulties. The price level in America of such of the articles which [*sic*] are not produced on a mass scale, and as are also manufactured

in England, is naturally higher owing to the higher standard of wages in that country. In most cases the delivery [periods] are more favourable. There are, besides, a number of articles which are only available in the U.S.A. It is necessary, therefore, from the point of view of India, to arrange an adequate dollar reserve to enable her to purchase such articles as are not usually available in the Sterling Area or as cannot be obtained there in a reasonable period of time. For other articles, the purchaser in this country would himself soon find out that it is to his own advantage to select his requirements from the Sterling Area. To me there appears to be no truth in the popular belief that the standard of workmanship in Great Britain has fallen or that her productive capacity is substantially reduced. On the contrary, after allowing a certain amount of re-adjustment in regard to distribution of labour and material, which is obviously necessary, the production capacity of the United Kingdom, if anything, should be more than the pre-war period. In like manner, the technical and scientific advancement achieved in that country are [*sic*] of a high order.

"I found several instances where American manufacturers are keen to collaborate with industrial development in India. There were many others who were not in the least interested. The attitude, therefore, of an average American manufacturer cannot be generalised—a lot depends, I believe, on individual contracts. The only impression I received broadly is that an average American manufacturer and businessman has preference for Latin America and China over India.

"A matter for immediate consideration for India is the disposal of surplus war materials in the U.S.A. Unused goods alone, I understand, are of the order of about 27 billion dollars. Bulk of the material is likely to be disposed of at fairly low prices. The most important consideration in the business will be the first-hand knowledge of the materials and their location. No doubt an organisation such as the India Supply Mission should be in a position to advise the Government and the public over this matter.

"Little is known in this country of the production capacity of capital goods and sentiments of the people towards us in Canada. It was somewhat unfortunate that, excepting myself, no other members of the delegation were able to visit that country. I was surprised at the extent of industrialisation in Canada. Their capacity to manufacture capital goods has enormously increased during the war. Their techniques appear to be as good as any. Their general approach to any problem of production, to my mind, is more suitable for conditions in India than in any other country. Their layout of any industry usually bears in mind limited production with continental resources behind it: in

U.S.A. it is unusual to conceive of a layout with limited production and in the United Kingdom the planning generally is based on limited resources. The price level also, in Canada, is slightly below that in the U.S.A. and more or less bears an inverse ratio to the exchange rate of Canadian and U.S.A. dollars.

"There appears to be a genuine desire on the part of Government representatives and the trade in Canada, to develop trade relations with India. They are ready to make available technical personnel and to train candidates from this country in higher techniques. They are willing to admit Indian students in large numbers to Canadian universities and their industrial organisations are willing to provide reasonable facility for their practical training. In the course of a conversation I had with Mr. Mackinnon, the Member-in-charge of Commerce and Industries, I learnt that the Canadian Government was soon likely to send a delegation consisting of officials and non-officials to India with a view to strengthen[ing] and enhanc[ing] trade relations between the two countries. I believe, to some extent, the goodwill exhibited by officials and non-officials in Canada is indebted to the fine work of Mr. Ahuja, India's Trade Commissioner at Toronto. I feel it would be possible for him to do a great deal more if his office is suitably strengthened by technical and commercial assistants.

"Incidentally, I could never understand why the Trade Commissioner's office is located at Toronto. The capital of Canada is Ottawa and the trade centre is Montreal. The proper place for the Indian Trade Commissioner, therefore, would be either Ottawa or Montreal.

"I felt greatly disappointed at the very limited resources of the offices of High Commissioner for India in London and Trade Commissioner for India in New York. Both these offices will have to be considerably enlarged and reinforced with experienced technical and commercial men to meet the future requirements of India. Their education sections will have to be likewise strengthened considerably if India intends to send large number of students abroad. The present means in this regard are both insufficient and inefficient. I doubt if the large number of candidates that are proceeding to the two countries at present will really receive the guidance and assistance they need—particularly when the universities, both in U.K. and U.S.A., are going to be crowded by demobilised men of the respective countries. Their practical training also needs special efforts if it is to be of any real value. I expect the sizeable and efficiently set up organisation of the India Supply Mission at Washington, which will naturally come to be disbanded now, can provide the trained personnel for strengthening the offices of the various trade commissioners.

"Sweden is one country in the world which appears to have come best out of the war. Their scientific advancement, their production level, their efficiency and their production is indeed of a very high order at the moment. However, I believe, Sweden must soon face an economic crisis. The level of wages at present has risen so high that the Swedes would hardly be able to stand competition after some time in the world market. Yet, that country is in a position to deliver most articles in good time and certain specialised units such as pulp and paper machinery at fairly reasonable prices. It has the additional advantage, at present, of an arrangement concluded of Sterling-Krona exchange for the next five years.

"I was able to make a few enquiries during the short period of my stay in France. It appeared remarkable to me, the rapid pace with which France is recovering. In addition to the reconstruction of damage done in a good many places in that country, the French are already endeavouring to enter the export market. Some of their specialised products like power alcohol plants etc., they are offering to deliver in a surprisingly reasonable time and at a fair level of prices. I have a feeling that until the final stabilisation of the Sterling-Franc rate the French government would observe a policy of restricted subsidy to the industry for export purposes.

"To my mind one of the greatest handicaps of India, for some years to come, will remain the lamentable shortage of experienced technical men both with the Government organizations and the public. Not unfrequently it happens that the Government authorities try to control or direct matters into which they have not sufficient insight. The public enterprise on the other hand advances in several cases on broad generalisations with meagre knowledge of the techniques and essential details. There is obvious danger from both sides."

I hope you will forgive me for presenting this rather lengthy narration of my impressions. I felt it was my duty to bring these points, for what they are worth, to your notice. If there is any further information on any specific issue that you would like me to submit, I shall only be too happy.

With respectful regards,

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
MIR LAIK ALI

[1]Robert Walpole, British statesman and twice Prime Minister (1715-17; 1721-42), used the phrase "balance of power" for the first time in a speech before parliament

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M. I . Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/165-6

BUDAUN,
2 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am desired to send you a copy of the resolutions passed by the Muslim Students' Federation of Budaun. About five hundred of them offered their services for the forthcoming elections. I am sure they are going to play, as they did in my by-election in 1938, an important role in the coming battle.

Since the youth has always been the first recipient of your patronage and since they are very useful on such occasions, I thought it best to mobilise their force.

Perhaps, if you consider it [word illegible] a word from you would double their enthusiasm. The Muslim public have particularly appreciated their resolutions number 2 and 3.

Yours sincerely,
M. I. HASAN
Ex-member, U.P. Legislative Assembly

Enclosure to No. 169
Resolutions Passed by the Council of Muslim Students' Federation of Budaun

F. 958/167-9

BUDAUN,
30 September 1945

1. a. While reiterating our implicit faith in the Muslim League, the only representative Muslim political organisation of ten crores of Muslims of India, and our unflinching confidence in the exalted leadership of our illustrious Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, we declare our unshakable determination to do everything humanly possible to achieve our cherished goal of independence, namely Pakistan, for the attainment of which no sacrifice shall be too great for us.

b. We also declare that in the forthcoming elections, the results of which are bound to affect the destiny of Muslim nation, we pledge to

place our entire services and resources at the disposal of the League. In furtherance of our resolve in this connection we propose to make a personal and effective appeal, with all the power at our disposal, to each and every Muslim individual with a view to ensuring cent per cent success for the Muslim League candidates, in keeping with the past record of the League in the District. At the same time, however, we are not afraid of any opposition from the Congress or its subservient agencies which we shall face with utmost resolve, courage and strength, however great the sacrifices we may have to make. We think that in the Muslim nation's lifetime in India, the present is a very critical time and the forthcoming elections have put us to a very severe test of life or death; and as such we are confident that through God's help the Muslims will close all ranks, compose all differences and promptly rally round the banner of Islam to stand united on one platform under one organisation, namely the Muslim League, which is their sole representative body.

2. We have lately noticed, with great regret and surprise, the attitude of men like Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru since his release from jail which has been consistently one of open challenge and hostility towards the Muslim nation. His provocative utterances culminating in his latest performance of contemptuous disregard of the Muslim League and his proposed direct contact with Muslim masses, as announced at the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Bombay, is a deliberate affront and insult offered to the entire Muslim nation. By his unwise declaration he clearly implies that either the Musalmans are thoroughly disorganised or he hopes to win them over by some temptations. It is true that of all the persons in the Congress, he, by virtue of his and his family's past relations with Muslims, might have been the most qualified to make an approach to Musalmans. But we respectfully remind him that the past is not the present, and he and his organisation (the Congress) are alone to blame for this change. We, therefore, earnestly trust that wiser counsels shall prevail with him and he shall desist from undertaking any such venture, at least in Budaun. He should have realised that in the same old game practised by Congress in 1938 what type of response and reception did his friends, including the Congress Ministers, meet at Budaun during the last by-election. Such mischievous move by the Congress did incalculable harm both to Muslims and Hindus who were thrown into welter and chaos through a series of communal riots. If, in spite of these hard facts, he still persists in his designs he alone shall be responsible for all consequences.

3. While taking no notice of certain servile and subservient Muslim agencies set up by the Congress solely to create disruption in the

solidarity of Musalmans, except to be firmly of the opinion "let the dogs bark and the caravan shall pass", we once more earnestly appeal to our brethren who have not yet joined us, to follow the illustrious lead of so many distinguished gentlemen who had so long been away from us and who at last had to come to their own fold.

This meeting of the Muslim Students' Federation of Budaun utterly condemns the most bigoted and communal behaviour on the part of those non-Muslim students of Lucknow University who cannot tolerate giving a fair deal to their fellow Muslim students even in things like the University Union which is nothing more than a debating society. Their misbehaviour, culminating in riots, is a typical forerunner of *Ram raj* which, as Mr. Patel openly declared the other day, the Congress wants to establish in India. We send all our good wishes and a message of deep sympathy to our brethren, the Muslim students of Lucknow University, who have been the victims of all that aggression. Let them, however, take consolation in the fact that the day is not far off when all their labours shall be rewarded and, by God's grace, we shall have our freedom under Pakistan under which nobody shall dare do a thing like that wherever we may choose to live.

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/92

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
2 *October 1945*

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 24th September[1] which was delivered here last evening. It takes a long time for a letter to travel from Quetta to Calcutta.

I have written you two letters recently, one on the 25th September[2] and the other yesterday.[3] I have tried to put before you, as best as I could and with as little prejudice as possible, the conditions prevailing at my end and have sought your valuable advice in regard to myself and I anxiously await it.

Yes, Bombay has not only risen but jumped to the occasion. The response from the businessmen has been magnificent. Here our Memon friends are mostly coming forward with the excuse that they have already subscribed to the Fund in Bombay. Of course, they have been

told that such tales will not be heard as they are established here and have made money in and out of our province.

Nausher Ali, and those of his ilk, are talking big and making big promises to get hold of Congress money which they expect to flow in the Muslim majority provinces. They will fleece the Congress alright but, *Insha Allah,* will not leave an impression on the mind of the Muslim electorate, who are wide awake. It is very heartening to see many prominent non-Leaguers severing their long connection with anti-League organisations and joining our truly national body.

You do not write regarding your health. Are you fit? What is your programme after Baluchistan and Sindh? Surely you will not neglect Bengal. Your presence will inspire the workers to put in their maximum effort. I am sure you will not neglect Bengal. A visit by you is long overdue. Now that the weather is improving, when may we expect you?

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 141.
[2]No. 148.
[3]No. 161.

171

Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/91

MURREE HILLS,
2 October 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have just returned after a six months' tour of the United States and Canada where I studied industrial development, in particular as to how the United States has been able to build up its present position as the industrial leader of the world. I spent a good deal of time in critically examining the methods and the means adopted by American industrialists in accomplishing their present achievements. I observed a great similarity between the natural resources of the United States and India and do not see why our own great country cannot be developed economically on the same lines as America.

You will be glad to learn that I have established many valuable connections with the captains of industry[1] in the United States and with their assistance I expect to set up, in the near future, a network of

factories in India. I shall be able to explain in detail when I see you personally in the near future.

After a couple of days stay in Lahore, I have come to Murree on a week's holiday before plunging into serious business. During my absence from India, I have been keenly watching the political developments in our country, particularly the events connected with the Simla Conference which have culminated in the present elections. I regret to record my impression that the Congress case receives wide publicity in the United States whereas few know the League viewpoint. I did my best to explain the League case to each and every industrialist I met, both in the United States and Canada, but I have come back with the firm conviction that it is imperative to set up some sort of publicity organisation in New York to counteract the propaganda of the Congress. You will be interested to know that in pursuance of my own business loan I am contemplating to [*sic*] open an office in the United States very shortly.

I may mention here that before proceeding to the United States, I insured my life in the sum of £2000 for the duration of my absence from India and in the event of death had nominated you to receive the money due from the insurance company and utilise it for the advancement of Muslim interests. But it may amuse you to know that the policy is now dead as I have returned alive. I enclose herewith[2] the policy for your perusal.

As for the present elections, it is my fervent prayer that the Almighty may crown your efforts with success and I hope that the League will sweep the polls. Whatever help I can render in this direction will, you may be sure, be readily forthcoming. I am not a very wealthy man but whatever I possess is at the disposal of the nation. As I have only recently returned to India I have not had enough time to study the conditions in connection with the elections. Since the time is very short, I have informed the Nawab of Mamdot from here of my intention to contest the provincial elections but I am completely in your hands and will be guided by your advice.

I hope the climate of Quetta is having a very favourable effect on your health.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
RAFI BUTT

[1]"Captains of industry" a phrase neologized by Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), British historian and political philosopher who slammed social injustice and materialistic attitudes that resulted from the Industrial Revolution in Britain in the 18th and 19th centuries.

[2]Not traceable.

172

Dost Mohammad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 881/3-5

BANNU,
NWFP,
2 October 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I may introduce myself to you. I am an advocate of Bannu District, Frontier Province. I was a Red Shirt. We were working side by side with Congress. As regards my importance in the movement, several times I met Pandit Jawaharlal and took dinners and lunches with him. I should not give more importance to my personality at the moment. This season I went to Murree and was practising there. I was keenly watching the developments of Simla Conference and I was very much moved by the strength of character you showed there in the Conference. I thanked God for the gift of such a strong leader to Muslims. Again when I read the statement of Pandit Jawaharlal that there would be no talk again with Muslim League, I resigned from Congress, i.e. I was in Kashmir and sent my resignation from there and now I have complete faith in your Quaid-i-Azamship [*sic*] and place my services at your disposal. I hope that with your instructions, in Frontier Province, we will surely be able to give satisfaction to the public. One thing, i.e. you may also take care about selecting a leader for the province. Aurangzeb-like people and these *Khan Bahadurs* and *Nawabs* cannot be of any service to the League. People are tired of such type of people and they have no faith in these *jagirdars* and *Khan Bahadurs* and *Nawabs*. It will be better if you try to bring the movement to the masses and I am sure it will, but after some time. I will see you when you will come to Peshawar.

In the end I may pray for your long life which is valuable for the Muslim community.

Yours,
DOST MOHAMMAD KHAN
Advocate

173

Resolution by Frontier Students of Aligarh Muslim University

F. 962/41-2

2 October 1945

In a meeting of the Frontier students of the Aligarh Muslim University held on October 2, 1945, the following resolution was passed unanimously:

"This meeting of the Frontier students of the Aligarh Muslim University express[es] no-confidence in the leadership of Aurangzeb Khan and his associates. Their ministerial regime has proved definitely detrimental to the interests of the NWFP Muslims. It abounded in all sorts of corruption, favouritism and intrigues. The whole ministry was a nauseating compound of self-interest, insincerity, hypocrisy and cowardice. It became so unpopular among the masses that not a single meeting of the Muslim League could be held even in Peshawar City itself. The Ministry did nothing, whatsoever, to further the cause of the Muslim League instead it did the greatest possible harm to the cause of Pakistan and the All India Muslim League.

Therefore, in view of the general feelings of the Frontier Muslims, this meeting strongly requests the Muslim League high command in no case to give its tickets to Aurangzeb Khan or his associates for the forthcoming elections, let [*sic*] nominate them to the Provincial Parliamentary Board. This meeting wants to impress this fact on the Muslim League high command, with the greatest possible emphasis at its command, that if somehow these leaders of a close [*sic*] paid coterie get the Muslim League tickets, the chances of the success of the Muslim League in the forthcoming elections to the NWFP Assembly will be seriously imperilled. Because, however enthusiastic the people of Frontier may be about the establishment of Pakistan, Aurangzeb and his associates have rendered themselves so revolting to the people that they will never vote for the Muslim League if they find them again in the forefront of the League Party.

This meeting further assures Quaid-i-Azam and the League high command that Frontier students of the Aligarh University have unflinching faith in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, and are prepared to make any sacrifices for the achievement of Pakistan. They have decided to accept the challenge of Doctor Khan Sahib and [to] proceed to NWFP for active participation in the election campaign."

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G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind VI/55-66

KARACHI,
3 October 1945

My telegram of today.[1] Adjournment of Parliamentary Board decided owing requisition received this morning from twenty-five members Provincial Council for emergency Council meeting to consider following resolution:

"Whereas some members of Provincial Parliamentary Board have, for reasons stated below, forfeited confidence of Council and Province this Council hereby records its vote of no-confidence against them and nominates another set of persons in their place.

(i) Certain members of Board organised a tour of feasting in course of which candidates had provided them with a variety of entertainment and other considerations and conveniences.
(ii) Various members of Board had previously promised League tickets to certain individuals and hence selection lost all its judicial sanction.
(iii) Members were freely plotting and intriguing to advance their own personal political interests at cost of League and community.
(iv) Some members had intentionally incited more than one indicating [*sic* for candidate] from same constituency to contest and fight. This should lead to great acrimony and bitterness after ticket is issued to one and rest are left in desperation to rise in revolt.
(v) All seven members of Board are themselves candidates and have in fact already allotted tickets to most of themselves.
(vi) Decisions so far given are based on no sound principle but are palpably perverse.
(vii) Some members of Board had gone about canvassing for certain candidates long before question of tickets [was] decided.
(viii) Tickets are being issued for party consideration in disregard of possibilities of their success, service, merit or loyalty to League.
(ix) Cumulative effect of all these transactions has been that tickets issued by this Board are likely to command no public confidence and League nominees may sustain defeats.

This Council furthermore authorises new Board to consider entire question of allotment of tickets *de novo* in such cases as they are deemed fit."[2]

G. M. SAYED

[1] Not traceable.
[2] Jinnah advised G. M. Sayed to apprise the Central Parliamentary Board of the development. See *SHC*, Sind VI/67. Not printed.

175

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/69

CONFIDENTIAL

124 MUSLIM COLONY,
KARACHI,
3 October 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You must have received our telegram[1] regarding the rift in the Sind Parliamentary Board.

The work of the Parliamentary Board was going on smoothly and Larkana, Jacobabad and Nawabshah District candidates were chosen unanimously. But the trouble arose over Hyderabad and Tharparkar District candidates. The trouble unfortunately is that all the candidates in these districts were either favourites of Mr. G. M. Sayed or K. B. Mir Ghulam Ali Khan and Hon'ble Pir Ilahi Bakhsh.

According to the convention agreed upon by us we wanted to issue tickets, either by unanimous vote, or by overwhelming majority. This convention was followed in the above-mentioned districts, i.e. Larkana, Jacobabad and Nawabshah.

But it was not possible to do so in Hyderabad and Tharparkar Districts as there were three Ministers on one side and three including Mr. G. M. Sayed on the other. It made no difference which side I voted as the voting in all cases, so far as these districts were concerned, would be four against three and in such cases, according to the convention the matter was to be placed before the Central Parliamentary Board for decision.

Mr. G. M. Sayed, however, suddenly adjourned the meeting in spite of the fact that four voted against the adjournment and two voted for the adjournment. It was really unfortunate to have caused this trouble when it could easily have been avoided by the Chairman by referring such contentious matters to the Central Parliamentary Board for final decision. In any case, the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board would have prevailed.

I am, however, glad to learn from Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, in reply to my telegram, that the Central Parliamentary Board will be coming to Karachi on the 12th instant and that the Working Committee of All India Muslim League is to meet at Karachi on the 14th instant.

I would request you kindly to come back to Karachi on 10th or latest 11th instant so that the matter could be talked over and settled amicably.

Mr. G. M. Sayed has acted very wrongly by causing the rift which could have easily been avoided but Messrs Ali Mohamed Rashdi and M. H. Gazdar are at the back of it. Mr. Rashdi wanted to bring about the disruption in the League circles at the instigation of the Hindus who are the enemies of the League. He is their hireling and agent who utilizes every opportunity to misguide Mr. Sayed and thus cause trouble in the League circles. But your presence will help considerably in surmounting the difficulties created by our enemies. The situation is such that only the Central Parliamentary Board should deal with two districts specially, Hyderabad and Tharparkar, after obtaining advice from us here at Karachi and in important case they could consult you at each stage.

I also wanted to come and see you at Quetta for another purpose but I regret I could not get accommodation at such a short notice. I have also to be back here on 10th instant. I wanted to request you to speak to H. H. the Khan of Kalat to ask Pir Ahmed Shah of Ranipur to help us, that is our League candidates in the coming elections. The Pir Sahib is very influential in Sukkur District particularly and also in Jacobabad District. I would request you to kindly speak to His Highness the Khan of Kalat about it so that the needful may be done by him as early as possible.

With best wishes and kindest regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. KHUHRO

MLA

·See No. 166.

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Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/70

[KARACHI,]
3 October 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

I have just learnt that you would be here on the 12th and that the Working Committee meets on the 14th. In fixing up accommodation for all members, we had put you up at Tyebjees, but Sir Ghulam says that you had promised him to be his guest on your return and so in the programme that is being sent to Nawabzada, your stay is shown

at the Premier's.

As you have already been informed, our Parliamentary Board has broken down. It is my regret that I was not sufficiently impersonal so as to urge my own claim to be on the Board. Had you approved of the same and insisted on my being there, it is just possible [that] this fiasco, which is our shame, could have been avoided.

May I restate the Muslim position in the Assembly? The three European members' policy so far, which is likely to be the same in the future, is not to assist in forming or breaking down ministries. So excluding them and the Speaker, we have fifty-six members, of whom twenty-nine make the majority. This time twenty-two Hindus will have a dead set [*sic*] against us and, thus, with the caving over [*sic*] of only seven Muslims, Moula Bakhsh will be Sind's non-League Premier.

Sir, we should have our confidential blueprints ready for our next step in the event of our success or failure at the polls . The Cripps and Simla proposals were abruptly sprung upon us, though both had the saving grace of our consent [*sic*]. This has been partially taken away in the latest scheme of HM's Government and all parties have the amplest time in examining the present proposal in all its aspects. Mir Laik Ali's confidential report to you must have apprised you of how matters stand in London and how virtually Cripps, the Secretary of State with his adverse ideas is against us.[1] I request that you may please move the Working Committee to appoint a sub-committee to get ready with our plans and prints.

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

[1]See No. 168.

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Mir Mohiyuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 881/109-11

SAVAIPALYA,
SHIMOGA,
MYSORE,
3 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am a poor student of Intermediate College of Mysore University.

Now I have left the college and wish to serve my universal community of Islam. I am a staunch Muslim Leaguer. I had taken active part in the 1942 Congress disturbances as an anti-Congressite. I failed my Inter public examination on account of taking active part in the Muslim politics. I hate a Hindu like anything. I think that he is my most deadly enemy.

I had taken active part in the last Mysore representative assembly and local council elections to make the Muslim League candidate successful. By the grace of *Allah*, 99% success to Muslim League and only 45% to Congress.

I have sent two rupees towards the Election Fund. I had collected rupee one and *annas* five from the poor and young students of Urdu Boys' Middle School, Shimoga, and sent it to you.

Now I am working as an Assistant Teacher in Urdu Boys' Middle School, Shimoga, solely to teach the young students about the greatest organisation, Muslim League, and about our beloved Quaid-i-Azam. By the grace of God, all the young students are adhering to the Muslim League. Now I have set up a portrait or photo of yours in our school, only to teach [*sic*] about your personality.

Oh Quaid-i-Azam! I can't express my love towards you; my heart is burning with love of Pakistan. I have a cherished desire to take part in the ensuing election to make the Muslim League candidate successful. Another long wish is to see you in person—your stately face and grand personality—before my death. I hope that I will learn much in your company.

I am ready to leave my parents, brothers, sisters, all my relatives and friends and even my native place for the sake of Muslim League (just like *Majnu* for the sake of *Laila*). I will go to the door of every Musalman who is against the Muslim League and beg his honour [*sic*] to join hand[s] with the Muslim League. I will be ready to face any danger in case of opposition. I am writing a similar letter to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary, All India Muslim League.

In the end, I most humbly pray in [*sic*] your honour to send me early orders to come to you to help the Muslim League candidates in the ensuing election. I hope that you will grant my humble boon and send me early orders.

I pray for your long life, success to all the Muslim candidates who are standing on the Muslim League tickets.

A friend [of mine] Mr. C. H. Syed Mohammed wishes to come with me. I pray to let him come with me.

If you find any doubt [*sic*] in this letter please write a letter to the President of Muslim League, Shimoga Dist., Mysore State, and make sure about it.

I am,

Your most obedient follower and soldier,
MOHAMMAD MOHIYUDDIN

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/59

NEW DELHI,
4 October 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I, being a man in the street, put my viewpoint before you as a great leader of Muslim India. I hope my spirit would be appreciated, rather no attention would be paid as to how it is expressed [*sic*].

Every educated young Muslim, no matter in whatever walk of life he may be, thinks and realizes [*sic*] you as the perfect embodiment of honesty, truthfulness and an honest desire to uplift the Muslim nation to its ancient glory and to find for it a respectable place in the comity of nations. It is through your solitary efforts in the hostile domain of Hindu India and Muslim traitors that you achieved such remarkable success, never achieved anywhere in the world, and when the Muslim nation was being corrupted by Hindu Congress and British Govt.'s domination of two hundred years, [it] possesses no strong homeland front and it is just possible that it may lose battle in any conflict either against Congress or British Govt. The Muslim League leaders are quite idle people. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan got cold only in lecture [*sic*] while Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, etc., busy themselves throughout the year. They hold political press conferences, attend meetings and engage themselves in mass contact.

From the Muslim League side, you are the busiest man while League leaders are busy in their intrigues of job hunting.

The following associations be formed to give extra strength to Muslim League:

i. Muslim social welfare and relief league
ii. Muslim *Dawn* news agency
iii. Muslim film industry chamber
iv. Branches of Muslim League in Burma, Lanka, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, China, Arab countries, Afghanistan and Iran

Propaganda be carried out for the establishment of democratic Govts. in Muslim countries.

N.B. Mr. Abdul Qaiyum be sent to Aga Khan and on a tour to South Africa to collect money for Pakistan Fund (a better name for Election Fund) while MLAs be asked to contribute liberally to Election

Fund. You take a tour of India and instruct League to present purses. Muslim Chamber of Commerce should open and start Muslim [word illegible] campaign on a grand scale.
All these things will form a strong Muslim League home-front for the successful prosecution of Pakistan war.

[UNSIGNED]

179

Jewishtan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 943/47-50

JEWS TOWN,
COCHIN,
4 October 1945

Respected and dear Sir,

I was surprised to read your threatening telegram[1] from Quetta to the Rt. Honourable the British Prime Minister about the immigration of Jews to Palestine, especially from one who advocates Pakistan for his co-religionists. You have been writing and speaking in season and out of season about this. You know very well that the Jews had to migrate to other foreign lands owing to the Turkish persecution when Palestine was under their sway. At that time, there were no protests from Indian Muslims for [*sic*] the atrocities perpetrated by their co-religionists, viz. the Turks. Now they have been butchered and tortured by the Nazis. Neither you nor your co-religionists, viz. the Arabs in Palestine or other Arab countries, protested against this. If, on the other hand, the Arabs had been cruelly treated by others you would have made a hue and cry. Dear Sir, what is your objection to the Jews returning to the land of their forefathers at a time when their life and existence on this earth is at stake. What business have you or the Arabs to object. Is it because they do not belong to their faith?

Besides, we have been the inhabitants of Palestine for more than two thousand years, from the time of Patriarch Abraham whom Muslims also accept. Ishmaelites were also the descendants of Abraham and settled there. This question of ill-feeling occurred only when the Turks ruled the country after the introduction of Islam. Please read the *Qur'an* carefully and conscientiously and refer to the Books of Moses[2] especially the following passages:

Exodus 13th chapter, verses 8 to 12; 15th chapter, verses 39 to 41 and Deutronomy chapter 27th, verses 1 to 5.

This is accepted both [*sic*] by the Jews, Muslims and Christians and

the Old Testament knits together the three great religions referred to above.

Then why dear Sir, you, as a follower of Islam want to persecute the Jews like Hitler and threaten with such arrogant words. Is this not political chicanery to hoodwink the British Govt. and others? Take care that fire and brimstone will come from above upon you and the persecutors, as was in the case of Sodom and Gomorrah.

I request you humbly to read the five Books of Moses carefully, especially Genesis and Exodus and walk in truth and practise justice. You want Pakistan and want to oppose Jewishtan. We are people of another country with whom you have no concern. We are appealing to the peace loving nations of the world, viz. the benign British, French and other governments, for our righteous cause to back our motherland and take care that you or your co-religionists dare not interfere with our affairs.

You want Pakistan, very good man you are, and you want to oppose and persecute Jewishtan. I am appealing to my Hindu friends to oppose Pakistan, and to fight out to their last breath.

With best wishes,

Yours truly,
JEWISHTAN

PS. His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin has given us a place to live owing to the persecution of the Turks. We had to come here and we were well treated and taken care of. We have our representatives in His Highness's Legislative Council. We have quite [*sic*] freedom of worship and no fear. You, as one of the followers [*sic*] of Books of Moses, should treat us like this and to persecute us is very mischievous.
JEWISHTAN

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 241.
[2]Pentateuch, the first five books of the Old Testament, traditionally ascribed to Prophet Moses.

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Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, OM I/81

4 October 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter.[1] I am sorry I have not been able to write to you earlier. I have been confined to bed with malaria for the last ten days and am still running temperature. In the last four days, Dr. Rahman has been treating me. I am terribly fed up. This is not the time to get ill when there is such a lot to be done. I hope

and pray that God may give me health for the next six months which are most critical in the life of Musalmans. You do not know how miserable I feel lying in bed at this time. May God keep you in good health and give you enough strength to bear the strain which is bound to be on you during the next few months. You must have received my telegram[2] saying that I have called a meeting of the Working Committee at Karachi on the 14th instant. The members of the Central Parliamentary Board will reach Karachi on the 12th and be in session there as long as it is necessary. The Central Parliamentary Board is meeting at Delhi on the 8th and 9th of this month to select candidates for the Central Legislative Assembly. I have received telegrams from Sind. The members of the Board have fallen out and they are again quarrelling amongst themselves. However, let us hope for the best. I am sorry to hear your complaint about the *Dawn*. Mr. Altaf Husain has taken over from the 1st of October. I hope the things will improve now. Would you kindly let me know which one of your statements was cut down? And also send me a full text of it so that further enquiries may be made. We are hoping that from the 12th of October the number of pages of the daily *Dawn* will be increased which will provide more space for news and improve the paper generally. I hope by now you have received the copies of proceedings of the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board.

When will you be reaching Karachi?

I do hope the change has done you good and that Miss Jinnah is feeling better.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from children,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1&2]Not traceable.

181

K. A. Angelo to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1057/46-9

AMALASHRAM,
SRIRANGAM,
4 October 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You may be aware of the bitter struggle going on in Travancore

between the Christians and the Government over the question of primary schools. The Government of Travancore have decided to take over all the primary schools in the State under the plea of giving a better education to children and the pretext of giving a better pay to teachers. Most of the primary schools in Travancore are under the management of Christians and the standard of training is much more efficient than in any state-owned schools. But we are to be forcibly deprived of our schools which we have built up for training our children in the way we would like. If we do not give up our schools we are told that we would not be given any grant which means we are forced to close up or give in. The result is that our children will have to be sent to the State schools which are cent per cent Hindu in every way. The text books are full of Hindu stories, the teachers are Hindus and the whole atmosphere in the schools is Hindu. It is forcing our children to imbibe Hindu religion and Hindu culture which is the talk now in Travancore everywhere and which is the foreboding of what future free India is going to be. The Travancore Government, under the aegis of its malicious *Dewan,* is out for the installation of *Ram Raj* and for the suppression of all the rest. They have organised a Hindu Mission supported by the Government to reconvert those who have joined Christianity.

The present agitation in Travancore by Christians to keep their schools has been deliberately misrepresented by the Government as an attempt to indoctrinate Hindus and Muslims in the Christian faith, which is absolutely false. By such representation the Government has misguided the Muslims and have made them join hands with Hindus and fight Christians on the side of the Hindu Government.

I am sure you will not be deceived by this Hindu propaganda as you are one who fully understands the danger [in which] the minority communities are in a free India dominated by a Hindu majority. The present symptoms in Travancore give us an inkling of the treatment awaiting us in the free Hindu India of tomorrow. It may be in the interest of the Muslims in Travancore that they are made aware of the traps the Hindu Government has already placed in alluring and persecuting them. The interests of Muslim families are as much in danger as [those of] Christian families if the Travancore Government is to succeed in the Hinduisation of primary schools in the State. The Muslims should realise the grave mistake they have been led into by the Hindu Travancore Government in obtaining their support for taking over their schools to be gradually converted into Hindu schools under pretext of making them neutral schools.

We realise everyday, more and more, the reasonableness of the firm stand you have taken against the Hindus as we see the Hindu attitude

towards the minorities. You may do well to give a warning to the Muslims in Travancore of the grave menace that threatens their fundamental rights of bringing up their children in the way that they consider best, not what the Hindu Government thinks best. The Government must leave the Muslims and Christians free to run their own schools as it was the practice till now in Travancore and as it is the case all over in British India.

I could supply you with more details regarding the situation in Travancore over the Christian-Hindu disputes if you would think it worthwhile.

This is a strictly confidential letter as between two friends. The Muslims and Christians should join in the common cause of fighting for our rights against the majority who are trying to tread on our conscience.

I remain yours sincerely in the common cause of the minorities; with best wishes and regards,

K. A. ANGELO

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Alla Ditta Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 881/10-11
[Original in Urdu]

1ST SURVEY REGIMENT,
INDIAN ARTILLERY,
19 A.B.P.O.,
4 October 1945

Respected leader of Muslim India, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am a military employee and I consider serving Muslim League as my most important duty. The general elections throughout India are imminent in which all of us have to participate enthusiastically. But being in the military service is the greatest hurdle in my way. However, I think that the votes of all Muslim military men must go to the League. But the first thing to ascertain is whether our names are included in the electoral lists. If a person's name who is eligible to be a voter is missing from the list, it would be a denial of his voting right. Hence our first duty is to make sure that the names of Muslim League followers are listed as voters. But the difficulty is that we don't know how to get enrolled. We hope we will be provided guidance in this respect.

Almost all Muslims in our regiment belong to the Punjab and they are Muslim League sympathisers. Their number is between seven and eight hundred.

Well-wisher of Muslims of India,

ALLA DITTA KHAN
Surveyor Naik

183

M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Habibullah

SHC, Bengal IV/59

MASTUNG,
5 October 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 25th September 1945[1] and beg to inform you that I really don't know what the exact position is between you and the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and also between you and the Muslim League Party in the Bengal Legislature. You will appreciate that I cannot convey any impression that I am hearing your case over their heads. I suggested that you should approach Sir Nazimuddin, who is the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Bengal Assembly. But you did belong to the party once and I haven't got full facts as regards any action having been taken against you, but undoubtedly, you can also see the President of the Provincial Muslim League. Failing to get any satisfaction from either of these two bodies or their leaders, you can approach the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and place all the facts before them and I have no doubt that they will give their best consideration to your case.

Yours truly,
M. A. JINNAH

The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca,
37 Mcleod Street,
Calcutta

[1]See *SHC*, Bengal IV/58. Not printed.

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M. A. Jinnah to Aley Hasnain Ansari

SHC, Bengal I/58

MASTUNG,
5 October 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 22nd September[1] and the enclosed copy of Mr. Fazlul Huq's letter[2] to you, and as usual Mr. Fazlul Huq has given you a misleading and untrue account of the position with regard to the ban. He knows perfectly well what he has got to do as an honourable man if he wants the ban to be removed. It will undermine all discipline of an organization if people were to walk in and walk out at their own sweet will as it suits them. If Mr. Fazlul Huq is really repentant he has only got to express his regret for what he has done and ask for the removal of the ban. But in the first instance he must leave the enemy's camp. He cannot have it both ways. I believe in the saying, "Forgive and Forget", and a great organization like the All India Muslim League, as I have already said, can never be vindictive or revengeful, but I am sure you will agree with me that certain fundamental principles have got to be observed in order to maintain the prestige, reputation and discipline of an organization.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Aley Hasnain Ansari, Esq.,
20 Muslim Hostel,
University of Allahabad, U.P.

[1]No. 130.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 130.

185

B. K. Chauhan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 881/18-9
[Original in Urdu]

EDWARDES ROAD,
RAWALPINDI,
5 October 1945

Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is submitted that anti-Muslim bias of the Hindu newspapers is quite manifest. Their false propaganda is misleading the simple Muslims because they unfortunately happen to read only these newspapers. They have little information of their own and have no access to any previous record to verify the truth. These Hindu papers are causing the greatest disruption. The Muslims should realise this and rally round their faith.

My proposal to counter this is that Muslim workers, whether on paid or on voluntary basis, should devote at least eight hours daily to inform[ing] the Muslims and request them to read League papers, which alone can spread the Quaid's message.

This is my belief that by persuasion the Congressite and the Ahrar Muslims can be converted into Leaguers.

Every Muslim League sympathizer should undertake to persuade at least one non-Leaguer, including Congressites and Ahrars, to join the League.

Yours etc.,
B. K. CHAUHAN

186

M. S. Akhtar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/37

KALIASTHAN ROAD,
RANCHI,
6 October 1945

Sir,

Can you give an assurance in your capacity as the President of the

All India Muslim League that in the Pakistan State, Islamic laws will be enforced and that in all aspects of Muslim life, *Shari'at* will legally prevail? If you can give this simple assurance, the chances of League's success in the ensuing elections will undoubtedly greatly enhance. In any case, kindly send me an immediate reply in the enclosed addressed envelope as it will settle a great controversy which has divided many Muslims here.

Yours faithfully,
M. S. AKHTAR

187

Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/46

1 TUGHLAQ LANE,
NEW DELHI,
6 October 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

After reading your clarion call to the Muslims asking them to rally round the League banner at this critical juncture in the history of Muslim India, I venture to place my services at your disposal and request you to be so kind as to remove the ban of five years imposed on me in 1941. May I be permitted to serve the Muslim League as your humble soldier? As I have already explained to you at length the circumstances that were responsible for my committing the blunder of 1941 and had tendered my apology in person, I need not repeat them, but I would very much like to assure you once again that in future I shall consider it my proud privilege to carry out the orders of my leader to the best of my ability and shall serve the organization that I love, whole-heartedly and faithfully.

Yours sincerely,
JAHAN ARA SHAH NAWAZ

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S. Zainulabedin to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (648)

QADIAN,
PUNJAB,
6 October 1945

Bismillahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Dear Sir,

At this critical juncture when election campaign is going to start, I beg to draw your kind attention to a resolution passed by the Parliamentary Board of the Punjab Muslim League in 1938 with regard to the non-admission of the Ahmadiyya community to the membership of the Punjab Muslim League.

We invited your attention to the desirability of cancelling that resolution and Pir Akbar Ali, MLA interviewed you at Lahore in this connection on 28 March 1944. At that time you remarked that the Parliamentary Board, which had issued the objectionable manifesto about the Ahmadiyya community, no longer existed and that a new constitution had been set up under which every *Kalimago* was equally welcome and you wished us in that interview to join the All India Muslim League and to strengthen its cause. In accordance with your desire and in view of the present critical juncture, we have decided to cooperate with the Muslim League in all possible manner in the coming electoral campaign.

But you can realise that being an oppressed minority we must look after the rights of our own community as well. Like the Shias or some other minorities we do not claim any special rights but we do expect that we should not be given a stepmotherly treatment. At the last election it was demanded from us that we should give our votes to the majority community and should not expect that majority community will help us in any way. You will admit, of course, that this is unfair in the extreme.

We have surveyed our strength in the Punjab and have found that from fifty thousand to seventy-five thousand votes are in our control. Out of these, from forty to fifty thousand votes are purely Ahmadiyya votes and the rest are of people who are under our influence.

Under the circumstances, our proposal is that a fair way of dealing in this matter will be that in each constituency the Muslim League ticket

should be given to that person who can prove that he commands a majority of the votes in favour of the Muslim League in that constituency—regardless of whether he, by religious persuasion, is a Sunni, Shia or Ahmadi. If this policy is agreed upon, it is sure to give satisfaction to all sections. Moreover, it will be a democratic way of settlement.

We are sorry to note that some of the Punjab Muslim League leaders think that, contrary to your decision, the resolution of the now defunct Parliamentary Board of 1937 against Ahmadis still holds good and so the Muslim League cannot give its ticket to Ahmadis. If the latter view prevails, we cannot understand how the Muslim League can expect, in fairness, the help and cooperation of the Ahmadis. In such a case, in spite of their sincere wish to help the Muslim League, the Ahmadis will be obliged to stand independently and, in some places, they may be obliged to give their votes to candidates other than those belonging to the Muslim League.

Some of the Punjab Muslim League leaders think that the best solution of this question is that the Ahmadis should stand independently and that in such constituencies where, according to the opinion of the Muslim League, the Ahmadis have the larger voting strength, the League should not put up their candidates. This proposal has two defects:

i. that in this case, cooperation being lacking, some such seats may go to the Unionists or, what is worse, to the Ahrars.
ii. the seats gained by the Ahmadis could not be claimed by the League as their proper gains and this will rather weaken the position of the League as against the Congress.

Before we approach the Provincial Muslim League we have thought it best to approach you in this matter so that nothing may happen contrary to your considered opinion.

In the meantime we have advised all intending Ahmadi candidates to apply for League tickets and in case that is refused and they in their opinion have the command of a majority of votes, to stand independently and declare that they have been obliged to take that step only because the Provincial League would not give them the League ticket on religious grounds. But as the elections are still several months ahead, we hope that we will receive your decision promptly and the matter will be decided with equity and justice.

I assure you that as the head of the Ahmadiyya community has decided that, at this critical juncture, the Muslim voice should be one and united we will do everything to help the League and will work independently only if the League itself should refuse to take us into its fold. You can gauge our feelings from the fact that the head of the

Ahmadiyya community has prohibited those Ahmadis, who requested his permission to stand on behalf of the Red Shirts in NWFP and on behalf of Krishok Party in Bengal, to accept their tickets and advised them to stand on League tickets, and, if that is refused, to stand independently.

Yours sincerely,
S. ZAINULABEDIN
Nazir, Umoor-i-Kharijah

189

Uzzuldin Al-Naqib to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC I/30

BAGHDAD,
7 October 1945

The unjust declarations and undue interferences by Mr. Truman in the affairs of Palestine and his obvious partiality in favour of Zionists and his continued hostility to the Arab peoples and his disregard of Muslim feelings, besides being contrary to the pledges made for guaranteeing to all peoples the freedom of self-determination and the security of their countries, have caused strong resentment and aversion. This undue interference and affected sympathy used as a screen to obtain Jewish electors' votes in USA are among the factors which encouraged the Zionists to continue their criminal activities such as murder, sabotage and arson. This strange partiality, shown from time to time, by President Truman in the name of humanity for destroying the lawful original inhabitants of Palestine and replacing them by alien people has now been known to all who have realised its glaring injustice. The Arabs cannot [*sic*] *vis-a-vis* this hostile attitude of President Truman towards their vital cause in Palestine but meet his declaration with strong condemnation and insist that he will never, by such injustice and hostility overcome, right and justice on which the Arabs rely in the realisation of their just cause.[1]

UZZULDIN AL-NAQIB
Vice-President,
Iraqi Chamber of Deputies

[1]In his reply, Jinnah assured full support of Muslim India for the right to self-determination of the Arabs in Palestine. He condemned the Truman proposals and hoped that the American nation would not let their President succumb to Jewish influence and thereby do the greatest wrong to Palestinian Arabs. See *SHC*, FC I/31. Not printed.

190

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/71

CONFIDENTIAL

LARKANA,
SIND,
7 October 1945

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

I have sent you one letter through Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali from Karachi on 4th instant.[1] I do not know if you received it. I gave you some account of the Sind Parliamentary Board activities in that. As the Working Committee of All India [Muslim] League is meeting at Karachi on 14th, I expect you will be arriving at Karachi earlier. I learnt at Karachi that you perhaps intend staying with Sir Ghulam Hussain while at Karachi. This will not be considered desirable by many people. I would, therefore, request you kindly to stay either with Lady Haroon or at some other neutral place and not with any member of the Parliamentary Board.

The attitude of the Premier with regard to posting of the Muslim officers of Revenue Department, who are being terrorized by the Revenue Minister, Mr. Nihchaldas, to which the Premier is a consenting party, is greatly resented here. If this attitude prevails, I am afraid the League candidates will suffer and it will make a poor show in the coming elections. Sir Ghulam Hussain is a Leaguer but his actions prove the contrary. This sort of behaviour is very dangerous and we are considerably handicapped and we cannot attack him in any public meeting and the ministers, with whom the masses are sufficiently dissatisfied. On the other hand, instead of getting any support from them we are suffering more by their misbehaviour and other underhand methods. The officials are being transferred or harassed lest they may show any sympathy for the League organization.

I fail to understand how such a Premier and such a Ministry could be regarded as a League Premier or League Ministry!

Pray let me know the date of your arrival[2] at Karachi by wire on my Karachi address. More in person.

With best wishes and regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

[1]No. 175.
[2]See No. 203.

191

Shah Zaman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 881/27-8

KIHAL,
ABBOTTABAD, NWFP,
7 October 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

After discussions with some friends and workers of the Hazara District here, I decided to attend the workers' meeting at Peshawar on the evening of the 30th September 1945. Our party first visited Nawab Ismail and Ch. Khaliquzzaman at Dean's Hotel for a few minutes and put before them our views and proposals for the formation of the Frontier Provincial Parliamentary Board. Under the existing circumstances, the District Leagues had been replaced by District Committees or *ad hoc* Committees which were appointed by the Committee of Action that toured the Province last year. I do not hesitate to inform you that members of the Committee of Action were probably misled into appointing just those people, in this District at least, who were hand in glove, in motive and action, with members of our previous Muslim League Ministry. As you are aware, that Ministry which had the gravest responsibility, deceived every Muslim Leaguer or supporter, and gave a thoroughly bad account of itself, to say the least, about the matter. The harm that they did to the cause of the Muslim League in the Province and as an all-India body was incalculable. In fact, were it not for the recent Simla Conference and the constant endeavours of the district workers, in spite of everything we could not today hope to capture even ten seats for the Muslim League in the coming elections. Not that Muslims generally, as a rule, liked the Congress or Hindus. Thanks to the folly of the Congress and the solid work of our district workers, today we are ready to face any challenge. Precisely, therefore, we are anxious that the same people or people of their kind or belonging to their parties or having anything to do with them should not have a voice in the Parliamentary Board, which must be, as far as possible, an impartial, independent and capable body. Were the Parliamentary Board to be composed of the functioning District Committees it would mean to the public that the Muslim League upheld the activities of its previous Ministry, and, to many well-wishers, act as a damper to their ardour. The previous Ministry had neither genius nor character.

Twice before, I allowed myself to be dissuaded from writing to you

because my friends induced me and I considered myself too young and inexperienced. But I wrote to Aurangzeb Khan on the eve of the formation of his Ministry, warning him that his was the gravest responsibility and that he was being watched by the youth of Muslim India. When he found himself lacking in brains and character, the least that he could have done was to have resigned. It would have done him credit and satisfied the public about the genuineness of the Muslim League. Then, I read in the papers that a session of the All India Muslim League was to have been held at Peshawar. I have found out now why that session was not held.

Were the issue less clear-cut or vital I might still hesitate to write to you direct but it is not possible to keep quiet. As an individual only, I must insist that the Parliamentary Board be composed, as far as possible, of independent and impartial persons chosen from among actual workers, who naturally know the most about their respective districts. Surely the members of the District Committees, the previous MLAs or future candidates or even Govt. title-holders cannot object to a Parliamentary Board composed of the most impartial and independent people in the Province. You can rest assured any genuine Muslim Leaguer cannot object to this. It is my request therefore that you will give every careful consideration to the proposal put forward with the unanimous approval of the Muslim League workers of the Province, that the Parliamentary Board be composed of seven members, one from each of the six districts of the Province, elected by the district workers, and the seventh to be a nominee of the All India Muslim League to act as President.

Rest assured, under all circumstances, no one will act contrary to the discipline of the Muslim League but if the above proposal is rejected the voting will be reluctant on the part of many. On the other hand there is no fear of any one being alienated if the proposal is accepted.

In conclusion, I would request that I be given a Muslim League ticket in preference to Aurangzeb Khan, K. B. Jalal-ud-Din, and Mr. Sajjad Ahmad, *Vakil*, etc. The latter, I understand, has applied for a Muslim League ticket for election to the Centre. To my knowledge these people are the most obnoxious characters and under all other circumstances I would stand up against these people, if need be, in all 38 constituencies.

May I hope you will excuse the liberty I have taken of writing to you direct.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
SHAH ZAMAN

192

Mrs. H. A. Hakam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 580/52

11 TILJALA ROAD,
CIRCUS,
CALCUTTA,
8 October 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have the honour to attach herewith a copy of the resolution passed at a public meeting of ladies on the 7th October 1945.

I have the honour to be,
A humble worker of Islam,
MRS. H. A. HAKAM
President, Calcutta District Muslim League Women's Sub-Committee

Enclosure to No. 192

F. 580/53

This meeting of Muslim women of Bengal expresses its deep sympathy with their Arab brethren of Palestine, and requests His Majesty's Government to abide by the 'White Paper' and stop further immigration of Jews into Palestine, and thereby respect the feelings of the Muslims of India.

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Proceedings of AIML Central Parliamentary Board[1]

SHC (653-B)

DELHI,
8/9 October 1945

The Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League, after discussing the report of Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Sahib and Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman Sahib, who were deputed to visit the North West Frontier Province to study the situation there, and taking into consideration the fact that no regular Muslim League organization exists

there at the present moment on account of the Muslim League Provincial elections not having been held so far, has come to the conclusion that it is the duty of the Central Parliamentary Board to set up a proper machinery for running the forthcoming general elections in the province on behalf of the Muslim League. The Board has therefore decided for this purpose to set up three Boards, namely (i) a Board, to be known as Muslim League Selection Board, to select candidates for the forthcoming general elections, (ii) a Board, to be known as Muslim League Election Board, for organising and making all necessary arrangements for contesting the elections and (iii) a Board, to be known as Muslim League Finance Board, for the collection of funds and maintenance of regular and proper accounts. Detailed instructions will be issued to the Boards for their guidance and prompt action.

The Selection Board will consist of the following:

1. Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, Member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League—President
2. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Barrister-at-Law, Peshawar—Convener
3. Arbab Noor Mohammad Khan, Bundi
4. Mr. N.R. Kiyani, MLA
5. Khan Sohbat Khan, President Muslim League, Mardan
6. K. B. Jalaluddin Khan, Abbottabad
7. Habibullah Khan, Advocate, Bannu
8. Peer Sahib of Zakori
9. Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan of Afghan Jirga

The Election Board will consist of the following:

1. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar—Chairman
2. Mian Ziauddin, Barrister-at-Law—Secretary
3. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Barrister-at-Law, Peshawar
4. Khan Samin Jan Khan
5. Khan Bakhat Jamal Khan, Mardan
6. Pir Mohamad Khan, Advocate
7. Niamatullah Khan, Bannu
8. Khan Taj Ali Khan
9. Fazal Karim Asif, Kohat
10. Peer Jalal Shah
11. Asadul Haq, Advocate
12. K. B. Jalaluddin Khan
13. Arbab Sher Ali Khan Khalil, Peshawar
14. K. B. Meer Alam Khan
15. Nawab Nasrullah Khan, Bannu

The Finance Board will consist of the following:

1. K.B. Ghulam Haider Sherpao
2. Sardar Mohammad Ayub Khan, Mardan
3. Khan Mohammad Ali Khan, Mardan
4. Haji Karim Bux, Contractor, Peshawar
5. Mohammad Yusuf Khatak, Barrister, Bannu
6. K.B. Mohabbat Ali Khan, Kohat
7. Mian Ziauddin—Convener

[1]Held under the chairmanship of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

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M. A. Jinnah to Sardar Bahadur Khan

SHC, NWFPI/67

MASTUNG,
9 October 1945

Dear Sardar Bahadur Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 26th[1] and I am enclosing herewith a press cutting which gives the full text of my statement,[2] which I issued about the 'Indian National Army' personnel. In some newspapers only a portion was given. There is nothing to prevent other people from giving their views to the press on the lines suggested by me. After all, strong language is not always necessary and this is one of those cases. We will do our best in the matter, which is not free from difficulties, as you realise yourself. However, I shall be very glad to hear any further suggestion from you with regard to this matter.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sardar Bahadur Khan,
Speaker,
Legislative Assembly, NWFP,
Peshawar

[1]No. 149.
[2]In his statement of 15 September 1945, Jinnah hoped that the INA personnel would be treated leniently and pledged that the Muslim League would do its utmost to safeguard their interest. See F. 1022/71, *QAP*. Not printed.

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S. Israr Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 906/103-4

JUBBULPORE,
9 October 1945

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to address you on behalf of the Majlis-i-Rifah-i-Momineen, Jubbulpore, a representative institution of the Shia community of the Central Provinces in the matter of representation of the Shias in the Provincial Legislative Assembly.

The matter has been engaging the attention of the members of the community for a long time and, somehow or other, the position has been accentuated [*sic*] by the present feelings (unfortunate as they are) between the two communities and other political conditions obtaining in the country.

I am sure you are aware that there is going to be held, in the next week at Lucknow, a representative all-parties conference of the members of this community, where the entire question will be taken up, but since provincial matters may be separately dealt with, I hasten to place before you (of course without prejudice to the decisions that may be arrived at [in] Lucknow) the case of the C.P. & Berar.

It is not the occasion to apportion blame on the masses of this or that community, but the fact remains that, in spite of the good intentions of the leaders, Shias have not had a fair deal in the past. It may be that the Muslim League was so far helpless, but surely this is not the position now. It is claimed that, at least in the provinces where the Musalmans are in a minority, no Muslim can stand, what to say succeed, at the elections without the support of the Muslim League, and there is no doubt that this is true so long as the system of separate electorate exists.

Every community, howsoever small, has some of its own problems and is fighting for its rights. The Shias, as you are well aware, have played their part with their Muslim brethren in a manner which has always enhanced the prestige and honour of Islam as a religion and, if I may add, even at great risks and sacrifices.

I have seen the various statements of Mr. Jinnah and other leaders of the All India Muslim League and, if I can rightly understand the mind of the Muslim League, it is that it is prepared to give every man or community its due, and in doing so, will not mind some sacrifice. But the question is when, and why not now. You have to strike the iron when it is hot. Political conditions have a great power for good or

evil, and they sometimes break the structure of the social organism. Islam is opposed to the artificial division between matters spiritual and matters temporal; and, therefore, the need of a fair adjustment between the different communities is all the more necessary. There are fourteen seats in this Province, and considering the importance of the community, including the Bohras, and the commercial interest of the latter, I suggest [that] two of the fourteen seats be earmarked for the Shias and Bohras, and the Provincial Parliamentary Board should work on these lines.

The question is one of now or never. The elections are at the head [*sic*]. Mr. Jinnah promises that justice will be done to every community. This is, therefore, just the occasion to do. The different Provincial Parliamentary Boards should not only decide but ensure that a reasonable proportion of Shias is returned in the provinces as well as in the Central Assembly.

Provincial Boards will meet shortly, and so [will] the All India Parliamentary Board, and above all, the Working Committee is shortly meeting at Karachi. Let the matter be hammered out once for all.

There will, no doubt, be opposition, as justice to this community will disturb certain vested interests. But that is inevitable. Courage and sacrifice will be needed.

The policy should be clearly decided by the Working Committee which should not leave the matter vaguely to the Provincial Parliamentary Boards, with recommendation and pious hopes. No doubt a bold step will have to be taken, for there are a thousand and one prejudices against this community—foolishly in the masses and ignorantly in other people.

Awaiting a favourable reply,

Yours truly,
S. ISRAR HUSAIN
B.Sc., LL.B.
President, Majlis-i-Rifah-i-Momineen

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Viqarun-Nisa Noon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/19

65 FALLETTI'S HOTEL,
LAHORE,
10 October 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Firoz came back from H.E. [the Governor] just now and wanted to

sit down and write to you immediately about it, but as usual already visitors are pestering him again and so I said that I will write so that you get the news as quickly as possible. I drew everything out of him while we gulped down our lunch. Life is really hectic just now.

Firoz touched four points with him:

1. Unstability [*sic*] of Government in the Province resulting in enforcement of Section 93: H.E. thinks that the Unionists will be returned in a large majority, so no fear of Section 93.

2. H.E. hates the idea of territorial division which will, in his mind, lead to bloodshed and civil war. He wants to know the exact definition of Pakistan and what will happen to the eastern Punjab. Unless Mr. Jinnah gives an assurance to the Sikhs that it will not mean a territorial separation, they are certainly not going to be willing even to form a coalition with the League Govt. Firoz said that in spite of going on to the next point, Glancy went on harping about Pakistan the whole time and that seemed his main objection to the League. Firoz then pointed out that the Unionists were saying that they stood for Pakistan as well but H.E. passed over that without comment. (I know that the Unionists are exploiting the League cry and giving secret assurances to the Sikhs and Glancy that they will forget all about it as soon as the elections are over). H. E. seems to know that as well.

3. Unfortunately there is personal animosity between the Leaguers and Glancy. Firoz tried to bridge that by blaming the press more than anyone else for creating bad feelings and excused them by reminding him that they are enthusiastic and young. But H.E. just hates them since last year when they apparently attacked him personally very strongly.

4. [Official interference] (to which those other points were just preliminaries) was of course the main point. The result was that he said he will consider it. Firoz does not believe that he will give it [*sic*] willingly and has taken steps already.

Firoz understands from Raja Ghazanfar Ali that Mamdot has sent the following telegram to Attlee, Cripps and Pethick-Lawrence which has been handed over to the press. "The Muslim League welcome the Prime Minister's statement about freedom of election in India but official pressure is being used in the Punjab against the League. Please issue directive to the Governor Punjab to state publicly that he does not want Govt. servants to use undue influence in the coming elections."

I am afraid Glancy is neck-deep in it. The administration is at its lowest ebb; even he could not deny it. Firoz said that he cornered him and even made him rather angry sometimes because Glancy just had no answers to so many of his reasoning points. As you said: Firoz took

the olive branch. Let us see what the outcome will be.

We are looking forward to your coming here. True, the League has become a mass movement but there are many uncontrolled elements in it that need your presence very badly. It is unwise when the pupils try to excel their master.

I personally wish I were still in Quetta. It was so peaceful there and here we hardly get a night's rest. We are off to Rawalpindi. Firoz first was inclined to make excuse so as not to have to attend that *Durbar* but then he thought it a good idea to hold a meeting there which unfortunately cannot be done as there is a Working Committee meeting on the 14th in Lahore. But at least he will have the opportunity to meet many people and it is important to be in circulation as much as possible and to contact as many influential Punjabis as possible. So we are off on the 12th evening. On the 20th he will be in Lyallpur and then Sargodha.

With kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah from both of us,

Yours sincerely,
VICKY NOON

197

Ibadat Yar Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/43

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
10 October 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is quite unfortunate that I could not have the opportunity of meeting you last year due to your sudden illness and postponement of your visit to Aligarh. This year as well I led a deputation but to a new province, i.e. Bengal, and have so far collected two and a half lakh from Calcutta, Chittagong and other districts. I am glad that last year when I was touring S. India, Malabar or Ceylon I could avail myself of the opportunity and could explain the cause of the failure of the "Gandhi-Jinnah talks" and the "Rajaji fraud" in my speeches under the auspices of the District League. This year I was in Bengal and have done my bit by giving the people some idea about the Simla Conference and Wavell proposals.

As I have gone to the remotest villages of the districts nearly in all

the provinces, and recently in Bengal I would like to tell you some of my recollections regarding the progress of Muslim League in these areas, specially in Bengal. I had the chances of meeting Mr. Fazlul Huq and Moulana Azad also and had some useful information out of them.

Will it be possible for you to give me your time so that I may be able to give you some correct information and may be able to suggest a few points regarding the selection of candidates for the legislatures?

I need hardly mention that my humble services, with four years experience of travel to all parts of India, are at your disposal.

Wishing you an excellent health,

Yours sincerely,
IBADAT YAR KHAN
Secretary, Medical College Deputation

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Mrs. M. Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 69/68

JAMSHEDPUR,
DISTRICT SINGHBHUM,
BIHAR,
10 October 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have a feeling that I can be of some service in assisting Muslims in achieving their goal, Pakistan, and have therefore decided to offer my services to the Muslim League and place myself with all my meagre resources under your kind control.

I am a young married woman of 25 years of age, educated in an English school to the Senior Cambridge standard. My husband is a respectable businessman here and we hold land and property in this town.

The future of Muslims in India under your guidance is very bright and educated Muslim women can set a great example to the rest of the Muslim women, if they will accept more and more responsibility in the national life. There is now a feeling that Muslim women have a part to play, instead of being kept in seclusion and I think women would do much to solve the difficulties that face us at present.

Now we have before us the coming elections and we have to do all we can to fight this out as the whole future of Muslims in India depends on the results of these elections. If you think that I could be of some service to you and the League, then myself, my two cars, two

trucks and the services of my husband are at your disposal and we await your orders.

Herewith a cheque for rupees two hundred for League Fund for the present and assuring you of my best services at all times,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
MRS. M. ALI KHAN

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Nasir Uddin Hasan & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F.881/30-1

LUCKNOW,
10 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You have done the greatest service to the cause of Islam by bringing a very large number of Muslims round the banner of the Muslim League in a miraculously short time. Under your able and inspiring leadership, Muslim India, for the first time, has adopted the positive goal of Pakistan.

As emphasized by you, Muslims are passing through the most critical juncture. We fully realize that it is the time when all Muslims must present a united front. We, therefore, beg to suggest that an All Muslim Political Parties Conference should be convened by you and all Muslim organizations such as the Ahrar, Jami'at, Momin Conference and Shia Political Conference should be invited to it. We are confident that such a conference will be a grand success. All these organizations accept the principle of self-determination and are opposed to Hindu domination. If an attempt is made, they are sure to fall in line with the League. We implore and beseech you to make one such attempt. We hope that, for the sake of Muslim solidarity, you will accept this humble suggestion and honour us with your reply, for which we are anxiously waiting.

Yours respectfully,
NASIR UDDIN HASAN
MOHAMMMAD ABDUR RAUF
MOHAMMAD HASHIM QIDWAI
MOHAMMAD HABIB UR RAHMAN
Students, Lucknow University

200

Ghulam Rabbani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 881/33-4

PESHAWAR,
11 October 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am writing this brief letter as an expression of a general feeling all over this part of India.

We are daily hearing [about] the demonstrations made against Maulana Azad and Hussain Ahmad Madani. I mean the attacks made on their person. The Hindu press and also a section of the Muslim press is making much of it and discrediting the followers of Muslim League. This propaganda is creating an unwelcome atmosphere for you and all other Muslim leaders. Such attacks are ungentlemanly and it will be much befitting of you to publicly condemn all such demonstrations which bring bad name to the Muslim Leaguers.

There may be a party staging such attacks simply to discredit you and the Muslim League; therefore, a word from you at this time will be a boon [*sic*]against such propaganda.

Please do it now, otherwise situation will be created to disalienate [*sic*] the sympathies of Muslims from Muslim League.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM RABBANI

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Mohamed Amin Alhuseini to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC I/29

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL
12 October 1945

Dear brother, the great Muslim, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the President of Muslim League, *Allah* protect him,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

I take this opportunity for the first time to write to you thanking you for your valuable efforts that you are making continuously for the service of Islam and Muslims, not only in India, but [in] all the Islamic countries, according to the command of God for Islamic brotherhood and co-operation between the Muslims; and also for the keen interest

which the Muslims of India take in the affairs of their brethren whether in Palestine, Tripoli, Syria, Java, etc., which has produced the result to revive the spirit of co-operation between the Muslims; and I would like to thank you and the Muslim League in particular for the great attention you have accorded [*sic*] to me, because your voice was the first Islamic voice that has reached my ears during my exile, and when the circumstances were so very hard, and it had the best impression, and I would affirm to you that the whole of the Islamic world values your and the Muslim League's stand and admires your continuous blessed efforts in the service of the Muslims, and they wish from the bottom of their hearts to concentrate their efforts for the benefit of their Muslim brethren in India and to co-operate with them. Therefore, I find it very essential that contact between us should be constant and secured, and I will do my best with all my brethren who are working for the services of Islam to organise the contact and the co-operation with you in the most perfect possible way.

With this message of mine, I would like to draw your attention to the graveness [*sic*] of the situation in Palestine and the necessity of support from the Muslims of all countries, because Palestine is the holy Islamic country and belongs to all the Muslims, and its cause is an all-Islamic cause; the aggression upon it is also only for purely religious causes, because the Zionist movement is principally a religious movement and the Jews are trying to put [*sic*] their hold on Palestine for religious motives, the most important of which is to recapture the Temple of Solomon which they allege was in the place of the holy Aqsa Mosque itself, as has been declared openly by their responsible leaders repeatedly, so also of the most important reasons that moved the British and the Americans for their assistance of the Jews is a religious cause and for the realisation of some religious prophecies. Therefore, it is the right of the Muslims in all the countries, rather it is their religious duty which is binding on them to give their best attention to the Islamic cause and to direct all their efforts in this cause.

The voice of our Indian Muslim brethren, thanks to God, had the greatest effect, and thanks to the sincerity of the untiring workers, especially in England, and therefore a great benefit will result from their co-operation and voice.

It is most essential to draw the attention of the British to the great difference between the treatment meted out to the Arabs and the Jews, as the Arabs have been imprisoned and deported and oppressed; many Muslim leaders of Palestine, have been deported, some to Rhodesia (South Africa), some to Europe, and many to Turkey, the Hedjaz, Iraq and Egypt etc. until there [has] remained no one in Palestine to really represent the Muslims. On the other hand they did not imprison or

deport any of the leaders of the Jews, in spite of the great ugly assaults made by them, and in spite of their having assassinated Lord Loyne and injured Sir Mac Michael, the British High Commissioner there and those who were with him in their endeavours to kill them. Also the many murders of the officials and men of the British Police and Army committed by them, the destruction of Government buildings and looting of British ammunition dumps and several other atrocities, and also, in spite of the incendiary speeches delivered by some of their extremist leaders, the British are giving the Jews, their leaders and their organisation full freedom, facility and assistance, and thus they are travelling wherever they want and they are enjoying in our country as they like, and we and our brethren are suffering the hardships of imprisonment and deportation, and they do not allow us to return and stay in our country, and so, this clear partiality to the Jews and the unjust suppression of the Arabs and their leaders has reached unbearable limits.

SYED MOHAMED AMIN ALHUSEINI
Grand Mufti of Palestine

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Ghulam Jan Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1011/89-90

HARIPUR, HAZARA,
13 October 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

The nomination of K. B. Jalal-ud-Din on the Frontier Selection Board[1] has perturbed the whole District of Hazara. This District is the strongest place for Muslim League, and we had made it almost a safe constituency for the Muslim League for the coming elections. But it appears that some people at Peshawar are anxious that Govt. men must be kept in the limelight, so that they may bask in the sunshine of the British officers at the expense of the Muslim League. You must be aware of the innermost feelings of the general public of the Frontier that they abhor those people who associate themselves with the British Govt. and so they would never accept them as their leaders in any capacity.

S. Aurangzeb Khan and his men had quite killed the Muslim League when they were in power, and it is believed that this man, K. B. Jalal-ud-Din, is his protege. He is loathed for his being a reactionary [and] characterless man who dances at the tune supplied [*sic*] by the Govt. His nomination has caused a tremendous shock to all honest and selfless workers in the

District. I hasten to approach you and place before you the real situation.

In case this situation is not controlled, I fear bad results would follow. It would be much better if no man from Hazara District is taken on the Board rather than keep him on it.

I am neither a candidate nor am interested in any candidate but real interests of the League have compelled me to write down this letter and venture to intrude upon your time.

Yours respectfully,
GHULAM JAN KHAN
Editor,
Naujawan-i-Sarhad

[1]See No. 193.

203

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro

SHC, Sind VI/72

MASTUNG,
13 October 1945

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

I have received your letter of 3rd October[1] and also of the 7th[2] delivered to me by Mir Jaffar Khan. I do hope that the Central Parliamentary Board will be able to successfully handle the matter. All I can say is that the only issue before us is Pakistan versus *Akhand* Hindustan and if Sind fails, God help you. There will be nothing left. All the individual dreams and cliques and groups will evaporate and Sind Muslims will stand discredited and paralysed. I do hope that the seriousness of the situation will be fully realized if it is not already realized. I wish people thought less of [the] Premier and ministries and think [*sic*] more of the paramount and the vital issue confronting us. If you all stand solid and close your ranks, success is within your grasp.

I am leaving Quetta on the 20th and I shall halt at Karachi on my way to Bombay, for a day or two. I will do what I can with regard to the help you require from the persons whose names I have received.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 175.
[2]No. 190.

204

Ahmad Hilmi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1059/2-4

JERUSALEM,
PALESTINE,
14 October 1945

My dear brother-in-Islam,

I am actuated by the sense of Muslim feeling and brotherhood to write you this letter on Palestine, and to thank you wholeheartedly for your unremitting efforts to support the Palestine case. Everyone in Palestine not only appreciates that but sincerely believes that the backing you have been giving on behalf of the Muslim League to the Palestine case on all occasions is to be regarded as essential to the Muslim struggle in this Holy Land for liberty and independence.

Although, undoubtedly, you are well-versed in all major facts and fundamental elements relating to the Palestine problem up to its present stage, it will perhaps be useful for the purpose of inviting your attention to some particular points thereof, and before coming to the request I shall make later, to put before you herein, in as brief a way as possible, just some outstanding parts of the whole picture:

a. Throughout its long drawn-out [*sic*] political struggle since the Balfour Declaration, Palestine, it may be quite safely said, has never been, so fully and in [such] a grave manner, realising the increasing peril of Zionism threatening the whole of its existence inherited from as far back as the glorious time of *Sayyedna* Omar, as it is realising that now. In a nutshell, the present juncture, very vital as it is, would inevitably mean to Palestine life or death. But however long and stubbornly Palestine has to hold out, it is her unwavering determination to win the day. If it is her fate to die a Muslim martyr's death, Palestine is only glad to accept that fate. But she will not surrender.

b. About 25 years ago, the number of Jews in Palestine was something like 60,000, not more. Through continued immigration, these small figures have now risen to the margins of 600,000. Equally dangerous are the vast and fertile tracts of land, mostly along the sea coast, the Jews have squeezed from Muslim farmers; the concrete result of which [is] that thousands of Muslims, and, in some cases, entire tribes have been rendered homeless. Ousted by force from their thirteen centuries [*sic*] held lands, the pitiful and

indescribable plight of such Muslim families have [*sic*] been for the last ten years giving quite alarming object lessons as to what the ultimate fate of Palestine would be, were the Jews able to pursue their aggressive policy any further. According to findings and figures set out in Sir John Hope-Simpson's report, published in I930, 29.4% of the total number of Arab farmers and villagers had, by then, become landless. In industry, the Jews have established, particularly during the war, dozens of factories of many kinds. In order to secure life for their industries free from neighbouring or world competitions, Jewish industry has always been enjoying protective measures of the Government.

c. Having achieved all that, and confidently relying on further pursuance by the British Government of a Zionist policy, the Jews have been, for many years, especially at present, openly and persistently clamouring for an All-Palestine Jewish State. Of course by that it is clearly meant a Jewish minority in the form of a State to rule Muslim majority; in other words, it is meant to reduce [*sic*] Palestine from being Muslim into Jewish, by well-planned processes of gradual annihilation.

d. In upholding this aggressive as well as gigantic plan, Jews have behind them, in addition to the power and influence of a well-organised world Jewry with a recognised Jewish agency in Palestine, such British policy that, regardless of anything called White Paper or anything else, tends always to show itself being in favour of a Jewish national home in Palestine.

So much for the Zionist plans and efforts. As to Muslims, merely a glance at their bitter and endless struggle will be enough to convince every reasonable Muslim that while it is their sacred duty to continue their work of defence to their utmost, they cannot but stand in urgent need of all their Muslim sister-countries' help, specially India.

Transfer of land to Jews has always been, together with immigration, the worst aspect of Zionist pestilence with which Palestine has been afflicted. In all various circumstances, under which transfer of land is practised, the fact may be seen well established that it is the Government to blame and be held chiefly responsible for the continual melting away of Arab lands. All legislation affecting land and agriculture has been such as to be more in favour of Jews being out for buying lands, and less in favour of Arab farmers hopelessly seeking effective protection from the devouring hordes of Jews. Even the clear provisions of the White Paper, prohibiting sale of land to non-Arabs in some areas have, owing to the discriminating policy of the Government, failed to check the Jewish raid on Arab lands. In fact, the Palestine Government never

intended seriously to give genuine and practical implementation to the White Paper, despite the express statements therein to that effect.

What is called "Illegal Immigration" is now openly and widely practised. Similarly, transfer of land is still in process, that being against law, for law standing [*sic* for stands] only in letter. The only shield with which Palestine would have been able to protect itself to some appreciable extent is the White Paper despite all its defects. Although issued following the wide disturbances of 1936-39, to provide a permanent solution to the Palestine problem, the proper and effectual implementation of this document, to which the British Government had committed herself, declaring that the carrying out of such implementation was to be regarded by her as a matter of honour, was never intended.

Generally speaking, the Muslim struggle in this country has had many forms. Economically, and from a land point of view, the Arab National Fund Co.Ltd., set up in 1935 for the purpose of protecting and developing Arab lands, is one of those forms. Several thousands of *dunams* have been saved from going to Jews in many ways, owing to the activities of the Fund. The Fund has done but little, and yet much has to be done. The expansion of the Fund's activities depends on better recourses. Thanks to legion of sincere friends throughout Palestine and in the neighbouring countries for their willingly given moral support. In seeking more yielding resources for the Fund, India would perhaps fulfil much of our expectation. (For your information on the Fund's annual report and its Regulations, twenty copies of pamphlet dealing therewith have been posted to you under separate cover).

Having dealt with a somewhat general picture of the Palestine case, it is now the request I should like to make in respect of Palestine as a conclusion of the whole foregoing.

In order that Palestine, as a Muslim country, can nobly and ably continue its present struggle, armed among many things, with a uniform public opinion of Islam, in the field of which India figuring first and foremost, it has been suggested that the Muslim League under your wise and animated leadership could do much in that direction, by sending, if possible, a delegate on the League's behalf to visit Palestine and stay here for sometime, where he would be able to study on the spot the whole problem and be acquainted with all its vital aspects. Through such a means and channel, the League and later the whole body of Indian Muslim public opinion would be better informed on the Palestine problem. I hope you would be able to kindly meet this Muslim request. The carrying out of this step, while Palestine case seems to be shortly undergoing crucial changes, would show a fine attitude of Muslim solidarity and brotherhood. The special delegation

of some representative on the League's behalf for the said purpose would supply Palestine Muslims with a formidable morale, with which political quarters here as well as abroad have to reckon. The more we can approximate to the stream of your influence as a Muslim political power, the better we are on the lines of our defence. I feel certain that you would do everything you can to see that this request is met in the way seen fit and suitable. God help you and guide us all along the *Sirat-i-Mustaqim*.

Your brother-in-Islam,
AHMAD HILMI
Chairman ,
Arab National Fund Ltd.

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Ghulam Mahammad Nasim to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Kashmir/36
[*Original in Urdu*]

Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli

SAUPUR,
KASHMIR,
15 October 1945

Hero of liberty, Quaid-i-Azam,

Salaam-i-Masnoon

Long time ago I sent three letters to you, two by registered post, but till now I [have] received no reply.

His Excellency the Viceroy visited Srinagar on the 7th October. The Muslims made representations to him through letters and telegrams that there was no freedom of press and platform in the State. Through the machinations of the Government and the National Conference the Muslim Conference people were targeted for cruel treatment. It was also conveyed to him that we had no trust in the Kak Ministry. The Saupur branch of the Muslim Conference, the Muslim Students' Federation, Saupur, the Baramula Students' Federation and people from other places also made similar representations through open telegrams. Copies of the same are enclosed.[1]

The socialist daily, the *Hamdard* of Srinagar, is undergoing pre-censorship because of its criticism of the National Conference and the Congress

leadership and their farce of nationalism. The Muslim Conference organ the *Javeed,* is also a target of censorship after its disclosure of the true picture of the riot of 1st August in Srinagar. This censorship was imposed during the Viceroy's visit to Kashmir while on the other hand, the National Conference newspapers are free of censorship.

On the 11th of October there was a riot in the Srinagar exhibition which occurred in consequence of display of the imaginary portraits of the Holy Prophet [PBUH], Imam Hasan and Imam Husain on the day Lady Wavell visited the exhibition. To identify the portraits, names were given under them. The Muslims drew the attention of the organisers of the exhibition, but they did not remove the portraits. The result was that, while Lady Wavell was busy in shopping in another corner of the exhibition, riots broke out at the place of display of these portraits. Soon all the stalls were closed. Sheikh Abdullah tried to put down the disturbance but in vain. He had to cut a sorry figure on this occasion. Later, it was decided that an enquiry would be conducted on the next day, the 12th October. On that day Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Mehkari came to the exhibition with Sheikh Abdullah and tried to make amends through the loudspeaker explaining that this display of portraits was not meant to insult anybody but were displayed for the Lady Wavell; these portraits were brought from the house of Pandit Bala Kak, an ex-Minister of Agriculture who is known to be a Mahasabhaite and anti-Muslim.

The National Conference, to help the Kak Ministry, is trying to hush up the matter while protest against the display of the portraits by the Muslim Conference is continuing with the demand that those responsible be brought to book. There is great unrest among the Muslims against this event as their religious feelings were hurt.

In September, many appointments were made in the Forest, Education and other departments but no Muslim was selected for any post.

In Baramula, Mohammad Yusuf Saraf, the President of Youth Conference and previously a worker of National Conference is now working for Muslim Conference. He held meetings on the 5 and 8 October but National Conference *goondas* threw stones on the participants and tried to create disturbance. The local authorities kept quiet as silent spectators due to the attitude of the Kak Ministry.

Hope you will honour me by replying to my letter as you have done previously.

Yours obediently,
MASTER GHULAM MOHAMMAD NASIM

[1]Not traceable.

206

M. Fazlullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/108

GUNTUR,
16 October 1945

Respected Sir,

I may be allowed to introduce myself that [*sic*] I am one of those staunch Muslim League workers who have taken an active part in the organisation of fifty-three League branches in Guntur District and [in] active service of the League as far as my resources permitted. And also I am one of the Secretaries of Guntur this year. I have contributed my services to the beneficence, efficiency, sincere and active organisation and service [*sic*] of the League. May I request you to kindly permit me to bring the following information to your kind notice, and if I am erroneous and faulty in my conjectures and conclusions, I request you to forgive me.

From [*sic*] some days I happened to go through a few papers and found, to my great surprise, that some of our League workers and some of the office-bearers, (like recently at Gaya), behaved in a very coarse and rude manner towards some of the *Maulanas,* for which I fear that our great political body, Muslim League, will be subjected to strong criticism from warranted and unwarranted persons [*sic*] alike and the sympathy that we have gained and are gaining for our sacrifices from almost all the non-Leaguers who are about to join the League may be overthrown [*sic*] and neglected.

Therefore, I request your goodselves [*sic*] to give your kind attention and avoid this trouble.[1] Waiting for your kind reply.

Thanking you, Sir,

Yours obediently,
M. FAZLULLAH

[1]On 11 November 1945, Jinnah informed the correspondent that he had already issued a statement on the subject. See *SHC,* Madras I/109. Not printed. For Jinnah's statement, see F. 810/126, *QAP.* Not printed.

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Abdul Sattar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/119-22

RAIPUR, C.P.,
17 October 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

May I be permitted to write to you about a matter which is intimately connected with the Muslim League of this Province?

You might have read in the papers that the Central Parliamentary Board has nominated Siddiq Ali Khan of Nagpur, in preference to *Janab* Rizvi Sahib of Raipur, to stand on the Muslim League ticket for the Central Assembly. In this connection there are certain facts which must be brought to your notice. The first of them is that at the last election the said Siddiq Ali Khan had, in Nagpur, taken an oath on the holy *Qur'an* before the electors that he will not seek re-election to the Assembly. I think this fact was not brought to the notice of the Central Parliamentary Board, otherwise it would not have selected him as the League candidate.

Secondly, as you know, dear Sir, Siddiq Ali Khan is a despicable and almost illiterate person and his only claim to leadership is that he has got some *goondas* of Nagpur in his pay, who try to browbeat the leaders of the Muslim League and create disruption in its ranks. Now you have asked Abdur Rauf Shah to send the best politician of the Province to the Central Assembly and this letter of yours was read out by him before the Provincial Muslim League Council at Nagpur when the Provincial Parliamentary Board was formed. Do you, Sir, believe that the nominee, viz. Siddiq Ali Khan, is the best politician of the Province? Does he go to Delhi to make useful contribution to the debates that take place in the Assembly? As far as my knowledge goes, he goes there only to earn allowances and he has not opened his mouth in the Assembly. I ask you to consider whether such a man is in all conscience a credit to the Province or a disgrace to it.

I now wish to tell you how his name was included in the panel sent up by the Provincial Parliamentary Board. He is closely related to Abdur Rauf Shah and the latter nominated him as a member of the Parliamentary Board. The other members nominated by him are Qazi Karimuddin, Abdur Rahman Khan (both of whom are inter-related), *Janab* Rizvi Sahib and *Mufti* Burhanul Haq of Jubbulpore. At the time of the formation of this Board, Siddiq Ali Khan openly gave out that

the members of the Central Parliamentary Board are his friends and that they have decided to adopt him as their candidate whoever else may apply for it. None of those who had come to attend the meeting dared to apply. On the following day, however, certain intelligentsia of the Province went to *Janab* Rizvi Sahib and told him that he, being the best and most experienced politician of the Province, should go to the Central Assembly. He was at first reluctant but later on agreed and made an application to the Central Board. After that, on the 2nd instant, a meeting of the Provincial Parliamentary Board was held at Hinganghat and *Janab* Rizvi Sahib did not attend it as he was himself a candidate. The meeting was attended only by the three relations of Siddiq Ali Khan, viz. Abdur Rauf Shah, Qazi Karimuddin and Abdur Rahman Khan, and Siddiq Ali Khan was also allowed to be present in the meeting. In this Board also Siddiq Ali Khan said that he had squared up matters with the Central Parliamentary Board and nobody but he would be adopted. In view of this assurance and of their relationship, the Board nominated both *Janab* Rizvi Sahib and Siddiq Ali Khan as suitable candidates. When the former came to know of it, he at once wrote to Abdur Rauf Shah and to the Central Parliamentary Board objecting to the association of his name with that of Siddiq Ali Khan who, he said, was a rebel and a traitor and withdrawing his name from the panel. It had, however, no effect on the Central Parliamentary Board and they, in due course, adopted Siddiq Ali Khan as the League candidate as promised.

Is this democracy or Islamic *shariat* or is it rank nepotism? Are we, the Leaguers of the CP., to suffer this indignity and curse in silence and, if so, how long? Siddiq Ali Khan would no more be the representative of the Muslims of this Province than, in the words of the late Maulana Shoukat Ali, would Dr. Moonje's chauffeur be their representative. Here is a man who tries to disrupt the Muslim League conference of the Province with the aid of hired and drunken *goondas* and the President Nawab Ismail Khan leaves the conference in disgust and Begum Mohammad Ali and Maulvi Abdul Hamid Budauni feel themselves insulted and humiliated, and that very man is being adopted as the representative of the Muslims of the Province. *Janab* Rizvi Sahib regards the inclusion of his name in the panel as an insult to himself. He has committed the gravest act of indiscipline in trying to influence the members of the Provincial Parliamentary Board by saying that the Central Parliamentary Board has already promised his adoption.

Now I ask you, dear Quaid-i-Azam, with what face will the Muslim League go to the voters to canvass for support to Siddiq Ali Khan,

who has been guilty of such shameless behaviour in the very eyes of All India Muslim League leaders and that too against strong Congress opposition? What are we, the Muslim Leaguers, to tell the voters? That they should vote for a Muslim League ignoramus in preference to a highly qualified Congress candidate or that they should vote for a League rebel simply because some members of the Central Parliamentary Board have a soft corner for him? I am afraid in this case the latter have let the League down as, in view of their candidate's past, very few respectable voters will vote for him. This strikes at the conscience of most Leaguers of the Province as they believe that the fair name of the League will be stained because of this man.

Things have, however, not gone too far yet. There is time to remedy the fault. The date for filing nomination papers is the 25th instant. If you order *Janab* Rizvi Sahib to file his nomination, he will be bound to do so. A committee of, say, two independent members should then be appointed to enquire as to which of the two candidates is more suitable or popular and the one in whose favour the committee decides should stand and the other should withdraw.

Does your conscience not rebel against the idea of nominating a man of the capacity of Siddiq Ali Khan as a counter-blast to people like Bhulabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Asaf Ali, C. Rajagopalachariar, Mavlankar, Munshi and Dr. B.C. Roy whom the Congress is going to send to the Central Assembly? Has your candidate got the brains to understand even a single point in the debates that take place in that Assembly? If you take my opinion, he is a complete misfit there.[1] We lost our empire simply because we lost our sense of values and of justice and we are not going to regain it by a repetition of those faults.

With *Salaam,*

I am,

Your most humble and dutiful servant,
ABDUL SATTAR
Member, Raipur Dist. Muslim League

[1]In the event, Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, AIML nominee, did win the election to the Central Legislative Assembly from the C.P. See Appendix XIII. 4, Vol. I, Part II, 611.

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Abdul Hameed Abdul Qadir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1056/24-5
[Original in Urdu]

APAN BATEGRA,
DIST. DHARAWAR,
17 October 1945

Respected Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

There are two thousand Muslims in Bategra and their only profession is weaving as people mostly wear coarse or *Khadi* cloth. People have to obtain the yarn from the Congress *Khadi* centre to weave the cloth. This centre insists that cotton yarn would be issued only to weavers who joined Congress party and who are members of local *Charkha Sangh*. It is painful for us and we refuse to accept it.

We are anxiously awaiting your advice and decision as to the nomination of Muslim League candidate from our constituency. We stand united under the banner of the Muslim League.

Truly yours,
ABDUL HAMEED ABDUL QADIR
General Secretary,
Muslim League, Apan Bategra

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M. Obaid Ullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 881/54-5
[Original in Urdu]

MULTAN ORIENTAL COLLEGE,
LOHARI GATE, MULTAN,
17 October 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

A weak and poor man wishes to convey his true feelings to you. In the Punjab, the respect and dignity of Muslim League stands completely soiled at the hands of the feudals, the pro-British

elements and the Communists. The Muslim middle class and, in particular, the youngmen are hopelessly dejected at this state of affairs.

Despite your announcement that there was no place for the Communists in the League, they are joining it in large numbers in order to capture its funds and offices. It is apprehended that these elements might form a block [*sic* for bloc] in the Assemblies once they are elected from the platform of the Muslim League, in collusion with the Hindu and Sikh members. The outcome of this unholy alliance could be ruinous to the League.

It is submitted that one of the objectives of these elements in joining the League is to inject atheism among the Muslims, and they are successful to a certain extent. You have to order a purge of these elements from the League to save it. If this is not done there could be serious consequences.

The rich and toady class is interested in getting elected from the platform of Muslim League. The ugly experience of Sikander-Khizar alliance should be fresh in your mind. Unfortunately you are making the same mistake this time and the Unionist Party would betray you as in the past.

I have attempted to bring the political situation in the Punjab to your knowledge very briefly. You may treat this as a forecast of things coming up. Corrective measures are required to save the Muslim League from serious set-back. On our part, we have formed a forward bloc of Muslim League to strengthen it. We intend to create a committed cadre of young activists, ready to offer sacrifices for achievement of Pakistan. We firmly believe that success of our noble cause demands sacrifices from us.

Your encouraging reply will surely be a source of strength for us. However, in case no reply is received within ten days, this letter would be released to the press.

M. OBAID ULLAH KHAN

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I. I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 251/34-5

ABID HOUSE, LAMINGTON ROAD,
BOMBAY,
17 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Government of Bombay have now issued a notification fixing the

25th of October 1945 as the date of nomination for candidates to the Central Assembly from the Bombay Muslim constituency. The time for filing the nomination papers is from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. I hope you have duly received the nomination papers which I forwarded to you for completion. I hope to receive them very soon.

I am starting for a tour of Bijapur, Dharwar, Karwar and Belgaum Districts of the Southern Division today and shall return by the morning of the 25th instant at the latest. I shall personally attend to the filing of the nomination papers in case you are not able to return by the 25th instant.

Regulation 2 of Part III of the Legislative Assembly (Bombay) Electoral Regulations runs as under:

"2. *Scrutiny of Nomination Papers*: On the date appointed by the local Government for the scrutiny of nominations under sub-rule (2) of Rule 11 the candidates, their election agents, one proposer and one seconder of each candidate, and one other person duly authorised in writing by each candidate, but no other person, may attend at such time and place as the Returning Officer may appoint and the Returning Officer shall give them all reasonable facilities for examining the nomination papers of all candidates which have been delivered within the time and in the manner prescribed in Rule 11."

Under this Regulation, one person authorised by you can attend at the scrutiny of nomination papers, in addition to yourself, your election agent and one proposer and the seconder. If you agree, you may authorise me to attend at the scrutiny of nomination papers on your behalf. I enclose[1] herewith a draft for your approval and signature to enable me to remain present at the scrutiny.

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR

[1]Not traceable.

211

M. A. Jinnah to Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz

SHC, Punjab IV/47

QUETTA,
17 October 1945

Dear Begum Shah Nawaz,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 6th,[1] and I accept your

explanation and assurances and appreciate the spirit of your letter. I therefore, as requested by you, in the circumstances, remove the ban which was imposed on you in 1941 for five years, disqualifying you for the membership of the Muslim League , and I do hope that you will serve selflessly and loyally the All India Muslim League and our nation for the achievement of Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Begum Shah Nawaz,
1 Tughlaq Lane,
New Delhi

[1]No. 187.

212

Ghulam Rasul to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (669)

REGISTERED

McCONGHEY ROAD,
QUETTA,
17 October 1945

Dear Sir,

On 25th September 1945, a letter requesting for an interview in connection with the dispute between the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Baluchistan, and Qazi Mohammad Isa over the sum of Rs. 35,000 was sent to you by hand. After about a week, a reminder was sent by post to you at Mastung address. But so far no reply has been received. The matter may not be of importance to you but if [it] remained undecided, its ultimate result may not be desirable. Believe me, you are not being approached to disgrace anybody but to settle the things amicably in a homely atmosphere. I assure you we will avoid, to the extreme [*sic*], anything that may injure the reputation of Qazi Mohammad Isa. It cannot be denied that he is an asset for Baluchistan.

Awaiting a reply,[1] [and] with regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM RASUL

[1]Jinnah replied that the issue was outside his sphere as President of the AIML but consented to see him on 19 October 1945. See *SHC* (673). Not printed.

213

Viqarun-Nisa Noon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/20

65 FALLETTI'S HOTEL,
[LAHORE,]
18 October 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah

Begum Shah Nawaz has come back and we are waiting impatiently for your decision about lifting the ban.[1] She wrote to you on the 6th,[2] addressed the letter to Karachi so it may have wandered about. A copy of the letter [was] then sent to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

She, having the most powerful influence among her tribe, the Arains, and most badly needed to start work immediately. No time must be lost, so we are asking you to act for the good of us quickly[3] because unfavourable propaganda has already started in many parts of Arain constituencies. The Ahrars are very active and carry a lot of influence.

Firoz and I hope that you are in very good health.

With kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
VICKY NOON

[1]The ban on Begum Shah Nawaz was lifted on 17 October 1945. See No. 211.
[2]No. 187.
[3]Jinnah thanked her for giving him all the information. See *SHC*, Punjab IV/21. Not printed.

214

Note by Qazi Mohammad Isa

F. 1104/315-6

[QUETTA,]
18 October 1945

OUR DEMANDS

Although for the first time Baluchistan has been given representation in the Central Legislature, but [*sic*] the representative selected is a Sardar of Kalat State, and as such is the member of the Provincial Shahi Jirga, so what right or status he has to represent Baluchistan in the Centre.

2. Instead of allotting a seat to Baluchistan in the Council of State it should have been in the Central Assembly.

3. Though the Govt. has promised an elective Municipality for Quetta city, but [*sic*] has not yet announced when the elections would take place.

4. We know nothing about the constitution of the proposed elective Municipality; public representatives were never taken into confidence while drafting the constitution. Therefore any such constitution imposed on us would never have our support.

5. We hear that a system of joint electorate would be the foundation of the Municipality elections. We are strongly opposed to the system of joint electorate. We however would instead welcome reservation of seats for the minorities in proportion to their population.

6. We demand a degree college in Quetta (immediately). The number of students at present in the Inter College section is 150; without incurring any capital expenditure the present Inter College can be, at once, transformed into a degree college, provided the school section is removed from the present building; besides it is educationally unsound and unwise to have a school and a college in the same building, and to have a common teaching staff, which is neither fair to the students nor to the staff.

7. In the post-war development scheme there is a proposal to start a hostel for the sons and relations of *Sardars* and this hostel would be attached to the Govt. college and school; we are strongly opposed to such scheme which perpetuates class distinction.

8. Instead of patronising a private Hindu enterprise which has opened unofficially a college for girls, and backed by officials and their wives, why not add a college section to the Govt. Girls High School. An instance of official patronage for this institution is that the provincial headquarters of the Girls Guide has been placed at the disposal of "Permanand Maha Mahila."

9. We strongly object to the appointment of an old missionary lady as the Inspectress of girls schools in Baluchistan. She was never in Govt. service, in fact she is still running a missionary school.

10. Without consulting the Supdt. of Education, the AGG contacted the Centre for the appointment of the missionary lady, and demoted the Muslim lady who had been officiating to the satisfaction of all for the last 20 months. We want a Muslim lady to hold this post, if female education has to be popularised in this Province.

11. The post-war development scheme for Baluchistan has been kept a close secret so far; why the public has not been taken into confidence? The Govt. never takes the public into confidence while

making any scheme.

12. Out of about forty thousand rupees earmarked for the grants to the denominational schools in Quetta, the Islamia High School, the only Muslim institution in the Province, gets hardly four thousand rupees a year, and the rest goes to the non-Muslim institutions, which is hardly fair.

Q.M. ISA
President, Baluchistan Muslim League

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Abdullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 88/59-62

BARUZAI,
SHAHJAHANPUR,
19 October 1945

Dear President, All India Muslim League,

I beg to say that your devotion and sacrifice towards Muslim cause which you unequivocally go on propagating to bring home to those insolent and imprudent as well as crafty and cunning Hindus (so-called leaders of their nation) is highly meritorious; but adopting a self-styled autocratic un-Islamic faith and manners of living in different fashions [*sic*] and appearances with your similar *chelas,* you are to be condemned if you all do not love to be perfect Muslims to lead us. There is a great and unlimited task ahead to be done.

I see your photos on [*sic*] daily in suits and with clean beards you are men [*sic*] and beard is generally and commonly grown on the faces of men. Your beloved Prophet [PBUH], his disciples and all *Shariat*-loving saints of Islam have been keeping beards at all times. It is impossible to love a clean bearded face of a so-called zealous Muslim who professes to be a true Muslim at heart but wishes to display himself in western or Hindu shape, style and fashion. How is it? Shame and regret for such true leaders who have grown very old and still they want to look like a boy or lad by shaving off their beards and adopting the posture of non-Muslims.

Insha Allah you and Jinnah Muslim League [*sic*] will be crowned with glorious success against enemies but do not love toadies, traitors and cajolers who play hypocrisy and pretext [*sic*] if you claim leadership.

You are a nice leader and politician if you do not be perverted [*sic*]

into autocrat and self-willed. Everybody, if he calls himself Muslim, must join your established Jinnah All [India] Muslim League; but do not give opportunity to opponents by your actions and manners and ways of leading your life in any way un-Islamically [*sic*], I request and appeal to you all.

If Christians and Hindus etc. do not follow their fabricated scriptures and religions it is sufficient proof they are on the wrong, but why do the Muslims professing themselves to be Muslims imitate and follow unreligious [*sic*] nations even in any matter as dress and appearance?

There should be no photos of Muslims in newspapers or as separate [*sic*]. If you are eager to make a show of your personalities or if Muslims are impatient to see their true leaders, the leaders should move personally to those places, that is enough. Why these all aged, youth-spent [*sic*] leaders die [*sic*] for strangers' customs and fashions and do not love their own? You all know that you can die any moment, why do you not wish to die as Muslims in all details and minuteness.

I have unlimited love and respect for all of you and it will be enhanced by gradual degrees if you honestly, sincerely and practically love Islam— the true, decisive and conclusive religion for the whole universe. I see that your devoted followers in League commit dishonesty, injustice and mischief when they select people to work the League machine.

These old, experienced and wise people, by following wrong path in their earnest desire for power and position, will injure this very Jinnah All India Muslim League. Clean-shaved appearances, suits and riches will determine [*sic*] those people who are incapable to [*sic* for of] manage the responsible and trusted [*sic*] task efficiently and are unpopular to a great extent in public should not be given high posts at all, though they can deliver fiery speeches. It is no disgrace to serve our League, if ignoble duty is committed [*sic*] to a rich man and there should be no grudge if big post is assigned to a poor Muslim who is sincere and is in the confidence of public.

These Sirs and *Nawabs* should not select those talkative men who set a store of praise by them in order to please them and second them though they may be committing blunders. Will you be Muslim in dress and face though your face and dress be clumsy and awkward. Please abandon to lead [*sic*] un-Islamic life. May triumph and success follow League day by day. *Aameen*

Yours sincerely,
ABDULLAH

216

Muhammad Shahjehan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 962/45-8

MUMTAZ HOUSE, ALIGARH,
19 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I reckon it a great privilege to make an [*sic* for enter into] urgent correspondence with you at this critical juncture when the Muslim India is passing through one of the darkest periods in her history. I am fully aware of the fact that you are now occupied with various important works. But owing to some important matter, I am transmitting this letter to you.

Let me assure you, at the very outset, that I have an unflinching faith in your able leadership. I am one of those who wish to see all the Musalmans of India under one creed, one flag and one organisation. It is a bare fact, and no one in India can deny that fact, that the All India Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the hundred million Musalmans of India. With this in view I am corresponding with so many Muslim leaders in every province, making a fervent appeal to them to join the League without any further delay and serve Islam and the Muslim India. I made a correspondence with Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq and he is very kind enough [*sic*] to give a prompt reply.

You, I hope, will agree with me that he is one of the eminent political leaders in India and even today he is recognised as one of the most important statesmen. It is the heart's desire of every Muslim to see each and every Muslim in the Muslim League. If Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq again joins the League, then I can tell you without any fear of contradiction, and hope you will agree with my opinion, that the Muslim League will be stronger in India, particularly in the Province of Bengal. No one can deny the fact that he was one of the giant pillars of the All India Muslim League for so many years. Even today the Musalmans of India expect many great deeds from him. I say it frankly and with full responsibility that the students of Aligarh Muslim University, the mighty arsenal of Muslim India, want to see him again in the forefront of the Muslim League.

I wrote to him that "the doors of the Muslim League are not barred against you". In reply to this statement he said that "as a matter of fact

the doors of the Muslim League are not only barred but also bolted so that I may not enter into the Muslim League". Before this he wrote that "Mr. Jinnah without making any enquiries expelled me from the League and put a ban on my re-entry into the League to operate for all time."

I am fully aware of the past facts and his (Mr. Huq's) unlawful actions against the rules and regulations of the All India Muslim League. Is it not desirable that there should be some sort of reconciliation between the Muslim League and Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq? Man can do some wrong deeds under some wrong [*sic*] misapprehensions. But it is the foremost duty of a vast and powerful organisation like the Muslim League to consider his case and forgive him if possible. I hope that the ban on Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq can be lifted if he intends to join the Muslim League and serve Muslim India sincerely without any selfish motive.

Then I quoted your appeal to every Muslim to join the Muslim League. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq said in his reply as follows: "This appeal cannot apply to me because I am under a ban. I cannot join the Muslim League even if I wanted to join. Mr. Jinnah says that the Muslim League cannot be revengeful or vindictive. In my case it has been both revengeful and vindictive."

You may understand it fully well that he is willing to join the Muslim League now. You may say that why he does not personally approach the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League. But I suggest one way to you and I hope you will accept it. You should better give a statement that ban might be lifted on those who are willing to join the Muslim League to serve the Musalmans of India sincerely and without any selfish purposes.

When Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar supported the two-nation theory he was vehemently opposed by the fanatic Congress leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. [Rajendra] Prasad, and he was removed from the membership of the All India Congress Working Committee. Not only that; he was even expelled from the A.I.C.C. but at this critical juncture the ban on him has been lifted and he is now to be regarded as one of the front-rank leaders of the A.I.C.C.

I hope that you will be graciously pleased to ponder over the situation and lift the ban not only on Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq but on [all] those who are ready to join the League. I cannot conceive that he will again betray the A.I.M. League. If he again betrays, the Muslim India will never forget [*sic*] him. No power on earth can stand against such a mighty and powerful organisation.

He said in his letter about Pakistan: "As regards Pakistan, I stand by the resolution whose wording I drafted and which I moved in the

Lahore session of the Muslim League and which is now the basis of the Pakistan demand. So far as I am concerned I stand by the ideal which I put forward before the Musalmans of India in moving that resolution"—and he also has said that "you should write to Mr. Jinnah to remove the ban he has put on me so that I may join the Muslim League and serve the Muslim community to the best of my power and ability."

Now you can easily realise that his heart is craving for joining the Muslim League. Let me tell you something about the recent activities of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. He is no doubt now away from the Muslim League, but it would be a sheer folly to understand that he has been doing anything vindictive against his own community. Moreover, during the [word illegible] dire famine of Bengal when the people, especially Musalmans, were hovering between life and death, he rendered yeoman service to Bengal.

You know all the facts fully well. Let you take the initiative and come forward to make a reconciliation with Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. Here I mean to say that you, through the Committee of Action, should lift the ban on Mr. Huq immediately and make room for him to join the League. Just as Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, Mian Iftikharuddin, Sir Firoz Khan Noon have joined the League to render services to the Muslim India, so let Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq be given a chance to join the League and serve the Muslim community. It is high time to embrace all Muslims of India, if they intend to join the League.

Keeping in view all the brilliant services that he had rendered to the Muslim community in India during the darkest period of their history, you should make a personal appeal to him and lift the ban immediately.

Please forgive my intrusion on your most precious time at this critical juncture and believe me the motive of my suggestions is sincere and profound feelings. You are welcome to throw it into the waste paper basket.

Trust this letter will find you hale and hearty. It is useless to say that I expect an early reply from you on the address given below. Lastly I appeal [to you] not to disappoint me.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Sincerely yours,
MUHAMMAD SHAHJEHAN

N.B. It is your sacred duty to give an assurance to those who are intending to join the League that proper [word illegible] and justice will be done to them by the AIML.

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M. A. Ghani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 962/49-50

30 MUMTAZ HOUSE,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH,
19 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

As to my introduction I am to say that I am one of the students of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

At the clarion call at this critical juncture of Muslim India, you are, to tell the truth, the first man to come forward and serve the Muslim community. Words baffle [*sic*] to describe what services you have rendered for these so many years for the Muslims of India.

Allama Mashriqi came to Aligarh on the 16th instant and tried to say something against you by attacking your personality in the Aligarh Johar Hall but we, the students of Aligarh, compelled him to flee from the platform.

I have unflinching faith and devotion for "faith, unity and discipline" of Muslim India. I am glad to be able to tell you that I do advocate the creed of Pakistan.

I have come to know from Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the ex-Premier of Bengal, that he intended and tried to join the Muslim League but [was] refused. To err is human. We, the Muslim community, do admit that Mr. Fazlul Huq has done *kabira gunah* and that is why he has been legally ousted from Muslim League. But forgiveness is the noblest revenge. I am the ardent supporter of Muslim League. I have a right to request our President of the Muslim League to forgive Mr. Fazlul Huq for his misdeeds done to the Musalmans of India and allow him to come under the banner of Muslim League. If he is allowed to join Muslim League, then this old man can spend the rest of his life as one of the followers of the Muslim League. My idea is this that if a politician like Mr. Fazlul Huq can be given refuge under the flag of Muslim League then India, especially Bengal, can get one man more to serve the Musalmans. From disinterested motive I request you earnestly about his emancipation.

In fine, I am to say that please let me know forthwith whether you can accept back Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq in Muslim League. If you agree to accept Mr. Huq in Muslim League, then Mr. Huq will, I know, request you again to allow him in the Muslim League. I shall be much obliged

if you kindly allow him to join the Muslim League before the forthcoming elections.

With best wishes,

I am,

Sincerely yours,
M. A. GHANI

218

Waheed Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/174-6

SAHARANPUR,
20 October 1945

Sir,

As a member of the Students' Federation of the Muslims, I think it [is] my foremost duty to bring the following two points under your favourable consideration:

First, I daily observe that a big mass of the uneducated Muslims, specially in rural areas, is with the *'Ulama*. They are not going to consult [*sic*] even what they are going to do for them. The only appearance of [*sic*] any *Maulvi* is sufficient for them. We should therefore try our best to bring them, anyhow, in our organisation. And so far as I think the Muslim public in general is much under the influence of religious leaders than any other Congress leader like that of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Dr. Khan, etc.

Thus by saying so, I mean that at such a critical moment when the fate of one hundred million of Musalmans is going to be decided, we should feel no dishonour or hesitation in inviting the *'Ulama* to our side to strengthen our position. We should rather force them all and specially Maulana Hussain Ahmed Sahib Madani to join the League. If he shall [*sic*] be persuaded by reasonable arguments, I think that he will at once join League. We also fully know that he commands the greatest influence over all the *'Ulama* and religious class of the Muslims of Hindustan. We should even accept some light conditions if he proposes [*sic*]. If by the grace of God we succeed in this attempt I am sure that there is not the least prospect for the Congress to win even a single Muslim seat from any part of India, either from the rural or the urban area in the forthcoming elections.

The second point is that we should be on our guard that no such

word might be uttered from our mouth which could prove that religion and politics are two different things. This will give an ample opportunity to our rivals to say that the Muslim League which wants to establish Muslim rule through Pakistan, is itself opposed to the dominance of Islamic religion which teaches us the greatest [*sic*] politics, culture and civilization which could never [*sic*] be given by any religion or education of the world.

I very eagerly hope that you shall take immediate action in the light of these two points.

Yours most obediently,
WAHEED ALI
A second year student
of S. D. Inter College

219

Mohammad Abdullah Haji Wali Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 859/42-3
[*Original in Urdu*]

SADAR BAZAR,
HANGOLI,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
21 October 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,
May your glory ever grow!

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

We have seen the touching appeal from the Palestinian brethren for help in the papers.

Quaid-i-Azam, you know that we can overcome the Zionist storm if we are determined to sacrifice our lives. The Indian Muslims have now lost patience and can no longer bear this situation.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam, please guide us as to how we can quickly help the oppressed Palestinians. Not waiting any more, I have sent rupees one hundred and thirty to you by money order for this purpose so that this amount, however meagre it is, may help the Palestinian brethren to defend their honour.

The sole representative organisation of the Indian Muslims should consider it a duty to respond to the call of the Muslims of Palestine and to help them in whatever way it considers suitable. We feel distressed.

We can no longer see the Muslims of this sacred land in agony. For God's sake, order the Committee of Action to provide such real and solid aid to them as may redress their plight [*sic*]; just to pass resolutions will not serve any purpose.

I pray God that under your guidance the Indian Muslims may achieve Pakistan as soon as possible.

Expressing the anxious wishes of the Indian Muslims,
SETH MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH HAJI WALI MOHAMMAD
Cloth merchant

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Tewfiq Saleh Husseini to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 553/1902

JERUSALEM,
22 October 1945

General strike Palestine declared for November second. We solicit your support and suggest you declare November second Palestine Day throughout India.[1]

TEWFIQ SALEH HUSSEINI
Acting Chairman,
Palestine Arab Party

[1]Jinnah telegraphed Husseini on 30 October to say that the Palestine Day had long ago been fixed for 26 October and that, the telegram having reached him on 26 morning while he was on tour, it was too late to alter the date. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 285-6.

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A. Gany M. Ishaq Zagday to M. A. Jinnah

F. 881/79-80

294 FRERE ROAD,
BOMBAY,
23 October 1945

My dear leader,

Most humbly and respectfully I beg to inform you that my party (villagers) composed of eight hundred people from Ratnagiri, District

Saitavada, have perfect faith in you, and are the companions of the League.

Dear leader! Do not worry about Ahrars and Khaksars. They are still sleeping and will come to grief at the end.

If Muslims are ready to agree [on] one God, one *Qur'an,* then what makes them dislike their one party. As [*sic*] a single God and a single *Qur'an,* they ought to have a single party also. Those who are not accepting this point, that means they have no faith in God and *Qur'an.*

Dear leader! My party and I are ready to help the League at each and every moment and are bold enough to solve the difficulties. Each and every person of my party will fight for freedom of Pakistan, and even after death their single [*sic*] drop of blood and soul will remain shouting Pakistan and Pakistan only.

We are all ears to your advice, Sir, and will try our best to achieve success for the candidates of League in the coming election. I am sure none of my party can be cheated by any opposite party.

Dear leader! What is meant by us [*sic*]? We are to die for freedom, for religion, for party and for our leader. Sir, do not worry about any propaganda. Even I am nothing still I can tell this much:

> "Yon man, he carried the Islam ashore, and a Muslim couldn't have done no more."

I beg your pardon, Sir, for writing this letter and for my mistakes. The present condition of Muslims makes me write this so that they may wake up and think about their loss.

As I am not a good writer, you will come across many mistakes. The fact is this that I am only a student of sixth standard.

My party has faith in me as well as in you, and I am speaking for my party.

Thanks for your yeoman service to the Muslim community. God bless you, Sir.

Nothing more to write except my *salaam* to you,

Yours for ever,
A. GANY M. ISHAQ ZAGDAY

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A. N. M. Swanston to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/354

HILLSTOW,
LEDBURY, HEREFORDSHIRE,
U.K.,
23 October 1945

Dear Sir,

I enclose a pamphlet[1]—*India and Her Constitutional Whereabouts—Where is She?* and an addendum to the pamphlet which I hope may interest you. I believe that the only solution to the Indian constitutional problem is democracy. I mean by this a vote for every man aged 21 years and over and every woman aged 21 years and over.

You will, of course, realize that in this question where there are so many interests to be considered, everybody concerned must be prepared to make a compromise which will be for the benefit of all parties.

A year or more ago, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Defence Minister [*sic* for Member] of the Viceroy's [Executive] Council and before that High Commissioner for India in London, suggested that India should be divided into five dominions as follows:

i. Bengal
ii. Central Provinces, United Provinces and Bihar
iii. Madras
iv. Bombay
v. Punjab, Baluchistan, Sind and the North-West Frontier [Province].

This seems to me to be a very fair suggestion and I think it is certainly deserving of consideration. It would, to a very great extent, carry out [*sic*] the principle of Pakistan but, of course, without Kashmir. And if the democratic vote be granted, the arrangement could come into operation very soon.

I understand that the Muslim League demands democracy and I have already given you my meaning of democracy. I also am told that the Hindu Congress party demands democracy and so as the two principal communities in India want this form of government, why should it not be granted? Presumably the Scheduled Castes and the All Parties Sikh Committee would agree. The smaller communities would have to fall in with the views of the four largest communities in India.

I hope, therefore, that the Muslim League will press for the

democratic vote until it is granted.

As regards the enclosed pamphlet and addendum, I think they speak for themselves. I circulated the Scheme mentioned in Section 1 of the pamphlet two or more years ago, but hitherto it has not made much headway.

I was stationed in India for seven years, and I have studied Indian question for many years before I went to India and since. My family have had an intimate connection with the country extending over several generations.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,
A. N. M. SWANSTON
Major

[1]See F.1104/364-73, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Anwar Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 140/8

24 BAKER HOSTEL,
DHARAMTOLA,
CALCUTTA,
24 October 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Though I fully understand that you are engaged to a second with the most serious work for our national cause, I beg leave to disturb you for a few minutes. Please consider every sentence stated here as pure narrative and in the least directive [*sic*].

Perhaps the statement of Pandit Pant regarding the refusal of cooperation and help of Muslim League or any other organisation by the Indian National Army has drawn your attention. Is there any necessity why Muslim League should lower down its position and offer such cooperation to these ungrateful people? Subhash [Chandra] Bose was the father of "Quit India" movement which he enunciated in 1939 and was followed by Gandhi in 1942. Quit India movement was directed against the Musalmans and all those members of the Indian National Army were determined to give effect to it. Moreover as they still believe in the Congress creed, should not these people be considered national enemies from our point of view? Why should we help our national enemies?

I further beg to draw your attention to the formation of another organisation in the name of Jami'at-ul-'Ulama Islamia. Prominent provincial Leaguers like Maulana Akrum Khan and Mr. Shahid Suhrawardy are issuing statements recognising and patronising it. What is the guarantee that it will not one day take a bold stand against League? The Jami'at-ul-'Ulama Hind was also founded by prominent Muslim Leaguers. But the purchasable *Maulanas* could not be kept under control and that is now in the Congress pocket. Is there any necessity or is it at all wise and justifiable to recognise any organisation other than Muslim League? True, their service and popularity are to be utilised in favour of Muslim League in the coming elections. But should we, therefore, help them to form an organisation and then take their assistance through that organisation? Should we not create such circumstances that they place their services individually at the disposal of Muslim League? These *Maulanas* were going to have a parliamentary board of their own. It was going to be styling [*sic*] in such a manner that the ultimate power of selection would have been rested [*sic*] with that Jami'at Board in the name of guidance to the Muslim League Board. After much manoeuvering I have been able to change the situation to some extent. They are having a conference in Calcutta in the next four days. May I request you to consider, before sending any message, if they have demanded it, for it may be utilised by them as a recognition by Quaid-i-Azam.

Finally, please excuse me for requesting you to clarify a sentence of your Quetta speech, where it is stated that 'the British Government has recognised the Muslim League.' Why should we attach any importance to the recognition by the British Government? May I request you to let me know the spirit in which it was spoken so that I may answer the venomous criticism of the anti-Leaguers.

Peace be on you,

Affectionately yours,
ANWAR HUSSAIN

224

S. M. Ghouse to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/111

DOWLET LODGE,
HASANAPURAM,
CHROMEPET, MADRAS,
25 October 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Herewith enclosed [is] a copy of the representation[1] of this Federation to Government for your kind reference. In the interest of Muslims I beg you must go through the same carefully and do the needful immediately.

Leaders are rich and residents of towns. I have practically seen poor Muslims suffering and being crushed by the Caste Hindu public and the officials. I have tried the officials and possess sufficient records to prove my statements.

Muslims in South India, except S. M. Faisal, Obaidullah, Allapitchai and a few others, have confidence in League and love you.

Provincial and City League leaders and prominent Muslims except Mr. Jamal Mohammad Saleh are not sincere to our community.

I have determined to sacrifice my life for the sake of my community. It is a pity I am not fortunate enough to be in close touch with you.

I have volunteered my services to the League. None has yet welcomed me.

I pray for your long life, sound health and the same firm attitude to lead the poor unrepresentative [*sic*] Muslim community of India, etc.

May God bless you with more wisdom and vigour.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. GHOUSE
President,
The South Indian Muslim Federation

[1]Not traceable.

225

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/98

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
26 October 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing, for your personal information, the heads[1] of the budget prepared by the Provincial Parliamentary Board and presented last night to the Finance Committee. The proposed outlay is ambitious and big and yet, with 119 seats to contest, they say that the amounts laid down will be definitely required.

The collections, actual and promised (as good as actual), amount today to just over one lakh. So we have another nine lakh to get.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]See *SHC*, Bengal III/99. Not printed.

226

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/101

CONFIDENTIAL

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
26 October 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mr. Fazlul Huq has seen me three times—twice before I left for Darjeeling and once after my return, and has expressed his desire to return to the fold of the League and to work for his nation. I told him that he will have to admit his error of 1941 which did grave injury to our cause and people at that time and for a considerable period thereafter. He could then request you to lift the ban.

He is anxious to have an interview with you and has requested me

to write and ask which hour and day in Delhi will be suitable. A line in reply will be appreciated.

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

227

Abdul Matin Chaudhury to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Assam I/66

SHILLONG,
26 October 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Working Committee of the Assam Provincial Muslim League has passed a resolution inviting you to visit Assam before the elections which will most probably be held in the first week of January. Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League, must have communicated this to you.

You have not visited Assam and it is the earnest desire of people throughout the Province that you should visit Assam at least this time. Including journey from Calcutta and back we do not propose to detain you for more than a week or ten days. One day in Sylhet, one day in some other place in Assam Valley, and two days' rest at Shillong in between will do for us. You can fly from Calcutta to Sylhet, come by road, motor to Shillong and down to Gauhati and, after visiting some suitable place in Assam Valley, you can return by train to Calcutta. It is essential that you should come before the elections at any time that suits you after mid-November. We shall be anxiously awaiting your reply[1] of acceptance.

I hope you are keeping well. My best compliments to Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
MATIN

[1]See No. 270.

228

G. D. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/137

PETH SHANIWAR,
SATARA CITY,
26 October 1945

Sir,

I beg to enclose herewith proceedings of the Palestine Day meeting observed by the Primary Muslim League, Satara, on Friday, the 26th October 1945, for favour of information.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G. D. SAYED
President,
Primary Muslim League, Satara

Enclosure to No. 228

F. 830/138-9

The Primary Muslim League, Satara, observed 26th October 1945 as Palestine Day. After the *Jum'a* prayers, a great procession was taken all over Satara City through important lanes with the national Muslim song *Muslim Hain Ham Watan Hai Sara Jehan Hamara.*[1] About one thousand persons were there in the procession. At about 4 p.m., after the procession was over, a meeting of about two thousand Muslims, along with some non-Muslims counting about forty to fifty, were [*sic*] addressed by the Secretary of the Primary Muslim League, Satara, Mr. Fazlul Haq, with Mr. Bahauddin Ustaji in the chair. Mr. Fazlul Haq addressed the mammoth gathering [and said] that the Muslims of Satara have got every sympathy for the Palestine Arabs in their fight against Zionism. He also requested President Truman and Mr. Attlee, Premier of Great Britain, to review their policy as regards Palestine and warned them that the Muslims are peace-lovers so long as they see that their religion is not in danger and their brothers are not ill treated, but if any nation, however strong, tries to torpedo their birthright, they would prefer death than [*sic*] to lead a miserable life. He warned Truman not to be led [*sic*] away with [*sic*] pride because of the Atom Bomb as there is a much more terrible force that will save Islam and that terrible force is *Allah* Who will save

the Muslims from any calamity that befalls them. He also spoke that upon Palestine being established there would be no nation that will hamper down [*sic*] the rights of any of the Muslim nations that exist in Asia, Europe and Africa. Lastly he requested all the Muslims to bury down [*sic*] their personal grievances and join hands with the Muslim League for the cause of Islam in India.

The gathering was also addressed by Comrade Chitale, a leader of the Communist Party, Satara, who expressed willingness to join hands with the Muslim League in the fight for Arabs of Palestine against Zionism and requested President Truman and Mr. Attlee to change their policy towards the Arabs of Palestine if they desire that peace should prevail in the world.

Further, the President of the Primary Muslim League, Mr. G. D. Sayed, addressed the meeting and remarked that bloodshed of Arabs in Palestine is our bloodshed which will turn into the greatest war between Muslims and Christians if it (bloodshed) is not stopped earlier.

The President of the meeting Mr. Bahauddin Ustaji thanked the audience in the end and requested the Muslims to join Muslim League and stand united under the banner of the Muslim League and vote for the Muslim League candidate in the coming elections.

The following resolutions were passed unanimously in the meeting:

1. This meeting urges that the doors of Palestine should at once be closed for the Jews for ever.

2. This meeting expresses full confidence in the able leadership of Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah.

3. This meeting requests Britain to be neutral in the battle of the Javanese [Indonesians] for freedom.

[1]We are Muslims and the whole world is our homeland.

229

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/74

ALAVI MANZIL
KARACHI,
26 October 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

With reference to our personal conversation, I beg to hand you herewith (1) a copy of the letter[1] addressed to Nawabzada Liaquat

Ali, (2) an Urdu pamphlet[2] published by the Editor of the *Aage Kadam,* (3) opinion[3] of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, (4) my own explanation[4] published in the *Bombay Samachar* of 19th August 1938 and (5) this morning's issue of the *Baluchistan Jadid*[5]— most widely read Urdu paper of Sind and published at Karachi.

As regards the above five enclosures, I have to observe as under:

Enclosure No. 1. The letter to the Nawabzada speaks for itself and has already been posted to him at Delhi.

Enclosure No. 2. The Urdu pamphlet was published by the Editor of the *Aage Kadam*. It shows that it was *Mullajee*[6] who was the real instigator of this agitation against me and was lavishly financing the same by hiring *Moulvis* to speak and vernacular journals to write against me. The pamphlet reproduces the passages objected to and otherwise fully deals with the whole question.

Enclosure No. 3. Moulana Azad happened to be in Karachi at the time when the agitation was being carried on against me and the enclosure is a cutting from the *Daily Gazette* of an interview he gave to that paper on the subject matter of my articles.

Enclosure No. 4. While I will feel honoured if you can, at all, find time to read my biography of the Prophet [PBUH] as serially published in the *Aage Kadam,* I hesitate to send you the volumes, for I wonder whether it would [be] right of me to put so great a strain on your time. If, however, now or at another time, you can find the leisure to peruse my articles, kindly do let me know so that I can have the magazines sent to you. Those who are competent to pronounce opinion have acclaimed my biography of the Prophet [PBUH] as one of the best ever written. Hundreds of people have written to me thanking me for what they have been persuaded to call the best biography of the Prophet [PBUH] which they had ever read.

If you will please peruse the cutting from the *Bombay Samachar* of an article from my pen, it will be clear that in point of fact, much ado had been made about nothing. The real trouble was that my articles were in Gujarati and by far the large majority of the Muslims do not read that language. In this article, I have tried to meet all the objections that were raised.

Enclosure No. 5. Mahomed Bashir, the young man from the *Orient Press* who met me yesterday at Sir Ghulam Hussain's house, told me the whole incident at Sayed's house, as to how the statement proclaiming "Rebellion" was prepared by Rashdi and approved by Nihchaldas. Bashir stated that you had suggested that this story ought to be sent out over the wires. I however found that Bashir was not willing to [do] this for reasons of his own. So, straight from Sir Ghulam Hussain's house, I sought out the Editor of the *Jadid* and we have now made

arrangements to lash the "Rebels" day in and day out mercilessly. I will personally conduct these columns every day. To-day we have made the start with the Nihchaldas story and our propaganda will go on developing, both in volume and intensity.

With best regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

[1]Enclosure.
[2-5]Not traceable.
[6]Syedna Tahir Saifuddin, Head of the Indian Bohra community.

Enclosure to No. 229
Hatim A. Alavi to Liaquat Ali Khan

SHC, Sind VI/75

ALAVI MANZIL,
KARACHI,
26 October 1945

Trust you must have reached Delhi safely and filed your nomination papers. Is Kazmi really opposing you?

Throughout the days that you and Hossain Imam were at Karachi, I did not speak to you even one word with regard to my application for the Muslim League ticket for the Karachi South constituency. Not only that; I also refused to speak about the matter to any friends of mine, some of whom had almost daily access to you. I had, however, thought that in the natural course of events, you would call me for an interview before finally deciding this issue and I awaited your call right till yesterday morning. I do not know whether you are deciding this matter at Delhi or are coming back to Karachi to settle this and other matters. A friend said that you would be here after a week.

This morning it was suggested to me that I should write to you at once and say what I have to say with regard to my own candidature. If Gazdar and Shaikh are joining the rebellion against our organisation, then their applications would just lapse. If, however, either the rebellion does not fructify or these two men do not openly join the same for any tactical reason, then their applications must merit consideration at your hands.

In my opinion, Gazdar's application has got to be turned down. There are many things against him. It would be unnecessary to go into these. The broad fact, however, remains that apart from dismissals from the services of the Government of Bombay, the Nizam's Government, and the District Local Board of Karachi, even our own League Government

had virtually to dismiss Gazdar from the Ministry. His appeals to high command were all rejected and no Parliamentary Board can recommend such a man to the people as a suitable candidate to represent the very Muslim League which had sacked him only a year ago.

I understand that it has been brought to your notice that members of my own community–Bohras–will strongly oppose my candidature and use the subject matter of my biography of the Prophet [PBUH] as a racket against me. In this connection, may I say that the Bohras have about two thousand votes out of nearly eighteen thousand votes in this constituency. Of the two thousand Bohra votes, we can reckon upon getting about half the number although I further gather that the *Mullajee* adherents claim that they can marshal about 1,500 votes against me. Nobody can think it was wrong to put down as an adverse factor, a point of my career that should rather have weighed with you to grant me the ticket.

But it was worse to let these ignorant Bohras know that I did not get the ticket because I did not have blessings of the *Mullajee*. It has helped, to a small degree, to strengthen the *Mullajee's* tyrannical hold on our community.

You and I are both aware of the fact that in Bombay the *Mullajee* stood by the League, but what you are not aware of and I am, on good authority, is that the *Mullajee,* through K. M. Munshi,[1] tried to ingratiate himself with the Congress and secure a promise that they will exempt him from the operation of the Waqf Act, legislative measure which the *Mullajee* has dreaded the most. Only when the Congress refused to give this undertaking that he swung over to us. This exercise entailed a pleasant sensation for his [word illegible] nature because against Hooseinbhoy Lalljee he had long and acrid account to settle.

Gazdar made no secret of the fact and this fact was known to you very well, that he would defy the League and seek election if he was not given the ticket. Such disloyal attitude did not deserve our confidence.

Among those who filed the nomination papers for this Karachi seat was one nationalist Muslim put up by the Congress who was to contest against me as the Congress had felt certain that the ticket would be given to me. It may interest you to know that as soon as Gazdar was left alone in the field, three prominent Congress leaders [words illegible] which he did.

I had never set much store by a seat in the Sind Assembly and do not even now. But I feel that our organisation's moral prestige has been lowered by the grant of the ticket to a man whose corrupt character had known no bounds. If for any reason, whatsoever, you were veering round to the idea of granting the ticket to Mr. Gazdar it would have been fair to me and fairer still to our organization if I had been asked

to withdraw my application. The rejection of my application in favour of Gazdar has spread an evil odour.

[HATIM A. ALAVI]

[1]Kanhialal Maneklal Munshi, Home Minister, Bombay, 1937-9.

230

Ahmed E. H. Jaffer to M. A. Jinnah

F. 313/4

SACALKOT,
DIST. BIJAPUR,
26 October 1945

My dear respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I sent you a short telegram from Belgaum yesterday informing you that Hooseinbhoy Lalljee has filed nomination paper against me. I was sorry to learn this morning that he has filed nomination paper against you as well. I am issuing a statement that, if he is a public spirited man and has any decency, he should allow you to go unopposed in view of your great services to the Muslim nation; instead, he should face the election against me in the Southern Division. I hope he will have the common sense to withdraw in your favour.

It is quite possible he has filed the nomination in Belgaum, thinking that Gheewalla will succeed in the appeal. I am grateful to you and the Central Parliamentary Board for giving me this opportunity to have a second round with him, and I assure you that, by the grace of God and your good wishes, I shall defeat him again this time.

I pray to God that you may be elected unopposed and thus saved the trouble of facing the election. I know you will succeed, and he will forfeit his deposit, but my only desire is that you may be spared the trouble of election, because you have so many urgent and important problems all over India to attend to.

With respects and best wishes,

I beg to remain,
Yours sincerely,
AHMED E. H. JAFFER

N.B. May I request you to kindly let me have an appeal from you to the voters to support my candidature. Kindly favour me with the same as early as possible. I wish to print posters and leaflets and distribute the same among voters.

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Namdar Mian A. Malek & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/143-4

DISTRICT KAIRA,
27 October 1945

Quaid-i-Azam *Janab* Jinnah Sahib,

Kindly permit us, the representatives of the Muslims of the Kaira District, to express our deep sense of gratitude for granting us this interview today.

It is a great pleasure to us to express our heartfelt feelings and declare that when the Muslims of India were in great [*sic*] slumber, devoid of any means of their uplift, and living in complete darkness, you, with all your sincere and unceasing efforts, roused them and infused in them a new life, brought them to the forefront under your leadership, for which we are grateful to *Allah*.

All Muslims of the Kaira District, about eighty thousand in number, young and old, are staunch Leaguers and have complete faith in your leadership.

Our Kaira District, being situated in the centre of Gujarat, is fast advancing in all spheres— economic, social and educational. We, the Muslims of such a District, have been, for a considerably long time, eagerly awaiting your visit— the visit of Quaid-i-Azam—, the recognized greatest leader of Muslim India, amongst us which, let us assure you, will induce [*sic*] into the Muslims of the District, a great moral courage and help in the advancement of the cause of Muslim League. Though we, the Muslims of this District, are financially not so sound, we have always stood and obeyed every command of yours as strong disciplinarians having been inspired by unbound[ed] love for you and faith in your leadership.

We are very eager[ly] looking forward to a very near future date when you will accept our humble invitation to visit our District. It will not be out of place if we may draw your attention that when you last visited Gujarat in the year 1937, the Muslims of our District stood firm by the side of the Muslim League and proved themselves to be faithful followers of the Muslim League. Quaid-i-Azam! permit us to remind you that, that day you promised us to visit our District once again. We believe that Borsad will be the most suitable place for the purpose where majority of Muslims reside and where a good number of

Muslims with an enlightened and broad outlook have the honour to reside. It will not be out of place here to submit that Khan Sahib Kamumia A. Malek, the Managing Director of Anand Transport Company Limited, a young and energetic youth with progressive views is also the inhabitant of the same place. He is trying his level best, with all the resources at his command, to bring forward the Muslims of the District, socially, economically and in the educational sphere. We believe that under his patronage we can make the best arrangements for your reception.

We hope to present to your goodself our humble contribution towards Muslim League Fund in the form of a purse, which will not be less than Rs.50,000. Khan Sahib Kamumia has willingly declared to present one passenger bus with a capacity of 14 passengers for the use of Kaira District Muslim League on the occasion of your arrival and visit to the District, which you will kindly accept and inspire him and all the Muslims in the District a love for the common cause namely the achievement of Pakistan.

Taking into consideration all the above facts you will kindly and surely accept our invitation and give us time and date now to enable us to receive you, our most beloved Quaid-i-Azam, from Anand to Borsad and to enable us to send you the detailed programme of your visit and the copy of the address to be presented to you.

Lastly, we may be allowed to express that we shall leave no stone unturned to sincerely execute your commands, having been enlightened by your presence amongst us which we believe will surely infuse new life in all of us.

We beg to remain,
Quaid-i-Azam,
Yours faithfully,
NAMDAR MIAN A. MALEK
AND OTHERS

232

Prem Nath Bazaz to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Kashmir/38

SRINAGAR,
29 October 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of 9th October.[1] I hope you have had

some time to go through my detailed article on recent Kashmir disturbances and the political situation obtaining here at present.[2]

As you know we are passing through a very difficult period. Recently the Kashmir Government has victimised another weekly, *Javeed* of Jammu, perhaps the best Muslim journal in the whole State. Every word, including the advertisements, is to be censored before it is published in the paper. This is most humiliating and discouraging. All of us may have to close down our journals before long if something is not done to bring the Kashmir Government to senses.

Lord Wavell paid a visit to the Valley in the middle of this month. I think he got an inkling into the bad plight of the people and how they heartily detest the present Prime Minister. I do not know if he replied to your representation. But all of us here are very anxious to know how long we have to suffer like this.

Yours sincerely,
PREM NATH BAZAZ
Editor, the daily Hamdard

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See Enclosure to Appendix I. 24, Vol. VIII, 582-95.

233

Fazil Mooraj to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (682)

CUMBALA HILL,
BOMBAY,
29 October 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am submitting herewith a copy of my second letter[1] addressed to Mirza Mohamad Jafer Husain, Editor of *Moonlight* and General Secretary of the All India Shia Conference, and his reply[2] to me, in original. You will see that persons with such mentality can never be expected to consider the welfare of their community as a whole. They are selfish and want themselves fully provided for even at the sacrifice [*sic*] of others. Their bigotry in their religious beliefs can result in their own ruination. Inconsiderate publicity and such statements as made in Mirza Sahib's letter can cause a flare-up and breach between the two sections of Islam which can never be filled up.

Before you read the enclosures, I request you to read my following statement:

i. I did not call Mirza Sahib. He wrote and said that he would like to meet me. His letter is enclosed.[3] He had come to know that I was not in agreement with his views and wished to convert me to his beliefs.
ii. I did not mention to him that I could or would use my influence on you. His last sentence may give such an impression.
iii. Mr. Ghulamali Salehmohammad Dharamsey clearly told me that if you, Quaid-i-Azam, ever made a statement that in Pakistan all minorities would have full religious freedom, he and his party which supported Mr. Hooseinbhoy Lalljee would bodily join the Muslim League and become its active workers. This statement was made in the presence of Mr. Dawoodbhoy Fazalbhoy and Mr. Ismail Abdul Karim Panjor, after the annual meeting of our trust at my house.
iv. On my mentioning to Mr. Ghulamali that Mirza Sahib had written to me that he could see me the next time he came to Bombay, Mr. Ghulamali informed me that Mirza Sahib was a mere non-entity and had no voice at all. He said much more which I do not consider necessary to repeat here.
v. Mirza Sahib came to me twice and finally pretended to be convinced with my arguments and gave me a solemn undertaking that he would never countenance or allow all the Shias to join the Congress or any other organisation in opposing the Muslim League; and that if ever you, Quaid-i-Azam, gave an undertaking that the Shias would have full protection of their religion, culture and political rights, he could and would have a resolution passed to the effect that all Shias should join the Muslim League. He said that you would be approached again and the action which the Conference would take depended on your reply to their representation.
vi. I did not make any statement which could give him an impression that I would communicate with you.

I now request you to read the enclosures[4] and judge for yourself. I do not wish to keep Mirza Sahib's last letter with me as I do not want it to fall into hands which may use it indiscreetly after I am gone.

In case you consider it advisable or necessary for me to send any reply to Mirza Sahib's letter, I will thank you to let me know.[5]

May I further request you to let me know if you would care to meet Reverend Father Fernandes.

Wishing you good health,

Your sincere and loyal,
FAZIL MOORAJ

[1]See *SHC* (683). Not printed.
[2]Enclosure.
[3]Not traceable.
[4]See notes 1&2 above.
[5]Jinnah replied that he had nothing more to say and that he would like to meet Father Fernandes. See *SHC* (703).Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 233
Mirza Mohamad Jafer Husain to Fazil Mooraj

SHC (684)

LUCKNOW,
25 October 1945

My dear Mr. Fazil Mooraj,

I am very sorry I could not reply to your letter of the 5th instant[1] simply because I have been very busy all the time in connection with the All Parties Shia Conference. I am now in receipt of your second letter dated the 18th instant,[2] and I take this first opportunity to reply to the same.

I hope you will excuse me if I make a frank expression of my views to you. I regret I cannot agree to the abstract theory of 'Islam in danger' as accepted by you and propounded by the Muslim League. Personally speaking, I am definitely of opinion that Islam or, as a matter of fact, any other religion, is merely a personal concern. It is the greatest misfortune of this country that religion plays a prominent part in the body politic of the country. If we accept the theory of 'Islam in danger' as propagated by the League leaders, then the only conclusion which we can arrive at is that Islam does not exist anywhere in the world except in India. We have got, before our eyes, the history of Musalmans in Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Russia, and other European countries. Similarly, we know it as a fact that Musalmans exist in large numbers in China, Japan, Java and other islands in the Pacific. One really fails to understand how Islam can be in danger at the hands of the Hindus, but not at the hands of Buddhists and more so Christians who have in the past shown the greatest hostility towards Islam. History bears testimony to the fact that Christians have made united and concerted efforts to efface Islam from the face of this earth,

but Musalmans in those countries of which the state religion is Christianity, are living as good nationals. Why can we not live as good Indians in this country embracing within our hearts true feelings of true Islam? I can go on multiplying *Hadises* [*sic* for *Ahadis*] after *Hadises* where our holy Prophet [PBUH] has taught us to live as peaceful neighbours and not to fight in the name of Islam.

Now coming to my personal convictions. I am a Shia first and a Muslim afterwards. I do not believe in any abstract conception of Islam. We are either Sunnis or Shias. In my very well-considered opinion there lives not one person in this country who is a Musalman, pure and simple—neither a Shia nor a Sunni. I may remind you of the famous *Hadis* of our holy Prophet [PBUH] when he said "Musalmans will stand divided after me in 72 sections and only one out of these 72 will get salvation." This *Hadis* clearly shows that out of these 72 sections that exist today only one represents true Islam and according to our belief and faith we are that one section. I rest my arguments on this *Hadis* and I emphatically say that we represent true Islam and if we are doomed Islam is doomed. Now let me say that the religious, economic, political and social rights of the Shias have never been so much endangered in the country as they are now—not at the hands of the Hindus or the Congress but at the hands of your Muslim League and your Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Jinnah. We invited Mr. Jinnah to the All Parties Conference and, in reply to our telegram[3] inviting him to the Conference, Mr. Jinnah asks us to wind up the Conference and join the Muslim League "unreservedly." Is this the way to meet our demands?

I request you to believe my statement that I am a Shia first and everything afterwards.

I see before my own eyes how my community has been crushed by your Muslim League. I see with my own eyes how every day atrocities of the worst kind are perpetrated by your Muslim League. I have got the history of the last Municipal Board elections in these provinces before me. I know how the most prominent Shias in Bihar are punished by the Muslim League because they are Shias. I know how the Muslim Ministry in the Province of Bengal turned out innocent staff of the Customs Department in Calcutta simply because most of the people engaged there were Shias. In the Province of Punjab our brethren are fighting on nine fronts today for the protection of *Ta'ziadari* and on all these fronts the persons against whom they are fighting are the Muslim Leaguers, the staunch followers of Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Jinnah. In the Frontier Province where the population of Shias is far larger in number than not only the Hindus but also Sikhs taken together, only one Shia could return to the Legislative Assembly. You may say that the majority

of the seats occupied in that Province by Musalmans has been occupied by the Congress, my reply is simple. We do not stand as friends of the Congress. We want reservation of seats for the Shias against Congress and League both. Shia rights are trampled in every province, this is our case. It was unfortunate that the Shias in the NWFP were with the Muslim League and not with the Congress and therefore the Congress could not give their tickets to Shias. The Muslim League would not give them [tickets] because they were Shias. I can multiply instances after instances but that will tire out your perseverance. I sincerely feel that we have got no grievance against the Congress but we have many against the Muslim League, and the Muslim League, instead of redressing our grievances, always tries to add insult to injury.

You advise me that we must believe the assurances given by Mr. Jinnah in his statement issued from Baluchistan.[4] I sincerely doubt if a man of your experience in life himself believes it genuinely. What is the value of oral assurances in the body politic of today's world. We have seen the oral assurances given by Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain, Stalin and Churchill. What can be the value of these oral assurances when we see before our own eyes that long standing conventions such as the one that existed in Lucknow for the last thirty-five years in favour of the Shias was broken with the help of the Muslim League, by the Sunnis, during the last Municipal Board elections. We have lost all faith in oral promises and even conventions. Nothing short of statutory safeguards can satisfy us. I really fail to understand if Mr. Jinnah is honest in his profession and he does not want to befool the Shias. Why should he not agree to statutory safeguards for this important minority community in India. Mr. Jinnah abuses the Congress, and we have got exactly the same arguments to stand up against the Muslim League what he professes against the Congress. I tell you very honestly and I say so from my own experience, having worked in the political sphere of this country for over 25 years, that the grievances of the Muslim League against the Congress are more imaginary than real, while our grievances against the Muslim League are much more real than imaginary. Mr. Jinnah is not prepared to redress genuine grievances but wants redress for grievances that are more imaginary than real. I do not hold brief for the Congress, I am not even a four-*anna* member of the Congress but as an honest Shia I believe that it is my duty to say [the] truth and nothing but the truth.

I am, along with this letter, enclosing a copy of the resolution[5] passed by the All Parties Shia Conference. This resolution was passed in a house consisting of all delegates and no visitors. About half a dozen of the staunch Muslim Leaguers, who are expecting to get the Muslim League ticket in the next U.P. Assembly elections, staged a

walk-out and only five who preferred to stay had dissented with this resolution. This is all the strength of the opposition, while the whole house consisting of about eight hundred delegates from all over the country—from Kashmir in the north, and Mysore and Madras in the south, supported it unanimously. This resolution has kept the door for a compromise with the Muslim League open and it is now for Mr. Jinnah to concede the demands of the Shias or to keep this community away from the Muslim League for all times to come. I shall feel highly obliged if you can exercise your influence on Mr. Jinnah and make him agreeable to do[ing] justice with [*sic*] the Shia case. It is useless to enter into the controversy whether I have got any influence in the Shia Political Conference or not. My claim is simple. I represent Shia sentiments and Shia voice. In case Mr. Jinnah agrees to the Shia demands contained in this resolution, I assure you the Shia Political Conference will have no hesitation to join the Muslim League and you will find all of us in their rank and file. It is now with [*sic*] Mr. Jinnah either to accept the hand of friendship extended by us or to reject it for all times to come.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
JAFER HUSAIN

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See *SHC* (683). Not printed.
[3&4] See Waheed Ahmed, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 240-1.
[5]See *SHC* (665). Not printed.

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Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/76

ALAVI MANZIL,
KARACHI,
30 October 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

Please receive herewith, under separate covers:

i. A letter from me dated August 25th[1]
ii. *Baluchistan Jadid* of the day you left[2]
iii. *Sind Observer* of yesterday[3]
iv. *Daily Gazette* of to-day[4]
v. Copy of a manifesto[5] for Yusuf's election.

With regard to these enclosures, I beg to say:

a. The letter was being sent to you at Bombay during the middle of *Ramazan*, when we learnt that you were leaving for Quetta via Karachi and the letter was not despatched. The suggestion made in this letter still holds good for the coming *'Id*; only owing to the nearness of the elections the message will be more appropriately timed than if it had been sent on the occasion of the *'Id al-Fitr*.
b. In the *Jadid* so far we are only cracking the whips without delivering the lashes. Sometimes this comes handy in bringing about good sense to achieve which I would like to work up to the last minute.
c. To call a person Quaid-i-Azam and not to accept his guidance or lead is a contradiction in terms. Whatever may be the motivating factors in Sayed's mind, he and all others have only to look at the headlines of the *Sind Observer* to find out how our enemies clutch at every opportunity which we foolishly offer them.
d. On the assumption of our personal friendship, and because I have been extremely reticent as regards Sayed's attitude in the recent past, the *Daily Gazette* sent me their reporter for an interview hoping to get further support for Sayed. When the man came I was leaving my bungalow and so I asked him to get into my car and dictated the interview to him on the way. When the editor found my interview disagreeable to the campaign which they are conducting, it has been published in an insignificant way and as if it was I who had written a letter to the paper! I shall have the matter suitably adjusted.
e. I prepared the appeal for Yusuf's election on the day that you returned to Karachi from Quetta and handed over to Khuhro for obtaining the signatures of Sayed and his group. I told Khuhro if they set their signatures they will, of course, be useful but if Sayed and company refuse to sign, it will help you to take a hand in the controversy on a much more clear issue. I further told Khuhro that if a split was to come it would be much better that it came in such a clear way and that, if possible, you should not be brought into the controversy in allotment of tickets to the Provincial Assembly. I don't know what Khuhro did in the matter as we have had no subsequent talk on the subject.

For years I have kept on telling Sayed that instead of passing resolutions and howling at the Ministers for their corrupt practices, the much more simpler [*sic*] way was to get hold of just one instance of a corrupt practice which can be substantiated in a court. If given such a case, it would defame the Ministers concerned openly and deliberately and find a paper to publish my intentional libel. The matter will then automatically come to a head.

In the matter of giving the tickets, Sayed's allegation was that Khuhro

had accepted a bribe of rupees five thousand from a particular candidate in return for giving him the League ticket. Sayed said that he had incontrovertible proofs which he detailed to me. They were so clear that almost any court will convict Khuhro in no time. I promised Sayed that I will do the job myself and that he should hand over the proofs to me as it was insufferable that a prominent member of our Provincial Board should accept a bribe to give a ticket. Despite my repeated requests Sayed failed to hand over the alleged proofs which he said were in his possession.

In 1923, a local Civil Surgeon by the name of Colonel Stephens used to accept bribes. I collected the facts silently, got the relevant affidavits sworn and then defamed publicly the English member of the I.M.S. [Indian Medical Service]. The result was that the man got the sack. That was twenty-two years ago when taking up cudgels against an Englishman was a very difficult task.

I told Sayed of this and some other similar incidents of my public life to convince him that there are more direct and telling ways to serve a public cause. Help from God comes if our motives are pure and our dedication unalloyed.

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

PS. I have written to my informants in U.P. to check up the information with regard to the last Shia Conference.
If Hooseinbhoy does not forfeit his deposit, the Muslim nation [will] blacken its face. It is in the fitness of things that you will be away from Bombay all [*sic*] throughout the period of your election, but I hope that the campaign will be in charge of the best person Bombay [can] produce. With whom is one to correspond in this respect?
One result of your interview has been that the local [Congress] has started on a frantic hunt to find out Muslims who can be put up on the Congress tickets, although the last date for applying for Congress tickets has long expired.

H. A. A.

[1]See *SHC*, Sind VI/77. Not printed.
[2-5]Not traceable.

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Yusuf Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/78

CAMP HYDERABAD,
30 October 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have sent you yesterday the full statement[1] of Mr. G. M. Sayed, President, Sind Provincial Muslim League.

K. B. Khuhro, Sir Ghulam Hussain, Mir Ghulam Ali, Pir Ilahi Bakhsh are all on tour and hence we have not been able to meet to discuss the present statement of Mr. G. M. Sayed. I will be meeting Khan Bahadur on 1st November at Shikarpur and will let you know the reactions.

Mr. G. M. Sayed has now made a programme to tour throughout the Province and is calling meetings and conferences in different districts in order to propagate his ideals and ideas. At present it seems that they will set up candidates against the League candidates wherever they feel that they had been let down.

Mr.G. M. Sayed, as the President of the Provincial Muslim League, refuses to issue any statement in support of me or write on behalf of the Provincial Muslim League to different branches all over Sind.

I shall now, therefore, be highly obliged if I could have the message from you direct appealing to voters to vote for me. This message I would like to distribute or send to my voters only a few days before the polling but I would like to have this now so that I may be able to print and keep it ready for distribution.

I have been able to secure some definite clues that the statement which was issued by Mr. G. M. Sayed was drafted by Mr. Rashdi and Mr. Nihchaldas Vazirani. Mr. Nihchaldas will be touring the district a day before Mr. Sayed and will call the conferences of zamindars at the headquarters in order to facilitate Mr. Sayed to meet them.

I will let you know, within a day or two, the reactions of the people of Sind at the statement of Mr. Sayed.

With respects,

Yours affectionately,
YUSUF ABDOOLA HAROON

[1]See F. 1104/335-6, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Faizullah Khan to Abdul Qaiyum Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 830/150

BANNU,
30 October 1945

Dear Sir,

It is with the utmost diffidence that I venture to write you this letter. It is an unsavoury topic but circumstances are such that I must lay facts before you.

You will recall that I voted against Aurangzeb Khan's Ministry and, as far as that goes, I am still unrepentant. The League was being destroyed by the corrupt Ministry, and I was of the opinion that if they stayed a little longer it was bound to damage the cause of the League beyond any hope of recovery. As a Musalman and as a true Muslim Leaguer I had to vote against the Ministry.

I emphasized with all the emphasis [*sic*] at my command in the Assembly that I am a Muslim Leaguer but, being sure that continuance of Aurangzeb in office was injurious to the interests of the League, I voted against the Ministry. Anyway, you are well acquainted with the facts and I need not repeat them.

Now as regards the coming elections, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan came and formed a Parliamentary Selection Board consisting of nine members including Habibullah Khan of Bannu and Pir Zakori of D.I.Khan, both of whom are opposed to my party.

As Aurangzeb's party dominates in [*sic*] the Selection Board, we have no confidence in them and cannot expect any justice at their hands. Therefore, it is with profound regret [that] I inform you that we cannot offer ourselves for the League ticket.

Need I add that we firmly believe in Pakistan for which we are prepared to offer sacrifices but unfortunately we are placed in such an awkward position that we have no alternative but to oppose Habibullah Khan and Pir Zakori and/or their nominees.

Yours faithfully,
FAIZULLAH KHAN
MLA
Rais Ghaznikhel

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Bar-at-Law,
Convener, Muslim League Selection Board,
Peshawar

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A. H. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/79

KARACHI,
30 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sorry I could not have access to you in Karachi. I still believe that if there is any person in Karachi who can bring Mr. G. M. Sayed round, [it] is Mr. I. I. Kazi[1] about whom I had made a mention in my interview last time. We are all trying that he may see Kazi Sahib but at the present moment, the great Sayed is running away from him. However, I have written to Nawabzada Sahib that I will arrange a meeting between Mr. I.I. Kazi and Nawabzada Sahib to make the last effort to bring him round.

I am sending, herewith, a copy of a cutting from a local Hindu daily which speaks for itself.[2] I assure you, Sir, that all the students of this college are at your beck and call[3] and [that] they are resenting very much the undesirable attitude of Mr. G. M. Sayed. My college will re-open on the 10th of November 1945, and then I will mobilise the public opinion against this disruptive move. So far as I am concerned, I assure you, Sir, that even my life is at your command.

With best regards,

Yours obediently,
A. H. SIDDIQI
Principal,
Sind Muslim College

[1]Vice-Chancellor, University of Sind, in the late 1950s.
[2]See *SHC*, Sind VI/80. Not printed.
[3]Secretary to Jinnah thanked him for his assurance of full support of the students. See *SHC*, Sind VI/81. Not printed.

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Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/24

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
31 October 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Congress has now set up candidates against the Muslim League

to fight election for the Central Legislature. Mr. Shakir Ali who stood against me said in the Bar Library that he was offered fifteen thousand and so he was standing. The Congress know him very well and they will not pay him all in cash. This election is a blessing in disguise for the Muslim League. The Congress cannot win a single seat in U.P. The question is how many votes we will be able to secure. This election is a kind of rehearsal for the bigger fight later on. We will know their weakness, the mentality of the voters, and the nature of the pressure which may be put on the voters. The Muslim League should now be prepared to meet the pressure on and temptation to voters.

There had been no work by the Muslim League in the rural areas and the workers had been sleeping but now they will be up and will do the work continuously till the local elections are over.

The Parliamentary Board should put up for provincial legislatures only those candidates who exercise influence in their constituencies and are able to secure 25% votes through their own influence. It will be a losing concern if a candidate is put up by the Parliamentary Board who cannot secure sufficient votes through his own influence. The Congress is exceedingly clever in wrapping silver belts around every person and every group. They are putting a rosy picture of future career before the young *zamindars* and are preparing them to fight against the Muslim League.

Pant and Nehru are both delivering speeches in various towns but their speeches are rendering service to us and have produced the opposite effect.

Some of the students who are the relatives of canvassers in various constituencies would like to go and help their relatives. The question has arisen [as to] who should pay for their travelling expenses. I spoke to Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan about this matter but no decision has been arrived at. Mr. Lari, a member of the U.P. Parliamentary Board, is of the opinion that all expenses should be incurred by the League or otherwise [*sic* for else] should be paid by the candidates themselves. In my opinion the money collected by the University staff and students may be earmarked for this purpose. Some of the amount so far collected has already been sent to you. In case you approve [of] the idea, you may put this amount at the disposal of Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad, who is now in charge of the election office. He will spend the money with the approval of some senior member of the League. It does not look nice that we keep with us our own collections. The entire amount should be sent to you and you may give any amount you like for this purpose. I do not like to raise separate funds for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD
Vice-Chancellor

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Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/25

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
31 October 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

You might have heard about the fight between Khaksars and the Muslim League people at Cawnpore [now Kanpur]. The Khaksars were armed with *guptis* and swords and during the fight the order of *bizzan* was heard. Four persons were seriously injured by sword. Two have already died in the hospital leaving behind them widows and children and the condition of the third is very precarious. The nationalist papers published that Khaksars were killed. In fact they killed the Muslim Leaguers. It was alleged that Khaksars took this action in self-defence but the persons attacked were at a distance of one hundred yards. Such troubles will further arise elsewhere and this thing is encouraged and bribed by the Congress. It seems desirable that you may issue a statement that the Muslims should boycott the meetings convened for Khaksars and others. It is not desirable that they attend the meeting where they will have every opportunity to lose temper. I advised the students of the University to boycott the lecture of every person who is bribed and misleads the Musalmans. Let them shower abuses but such abuses will make the Muslim League more popular. These lecturers will be received only by Congress volunteers and the meeting will mostly be attended by non-Muslims. Resistance will not pay us. Quarrels are followed by criminal cases where the Congress definitely secure [*sic*] by bribing away the witnesses and employing skilled lawyers. A statement by you will be followed all over India.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD
Vice-Chancellor

PS. I have just heard that you have already issued a statement[1] to this effect.

[1]See No. 206, note 1.

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Abdullah Khan Nadvi to M. A. Jinnah
SHC, APMO/45

BAB-I-ALI, KHAKSAR H.Q.,
BHINDI BAZAAR,
BOMBAY,
31 October 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It has become almost transparently clear from the unhappy incidents which have attended the course of the meetings held by nationalist and progressive Muslims in connection with the election campaign throughout India, that the All India Muslim League have issued instructions to her provincial branches stressing the need of making it impossible for such meetings to be held and taking all conceivable steps to make them unsuccessful. It seems it is part of the League's election campaign to resort to such violent methods with a view to kill[ing] and mak[ing] absolutely ineffective and abortive any attempt to oppose the League. Permit me to say that the argument that these incidents arise, directly or indirectly, from the provocative abuse and invective which are flung at the League leaders by speakers at such meetings will not hold water. This Province, like others, has been invaded by this fratricidal mania and it appears that this city is likely to be a greater sinner in this respect because people regard Bombay as the central citadel of the League.

I should, in this connection, draw pointed attention to the ugly incidents of the 28th instant. Simultaneously with the attempt to rush the meeting at Madanpura, a crowd of two hundred Leaguers invaded the Khaksar Headquarters in Bhindi Bazaar, where only three Khaksars were on duty. The office was pelted with brickbats and stones and the men in charge of the office were threatened with death and annihilation unless the Khaksar flag was removed. The majority of these hirelings were drunk to the point of semi-consciousness, and were egged on by the Leaguers to destroy the office and murder the inmates mercilessly.

If the League high command knows of no such instructions having been issued, it is curious why a stolid and studious silence was so far maintained by you, and it may be pertinent to inquire what steps, if any, were taken by the Nawabzada to put a period [*sic*] to these ugly incidents so far as the Leaguers were concerned. In such circumstances, it becomes difficult to believe that the central office of the League was unaware of any instructions which had been circulated by the provincial branches; least of all could the high command, with any show of

reasonableness, divest itself of all responsibility in the matter.

It is doubtful if such tactics will succeed in silencing the Muslim nationalist and progressive forces in the country, but in any case, this aggressiveness will earn a bad name for the League and its executive.

I may venture to remark that your responsibility in this matter is growing every hour and the short statement[1] which has been published in your name falls far short of the requirements of the situation.

Our differences in political ideology notwithstanding, I believe you will readily concede that these unhappy incidents are making the gulf between the Leaguers and the non-Leaguers wider every day and I hope you will feel your responsibility fully and do your duty to the Muslims of India in helping to see the end of these untoward happenings.

In conclusion, I would request you kindly to express your views on the issues raised by me in this communication, in your reply. I shall expect your reply to reach me within three days, failing which I would feel justified in demanding such a reply publicly by releasing this letter to the press.

With regards,

I am,
Truly yours,
ABDULLAH KHAN NADVI
Hakim-i-Ala of Bombay Province, Khaksars

[1]See No. 206, note 1.

241

M. Z. Husain to M. A. Jinnah
F. 659/18

WAZIRGANJ,
LUCKNOW,
[*Undated*] *October 1945*

A public meeting of about 5,000 Shias of Lucknow, including majority of the delegates from all over India to the Shia All Parties Conference, was held at the Aminuddula Park on the evening of 16th October 1945. It unanimously passed the following resolution in support of the amendment to the main resolution of Shia All Parties Conference sent by Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Advocate, declared to be most comprehensive by the President of the Shia All Parties Conference.

> In view of the attitude of the Congress as evinced by the speeches of its leaders it is evident that Muslim interests are in danger. It is, therefore, resolved that all Shias, although persevering in their efforts to secure the rights of the Shias, should for the present fully support the Muslim League in the coming elections.

M. Z. HUSAIN

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Mohamed Baig & Shaukat Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/158-9

MADRAS,
1 November 1945

MEMORIAL

May it please your worship [*sic*],

We, the undersigned Muslim citizens and the Muslim Leaguers of Madras, beg to present as follows:

1. The present Parliamentary Board of the Madras Provincial Muslim League does not command any confidence of the Madras Muslim public for obvious reasons.

2. The majority of the members of the Parliamentary Board are not well-wishers of the Muslim League and they do not believe in Pakistan. This majority group—almost all of them—were, [till] as late as 1937, members of an alien [*sic*] group called the Progressive Party which [had] set up candidates and fought the general election in 1937 against the Muslim League candidates. They even connived with the Congress and instigated them to set up Muslim Congress candidates against Muslim Leaguers who had actually built up the Muslim League organisation in south India, and preserved it till now at a great cost of personal sacrifice.

3. The above-mentioned majority group has, by some back-door methods—methods at which they are adept—,usurped the main posts in the Provincial Muslim League and its Parliamentary Board with the main intention of gaining their selfish ends. Their selfish idea can be on two lines [*sic*]: To become ministers with the coalition of Congress or to work against and pull down the present flourishing Muslim League patriots and veterans. Quaid-i-Azam very well knows the rich Jamalian Group in Madras and their leanings towards the Congress. The members of that Jamalian Group, in connivance with the crooked and cunning Farooki Sahib, are now sitting at the helm of affairs in the Parliamentary Board, for the selection of candidates to the Madras Legislature. Their selection of candidates to the Central Assembly very well proves their mentality.

4. Thousands of rupees are being collected from the districts by these people of the majority group in the name of Jinnah Election Fund. We understand that not a rupee out of this amount has been sent to the Quaid-i-Azam. Their reply and argument for keeping this amount is that elections in the Madras Province have to be conducted with this money and that expenses for their tour and propaganda is [*sic*] required for them.

5. Selections so far made by this majority group of candidates for the Central Assembly, clearly indicates that they are either backward in mentality [*sic*] or they want to send such tools which will only obey to their dictates when necessary. Mr. Rahamatullah of Anantapur and Jamal Mohideen, the beloved son of Jamal Mohammad Sahib, are well-known for their bat [*sic*] between the birds and beasts policy. Quaid-i-Azam also knows Mr. Jamal Mohammad Sahib, the leader of the Jamalian Group, to be a *pucca* Congressite.

6. There is information to the effect that the Jamalian-cum-Farooki Group is selling tickets to the intending candidates of their group and those who first swear allegiance to this majority group in the Parliamentary Board. There are quislings ready to fulfil these conditions and are up to anything for fulfilling their only desire to be in the legislature and become ministers.

7. We, the Muslim public in Madras, fear that if this unholy group is allowed to make its own selection of candidates for the legislature, also the main purpose of the Muslim League and its creed of Pakistan, will fail; the beautiful moon of Pakistan will begin to fade; and then the Muslim India will plunge into darkness; and afterwards the creed of Pakistan, advocated by the Quaid-i-Azam, will be forgotten in the minority provinces.

8. The Muslim public of Madras fear that the Congress and other enemy organisations, who are bent upon crushing the Muslim League, will be sending their best and fighting men to the Madras Legislature, and if the Muslim League sends—as suspected—candidates who have no political experience or interest in the Muslim League and Pakistan creed, their fate will be doomed as they are a minority in this Province and the Congress will easily crush the Muslims under the feet of their political aspirations.

9. It is about this majority group, of whom the Madras Muslim citizens are afraid and in whom they have no confidence. It is, therefore, clear that the Muslim public (though they have confidence in the minority group, which is helpless) have no confidence in the Parliamentary Board.

We, therefore, request your honour to immediately take up this memorial into consideration and institute a thorough enquiry and we humbly request that a member from the high command may be deputed to go over to Madras and sit with the Parliamentary Board members and select such deserving Muslim League veterans who would be capable of upholding the cause of Pakistan and the minorities successfully in the legislature.

We remain,

Sir,

Ever your most obedient servants,

MOHAMED BAIG

B.A.

SHAUKAT HUSSAIN

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M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/100

2 November 1945

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of October 26th.[1] I have noted what you say with regard to your provincial fund and that you have started the collections. Please do keep me informed as to what is happening, and I do hope that nothing will come in the way of supporting the League candidates—doesn't matter who they are. After all, it is the Central Parliamentary Board that will decide finally and not your local board, in case of an appeal or appeals that may be filed, and after they have decided, the Musalmans must understand that thenceforward they must support the League candidate, even if he be a lamp-post in the opinion or judgment of any individual.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[M. A.] Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
Calcutta

[1]No. 225.

244

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/102

2 November 1945

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 26th.[1] As regards Fazlul Huq, I have nothing more to add. I have made our position clear repeatedly. The best course for him would be to follow the example of Begum Shah Nawaz.[2] There is nothing further to discuss.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[M. A.] Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5, Harington Street,
Calcutta

[1]No. 226.
[2]Begum Shah Nawaz had been disqualified from membership of the ML in 1941 for five years as a sequel to her joining the National Defence Council in contravention of the party line. She was reinstated after she had tendered her apology in October 1945. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 297-8 & 505-6, and IV, 260-1.

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Khalid Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/5-6

KHAKSAR LIBRARY,
CAMPBELLPUR,
2 November 1945

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to submit as follows:

A meeting of the City Muslim League was held on 25-10-45 in Chowk *Jam'e Masjid* at Campbellpur. In the meeting, Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar spoke that they have made the Pakistan scheme. If anybody puts [*sic*] a scheme better than Pakistan they are ready to co-operate with him.

We have the honour to request Mr. Nishtar that so many parties are opposing the Pakistan scheme in the country. Here we have a Khaksar *Aaeen*. In this you will find your Pakistan, the Hindus have *Akhand* Hindustan, and it is the only solution for betterment of the country. Nobody has opposed this scheme till now. The masses have agreed to it. The better scheme is that to which the masses agree. Therefore, there is no better scheme than this *Aaeen*.

May I ask here please? Why you Leaguers make noise and disturb the Khaksar meetings? They quarrel and even attack Khaksars with knives. And one you are [*sic*] the leader of the Party, that you even do not utter a word of sorrow [*sic*] against them or forbid them.

Yours faithfully,
KHALID MOHAMMAD
A Khaksar

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Yusuf Abdoola Haroon to G. M. Sayed
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 274/283-4

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
3 November 1945

My dear Shah Sahib,

You have not yet acknowledged my previous letter dated 16th

October 1945,[1] which I had sent you from my Camp at Hyderabad, Sind, requesting you to assume full responsibility for my election campaign for the Indian Legislative Assembly from the Sind Constituency, for which I have been adopted as the official Muslim League candidate by the Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League. I had sent a copy of that letter of mine to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Chairman of the Parliamentary Board.

By now, you are aware that Mr. Ali Mahomed Rashdi, a prominent member and office-bearer of the Sind Provincial Muslim League of which you are the President, has openly violated his own pledge and promise and, in defiance of the constituted authority of the Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League, has also filed his nomination paper which was proposed by Mr. Ghulam Rasul Khan Bhurgri, another important member of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, and has stood as a candidate against me in the same selection, although Mr. Rashdi's application for the Muslim League ticket had been rejected and he was honour bound to support my candidature and withdraw himself from the contest.

As President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, you will realize that it is your duty to have disciplinary step taken immediately against Mr. Rashdi and your first and foremost duty is that you should make a clear public announcement in most emphatic terms that you disown Mr. Ali Mahomed Rashdi and you must sincerely and wholeheartedly support me in my election campaign against the rebel Leaguer, Mr. Ali Mahomed Rashdi.

I hope you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter and also my previous letter of 16th October 1945 in this connection, and send me your full assurance of disowning Mr. Rashdi and supporting my candidature.

I am sending copies of this letter both to the President and the General Secretary of the All India Muslim League for their information and such action as they may deem necessary to take.

Your sincerely,
YUSUF A. HAROON

G. M. Sayed, Esq.,
President, Sind Provincial Muslim League,
Karachi

[1]Not traceable.

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Quazi Najmul Huq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/178

159 PARK STREET,
CALCUTTA,
3 November 1945

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

My *Shaheed Nazir* is dedicated to you. Late lamented Nazir Ahmad, a fifth year student of the University of Dacca, the founder-editor of the *Pakistan,* a great Leaguer, was stabbed to death by his fellow Hindu students at the University gate. In a word, he was the cream of the Muslim students there. He lived a hero and died a hero. This small compilation[1] is for his commemoration.

With respectful regards,

Yours affectionately,
QUAZI NAJMUL HUQ
Joint Secretary,
All Bengal Muslim Students' League

[1]Not traceable.

248

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/4

SEAFIELD ROAD, KARACHI,
4 November 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very sorry to add to your troubles, but I really cannot help it.

The Sayeds, and even some of our League members, are working, and putting up candidates, against those who have got the League ticket. I can stand this opposition myself, but others may not be able to.

Mr. Yusuf Haroon, whether intentionally or otherwise, told the Enforcement Officer, who is a Parsi gentleman of the rank of D.S.P., in the presence of a Muslim I.C.S. officer, that I have been ordered to get Khan Bahadur Ghulam Akbar, D.S.P., Sukkur, transferred from there within 10 days; and that information has been conveyed to the highest authority in Sind.

I have clear proof that Mr. Yusuf Haroon has done this, and he may have acted in this way to put me in the wrong box either with you or

with the authorities here.

You will, therefore, have to take the quickest possible decisions now about the tickets,[1] etc., before things get any worse.

Hoping you are both doing very well, and I close with our united regards to both of you,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]See No. 268.

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M. G. Sindhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1011/95-6

RAJKOT,
KATHIAWAR,
5 November 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

My request with compliments is as under:

We are publishing from here a Muslim fortnightly paper *Jagriti* since [*sic*] nine years.

I am sending you, herewith, the last issue thereof. It is published in accordance with the objects of the Muslim League, and preference is given to the independence cry of Muslims and the rights and interests of the Muslim subjects in Indian States.

Jagriti has adopted the principle of yours, viz. 'Live and let live', which is given first place in the paper. Only one such paper of all-Kathiawar expects your message and sympathy, and I request you to convey it through this paper.

You are well aware of the condition of our Muslim papers. In Kathiawar, there is more prevalence of Congress-minded papers than Muslim papers. Owing to this, many Muslim papers were published from Kathiawar and did not thrive well [*sic*].

Jagriti is the only paper which sacrificed own interests and continued publication since [*sic*] nine years. *Jagriti* has adopted the objects of movement of the All India Muslim League and the object of obtaining [*sic*] Pakistan in Muslim subjects [*sic*].

Yours faithfully,
M. G. SINDHI
Editor, Jagriti

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Allah Wasaya & Qureshi-ul-Hashmi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/38-9

MOHALLA KAGHAZKUT,
HARAM GATE,
MULTAN,
6 November 1945

Sir,

We, the residents of Multan City, beg to draw your kind attention to the following facts:

That in the meetings of Ahrars and Khaksars, held here from time to time, it is publicly declared that Muslim League is the mixture of the capitalists, *Khan Bahadurs* and *Nawabs*. Please consider for a moment to what class of people does Sayyed Zain-ul-Abdin Shah, President, Muslim League, Multan belong. Is he not the first person who carried the message of Muslim League to every corner of Multan impressing [upon] everyone, big and small, old and young, with the integrity of Muslim League? But because of his poverty he is being deprived of his right of standing on the ticket of Muslim League [on the one hand] and, on the other hand, one Mohammad Amin, a wealthy man no doubt, [is being] given preference. What is, then, the situation? The opposite [*sic*] parties, taking advantage of this golden opportunity, are cultivating hatred in the hearts of those who once cherished great respect for Sayyed Zain-ul-Abdin Shah.

We do not think it out of place to mention here that on the temporary success of Khan Sahib Mohammad Amin, a Hindu-Muslim riot had broken out in Multan City. A deputation from the Muslims of Multan City had reached him [*sic*] at Lahore and urged the Khan Bahadur to redress their grievances, by raising a voice in the Assembly, against the Hindus, who were under no reason [*sic*], bent upon making open opposition and mischief with [*sic*] the Muslims of Multan City. Though, the said Khan Bahadur satisfied the deputation at that time with an early action, by raising a voice in the Assembly, yet does any newspaper bear testimony to any question moved by him in the Assembly, during such a long time as seven years? How regrettable it is that the Khan Bahadur, who had been elected from urban Muslim area of Multan, did not ever show any sympathy in favour of them!

Yet we may mention one of his other examples of faithlessness and unsympathy [*sic*] towards the Muslims of Multan City. When on

the occasion of taking out a procession in the memory of Hazrat Ali *Karamallahu Wajhu* on the 15th of November 1938, the police charged [*sic*] the processionists with a severe *lathi* charge, did Khan Bahadur Mohammad Amin Sahib afterwards resent the cruel policy of the Government or raise any question in the Assembly to redress the grievances of the poor Muslims of Multan City? It was Lala Munshi Hari Lal only who, being moved by the misery of the poor Muslims, raised a voice against such a despotic policy of the Government. But Khan Bahadur remained unconcerned.

Under the circumstances, we pray you to make full introspection [*sic*] with regard to the working and unworking [*sic*] of a man, while supporting a candidate on the ticket of Muslim League.

Hoping [for] a favourable consideration,

ALLAH WASAYA
QURESHI-UL-HASHMI

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Hassan Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/62

PERSONAL

3 SUHRAWARDY AVENUE,
PARK CIRCUS EAST,
CALCUTTA,
7 November 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am taking the liberty of writing this letter to you as I feel that it is necessary to do one's best to bring about solidarity amongst Muslims and present a united front to our opponents.

I understand Mr. Ispahani[1] and Maulana Akrum Khan have already written to you regarding their efforts to bring Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq back to our fold. On account of my personal relations I approached him soon after my return to Calcutta. He has definitely assured me that it is not his intention to take part in any party elections against the Muslim League. He will welcome coming back to the Muslim League without losing dignity and prestige.

I feel that as the Muslim League is in a very strong position and has grown from strength to strength, it can afford to give the last opportunity to those who are still sitting on the fence to decide and act quickly. With this object, is it possible for you to consider the suggestion of making a declaration, something like the following?

The Muslim League invites every Muslim to join its ranks and present

a united front in the coming elections. No one is banned, and it is open to any one to declare his intention to sincerely serve the cause of Muslims and sign the creed of the Muslim League.

A general amnesty like the above without mention of any name will enable Mr. Fazlul Huq and many others to join our fold without losing face. This declaration may have the same effect as happened after the conquest of Mecca [Makkah] by our Prophet [PBUH].

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN SUHRAWARDY

[1]See No. 226,

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Kanji Dwarkadas to M.A. Jinnah

F. 508/3

ALTAMONT ROAD,
CUMBALLA HILL,
BOMBAY,
7 November 1945

My dear Jinnah,

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to the [*Bombay*] *Chronicle* which I handed over personally to [S.A.] Brelvi[1] this afternoon. He has promised to publish it at an early date.

I do not think you have seen my pamphlet *Housing Indian Labour*. Here is a copy.[2]

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
KANJI DWARKADAS

[1]Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, a weekly magazine.
[2]See F.508/6-25, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 252
Kanji Dwarkadas to S. A. Brelvi

F. 508/4-5

7 November 1945

Sir,

Will you please let me correct a misstatement which appeared in Birbal's notes in the *Chronicle* of 3rd November. He says that about two decades ago Mr. Hooseinbhoy Lalljee, who was contesting the

election for the Muslim seat from the City for the Central Legislative Assembly, withdrew in favour of Mr. Jinnah in spite of the fact that he was winning the election. This is not true. These are the facts: There were three candidates—Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Salebhoy Barodawalla, and Mr. Hooseinbhoy Lalljee. By ten in the morning there was no doubt as to what the result would be; for every ten votes that Mr. Jinnah was getting, the other two candidates were hardly getting four. Before mid-day, Mr. Barodawalla approached Mr. Jinnah and suggested that Mr. Jinnah should request him to withdraw, as then it would make it easy for him to withdraw. Mr. Jinnah very politely said that it was not for him to ask him to withdraw and he did not mind his carrying on the fight till the end of the day. Within half an hour Mr. Barodawalla withdrew. A little later Mr. Hooseinbhoy Lalljee, who realised that Mr. Jinnah was scoring heavily, approached him with a request that he might be asked to withdraw. Mr. Jinnah told him to carry on and he would not ask him to withdraw. Votes were recorded right till late in the afternoon and Mr. Jinnah had a thumping majority against the two other candidates.

The name Birbal connotes a sense of humour and sense of proportion, an objective observer's point of view and fair-mindedness. I am afraid in the midst of the unfortunate political controversies of the day in India, Birbal is unfair to the name he has adopted. As it is, there are enough dissensions and personal bickerings in the country. Is it right to make them worse by making statements which are not true? Surely Birbal could check up and verify his information.

Yours etc.,
KANJI DWARKADAS

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Asgar Hussain Rizvi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/47-54

BOMBAY,
8 November 1945

Dear *Janab,*

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am really sorry to deprive you of some of your valuable time and bring to your kind notice the following facts about the disheartening state of affairs prevailing in the Bombay Provincial Muslim League:

I have carefully studied and concluded that the Provincial Muslim League of Bombay is dominated by persons, many of whom care and

do little for the fulfilment of the League cause. It is true that some selfish and undesirable persons do take hold of organizations in their initial stage of development, but it is high time that the intelligentsia among the Muslims, especially the Muslim students, should be actually trained in the type of work they are best suited to do.

I know by experience that many so-called bosses in the Bombay Muslim League office systematically try to keep Muslim students away from the League office, perhaps with [*sic*] a fear that their own inaction may stand exposed before the enthusiasm and fervour of the Muslim students. Sir, Muslim students of the whole [*sic*] provincial centres of education are solidly behind the Muslim League, nearly to a head [*sic*]. About fifty students' unions have been organised in this Province by the Bombay Provincial Muslim Students' Federation. They have worked tirelessly for the League Election Fund and for the enrolment of new voters in their own jurisdiction.

Now the question is what next? We know that three hundred students from Lahore, two hundred and fifty from Allahabad, three hundred from Lucknow, and hundreds of others from different educational centres of India have left their cities and gone to the countryside to propagate the League cause and to explain the significance of the coming elections to Muslim villagers. It is much regretted that the arm-chair leaders in the Bombay League office have not realised the importance of training and sending Muslim students of the City. This must be remedied before it is very late. Federation will no doubt send its workers to the countryside with its own limited resources. Primarily, the Bombay League must take up the matter into their hand and seek the help of an organised body like the Federation. You may well refer in this connection to Messrs. Matlubul Hassan, Sayyed Zain-ul-Abedin Noorani, M. A. Khatri, Gulam Hussain S. Maniar, or any other worker of the Bombay District Muslim Students' Federation.

I am pained to see that some leaders of the Bombay League are giving a wrong picture of the real political conditions of Bombay and around. Excuse my frankness when I say that I have found, by my experience, a number of them having made money by misusing their position in the League during the war. Some of them carried the secrets from the League office to our opponents. You will see in the near future that one or two of our ex-MLAs who expect to get League tickets will openly betray our organization. Two members of the Working Committee of Bombay Provincial Muslim League were moving with the letters of resignation from the League at the critical time of the Simla Conference because of their fear of being arrested on account of your stern attitude with [*sic*] the Govt. then. Two prominent League leaders of Bombay had even attended a reception meeting called by the Congressmen in honour of Mr. Salehbhai Abdul Kadar, the

nationalist Municipal Councillor of Bombay. Sir, you will hardly believe that one of the Joint Secretaries of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League has been accepting 20% commission from a concern for installing defective and an insufficient number of microphones in the League meetings. Muslim public attend these meetings after coming from far-off distances like Madanpur, Lalbag, Colaba. But thousands of Muslims go back disappointed because of lack of proper arrangements in our meetings. Some of our leaders are giving you false hopes about the strength of the Muslim League among Bohris, Khojas, etc. It is true that many of them by themselves are pro-League and will vote for our candidates, if properly approached by the right persons at the right time. Sir, the Muslim students of Bombay are simply disgusted by such facts as above. However, they know that they must work on for the League cause even without the guidance and patronage of such leaders. Most of the boys prosecute their studies with financial difficulties. But they are sincere and will make a great force for the fighting for the cause of Muslim League if wielded properly.

Some of our leaders have been working with the opponents, like Nurie and Hooseinbhoy Lalljee. One of them is to receive rupees fifty thousand from the former and wishes to leave election for another (nationalist) at the cost of Muslim League, from the area where Mr. Nurie wants to oppose our leader from the dockyard workers. I am afraid in saying that no one is taking steps against such *ghaddari* to Muslim cause. I agree with you in saying that most intelligent and those who know the real politics will be sent to the Assemblies. If our leaders without prejudice do act accordingly, everyone in this Province will no doubt appreciate their leadership. Can Mr. Haji Noor Mohammad, Vice-President of the Bombay Muslim League, Sir Dehlvi and others, who are not legible [*sic*], get League ticket? No, they cannot get League tickets because of their selfishness, and they do nothing for the poor Muslims of India but feed themselves. Sir, there are numerous facts as above. I shall believe that no organization is without corruption. Here in Bombay [there] is such a kind of corruption that hinders the progress of poor Muslims. One of our leaders is certainly hampering the cause of the League.

Really, I am sorry for having taken much of your precious time. I assure you, Sir, that we shall right the wrongs and shall not allow the fair name of the League to be blotted by the misdoings of some of the selfish black sheep amidst us.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Yours ever obedient,
ASGAR HUSSAIN RIZVI

254

Ali M. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC I/62

4 JAMAICA STREET,
EDINBURGH,
SCOTLAND,
8 November 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have the honour and pleasure to report that the annual session of Muslim League Branch, Great Britain, took place on 4th instant in Edinburgh. Delegates of seven sub-branches (including London and Edinburgh) participated in it. The session was a great success. I was elected unanimously as President, Muslim League Branch, Great Britain. The following office-bearers of the League were also unanimously elected:

Honorary Secretary	Mr. S.Z. Ahmad
Treasurer	Mr. Fazal Mohammad
Joint Secretaries	Mr.Said-ur-Rahman and
	Mr. Kamal Rahim Chaudhry

Mr. Z. A. Suleri came to cover the League session and became a member of the District Muslim League, Edinburgh. We were very much interested and inspired to hear from him about you and your great work.

It was in our programme to start an English fortnightly pamphlet, *Pakistan*. Mr. Suleri's arrival has strengthened my hands and I hope that this branch of the All India Muslim League will be able to perform good service to Islam. Mr. Suleri will be the Editor of *Pakistan*.

Full report of the annual session will be published in *Pakistan* which is to be issued on 14th instant and which will be sent to you by air. The affiliation papers will be forwarded by the end of this month.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours respectfully,
ALI M. KHAN

PS. A copy of the resolutions passed at the annual session is attached herewith.

Enclosure to No. 254

SHC, FC I/63

RESOLUTION NO. 1

This first annual session of the Muslim League Branch, Great Britain, endorses the Pakistan demand of the Indian Musalmans as embodied in the Lahore Resolution 1940 of the All India Muslim League, and is of the emphatic opinion that the acceptance of the right of self-determination for Musalmans is the only solution of the Indian problem inasmuch as the hundred million Musalmans are fundamentally a different nation from Hindus and will never accept the Hindu domination in India, which is bound to result from any scheme of constitution envisaging a single united centre for India.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

This first annual session of Muslim League Branch, Great Britain, demands that in order to ensure fair and free elections in the Punjab, the Governor of that Province, H.E.[Bertrand] Glancy, be recalled as his administration is persistently interfering with the holding of free elections and stands definitely committed to support[ing] the present reactionary Unionist Party. This would be the only step which would prove the sincerity of the assurances given by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Viceroy of India, for free elections and for which purpose the ban on All India Congress was removed.

This annual session sends a message of cheer to our brothers in the Punjab who are carrying the work of Islam in the tooth [*sic*] of opposition which they are meeting at the hands of the reactionary administration and those of the lost souls who have sold themselves for selfish motives.

RESOLUTION NO. 3

This first annual session of Muslim League Branch, Great Britain, demands that the pledges given to the Palestine Arabs for the cessation of immigration of Jews in the Holy Land by the middle of 1946 be forthwith fulfilled; in case the world jewry is permitted to influence the decision of H.M. Government, the entire Muslim world's opinion will be on the side of the Muslim brothers of Palestine.

RESOLUTION NO. 4

This first annual session of Muslim League Branch, Great Britain, fully sympathises with the aspirations of Indonesians and their struggle for freedom and hopes that the British Government will not, in any way, interfere to frustrate the legitimate struggle of the Indonesians, on behalf of Dutch imperialism.

RESOLUTION NO. 5

This first annual session of Muslim League Branch, Great Britain, resolves to celebrate the 69th birthday of our beloved leader Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah during the last week of December 1945 throughout Great Britain to express the deep gratitude Musalmans owe to him for the renaissance he has brought about amongst them in the last decade, and pray to Almighty *Allah* to grant him many a happy return of this day to see the consummation of his struggle for the achievement of Pakistan.

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/55
[Original in Urdu]
8 November 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

You are aware that these days trials of some Indian National Army personnel are being held and all the prominent barristers of India are pleading their cases.

You would realize that in these trials there is no question of Hindu and Muslim but it is a matter of concern for the Indians as a whole. It is, therefore, essential that you should also participate in pleading for INA, and you are requested to do so to enable us to hold our head high before the non-Muslims.

At your service,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

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S. Q. Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/61-2

GAYA,
8 November 1945

Exalted Quaid-i-Azam,

You are the only hope of Muslim India. Now the time is ripe to declare your unequivocal policy on the question of INA [Indian National Army]. In my humble opinion, "hands off the defence of INA" will be the right policy of the Muslim League. Pandit Nehru and company are busy in trumpeting Congress activities of 1942 as their right policy. It

was suicidal and will be suicidal again if attempted without the half of Muslim India [*sic*]. In their very heart of hearts they know it. They were on the lookout for any issue where Hindus and Muslims might stand together. Their searching eyes have found out in INA a common cause. In taking up INA's case in right earnest they are playing a vehement [*sic*] trick to make it an issue for joint Hindu-Muslim revolution. If Muslim League will not be vigilant, Muslim mass[es] may be bullied and the whole rock of Pakistan will crumble in a moment. Why our sympathy for INA? They were the armed force of the Congress to achieve the aim of *Akhand* Hindustan with the help of Japanese bayonets. Of course there is no harm in sympathy for individual cases on the ground of blood relations etc. of [the] Punjab Muslims with INA officers. Punjab Muslims may sympathise with them individually but AIML can never sympathise with them. They may be considered as an armed enemy of Muslim League and Pakistan.

Busy as you are, I have expressed my views in short words. I hope you will appreciate it.

Ever ready to obey your orders,

Yours obediently,
S. Q. QADRI
M.B.B.S.

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Abdullah Jan Aseer to M. A. Jinnah

F. 906/123
[*Original in Urdu*]

ZAIDA, SWABI,
NWFP,
8 November 1945

Exalted Quaid-i-Azam of the Indian Muslims,
May your glory last for ever,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Although I will be guilty of wasting a few minutes of your most precious time but this suggestion would secure about forty-two thousand votes for Muslim League.

Moulvi Habibur Rahman, the President of Provincial Teachers Association, has been suspended by the Congress Govt. w.e.f. 13 October 1945, for indulging in Muslim League propaganda. Similar action is contemplated against several other teachers.

There are six thousand teachers in NWFP, each one of whom is a voter. In addition, each teacher controls about six votes. We have collected these statistics from the entire province. By suspending the teachers the Govt. has set us free for service to Muslim League. We shall not rest till we secure all the votes for Muslim League.

A Muslim League conference is being held at Peshawar in which your kind participation is expected. You are requested to say a few encouraging words regarding NWFP teachers in your speech which will be very helpful in our work. If you send a message complimenting the teachers it will also be of great help.

We assure you that we are ready to sacrifice our jobs for Muslim League.

Respectfully, at your service,
ABDULLAH JAN ASEER
Secretary, Provincial Teachers Association

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President, Indonesian Seamen Union, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 944/1

CHANGSHA HOTEL,
SASSOON DOCK,
COLLABA, BOMBAY,
8 November 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the Indonesian sailors in Bombay, have gone on strike in order to assist the fight for freedom in Indonesia. We believe that our cause is also India's cause, as the lot of the subjugated races, all over the world, is the same. All India Muslim League showed its sympathy towards Indonesia by passing resolutions of protest in meetings. We appreciate this and, therefore, we request you, in the interest of our common struggle against imperialist system, to give Indonesia effective help which will force the British Empire to desist from armed intervention in Indonesia.

We also request you to call a day's protest strike throughout India, to protest against the use of Indian troops and seamen, to protest against the British intervention, and to sympathise with Indonesia's struggle for India. Such a one-day strike will be a step forward in the direction of helping Indonesia in her life-and-death struggle against imperialism.

Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

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M. A. Jalil Khatkhate to M. A. Jinnah

F. 662/23-4

MOMINPURA,
NAGPUR,
8 November 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

A very important fact is to be explained to you that, in C.P. & Berar, a large majority of Momin weavers are inhabited [*sic*], specially in Nagpur, Jubbulpore and Burhanpur. These Momin weavers are faithful and loyal to the Muslim League and with their every help, all the schemes of Muslim League have been successfully taken into task [*sic*]. You know that Vidyamandir Scheme, Wardha Scheme, Congress period, etc., were faced [*sic*] with the help of Momin weavers only. In Central Election Fund they are taking much interest and sending the amount.

Now the provincial election work has been started by the C.P. Muslim League authorities. There is no hope that the Parliamentary Board may select candidates from this community though they sacrificed so much for the League, and All India Muslim League is shining throughout India due to this Province. The Momin weavers are very anxious that their candidates for the C.P. Provincial Assembly be selected by the League authorities from Nagpur, Jubbulpore and Burhanpur, i.e. three seats out of fourteen seats.

It is a time of importance for the Muslim League high authorities to interfere in the provincial selection of the candidates so that this community may not be disappointed. The Congress and the nationalist Muslims are misleading this community indirectly by raising the said points [*sic*] against the Muslim League and as most of the inhabitants are ignorant in this community I am afraid that if the candidates in majority areas of this community are not selected, a rebellion will be raised [*sic*] at the very time which will be very difficult for the League authorities to control.

I, therefore, earnestly request you to kindly direct the Provincial League authorities of C.P. & Berar to select the candidates of this community of those persons who are Leaguers and inform me about the disposal of this application for which I shall ever remain grateful to you.

M. A. JALIL KHATKHATE
Joint Secretary, Jami'at-ul Momineen

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/180-1

MADRAS,
9 November 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Nearly seventy per cent of the Muslims look upon you as their leader. But you are not following the right path.

The Hindus are incapable of driving the English out of India. But with the help of the Muslims they can drive the British out of India. As soon as the British imperialism is routed from this country by the joint struggle of Hindus and Muslims, then if Hindus and Muslims fail to come to a fair agreement, let another fight occur between the Muslims and Hindus. In that fight the Muslims would surely win as they are morally and physically stronger than the Hindus. Then the Muslims could rule India like the great Akbar. So I request you to come to a compromise with Gandhi and drive the British out of India.

If India becomes free she can help the Arab nations who are fighting to free Palestine from the Anglo-Jewish tyranny. So I request you to help the Congress in their freedom struggle. Our country is greater than our religion. *Allah* did not teach us to fight the Hindus. According to His teachings we should consider everybody as our equal and brother. The Hindus, in general, are very peace-loving people. Even if the Congress comes to power they can't suppress a warlike minority like the Muslims. We are not Arabs by birth but we are Indians converted to Islam. So we are not a separate nation. The Muslims in Hindu majority areas are very little [*sic*] when compared to the Hindus in Muslim majority areas. Therefore, it is very harmful to the Muslims who are living in the so-called Hindustan. As a Muslim you should not try to divide the Muslims. So I request you to cast off your silly notion and help India in achieving her independence.

Long live India!
Long live Islam!

A MUSLIM STUDENT

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A. M. Abdul Wahab to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/170

ALANGIEM MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DHARAPURAM,
10 November 1945

Allaho Akbar

Respected Sir,

We have great pleasure in informing you that we have decided to open a reading room shortly called Jinnah Hall at Alangiem, a small agricultural village, near Dharapuram in Coimbatore District. The above Hall has been constructed from the donations received from the poor Muslims of the above village and it has been decided to call it Jinnah Hall.

We are fully aware that it is impossible for you to be present during the function in view of the great distance. We, therefore, take the privilege of requesting you to be kind enough to at least send us your heartfelt blessings wishing the function all success, which will be read to the audience on the inauguration day.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
A. M. ABDUL WAHAB

262

K. Y. Chandrachood to M. A. Jinnah

F. 926/170-3

NEWASA,
AHMEDNAGAR,
10 November 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is a very personal letter. This is not a letter from one politician to another. This is a letter from a Hindu to a Musalman. This is a very very personal letter.

It is not possible that, if one will differ from you and will not agree with you, you will always be right and the other side will always be

wrong. I am to expect you to be a true patriot and a true statesman, and, therefore, I want you to be ever ready and willing to appreciate the opposite point of view. This being my expectation from you, I am daring to write to you.

I accept the proposition that the Indian Muslims are a nation and they are alone entitled to exercise the right to self-determination which is their birthright.

In the modern times, the words [like] absolute independence and unfettered opportunity to determine one's own future are merely mouth-filling words. No nation can be absolutely free and can have an unfettered opportunity to determine its own future. The nations are depending upon each other. Mutual sweet-will is the only thing which can make life more and more softer [*sic*] and easier.

You are a nation. You want to have what is your own. But you cannot be a party only to take and not to give. You must be a party to take and to give.

You must come to terms with the Hindus or with the British Government. To fight on two fronts, at the same time, is dangerous in the extreme. It is not possible that the Hindus or the British Govt. will come to terms with you if you continue to be a party only to take.

I am your sincere well-wisher. The more you will continue to be unapproachable the more it will deepen ill-will and bitterness. If you will not pay due attention to what I say, I shall have to enter into discussions with other Muslim leaders through the medium of correspondence. The Muslim masses should not be kept in ignorance but should know how greatly it deepens ill-will and bitterness. Do not compel me, I pray, this bad game of the balance of power [*sic*].

If you are ready to come to terms with Hindus or with the British on the basis of give and take, I shall let you know in what honorific [*sic*] way this principle can be worked out by the contracting parties.

My hoary friend, I hope you will fully accept the personal character of this letter and will welcome its frankness.

May I expect a prompt reply?

I am,
With respects and regards,
Yours sincerely,
K. Y. CHANDRACHOOD

263

Y. E. Moledina to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/66

MOLEDINA HOUSE,
144 SAMUEL STREET,
BOMBAY 9,
10 November 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am not ordinarily used to indulging in any controversy, much less in self-glorification. But I am constrained to pen a few words lest there be any misunderstanding, as I have heard, some people are trying to create.

I was surprised to know of late that there are wheels within wheels working under the smooth working of our organisation. One is really pained to learn that the betterment of the nation counts for nothing with these men.

As for me, you very well know, I have all along faced hard blows and have consistently [*sic*] remained unswervingly unshakable—not caring for any post or position—always loyal to the cause.

Since the last elections of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, things have completely changed—there is life in political activities of Bombay as was never witnessed before. There is all-round activity and all complaints as to the inactivity of the League are set at rest. Although I admit we have not gone far enough, none can deny that an excellent beginning has been made.

I do not take the whole credit for myself; but my being in office has certainly infused new life into the organisation. I am accused of being too lenient. Yes, I am lenient. But, may I ask if my leniency has done any harm to our cause? On the contrary, I dare say, my leniency or sociable manners and unautocratic behaviour towards all workers has greatly helped to carry on the work more smoothly and in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill as was never witnessed before.

If this is my crime, I plead guilty.

Yours sincerely,
Y. E. MOLEDINA

264

Mueenuddin Ahmad Faridi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 668/1-3
[Original in Urdu]

RAJABPUR,
MORADABAD,
10 November 1945

Honour of the nation, respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

Ever since the Indian Govt. has made an announcement about elections, a lot of activity has started in the political circles.

Every community is making concerted efforts but, unfortunately, the Muslim nation is divided amongst many parties, most of whom claim to represent the Muslims.

There is no doubt that sympathy of most of the Muslims is with Muslim League and, God willing, it will prove itself to be the sole representative of Muslims. Although the popularity of the Muslim League is heartening, the opposition to it by other Muslim parties is regrettable.

Is it not possible for you to buy off these so-called parties in the same way as our enemies have bought them with money?

It is not for a humble person like me but for a statesman like you to consider this problem and come to an appropriate decision. Hopefully, these people will come over to our side with a little effort. This will do away with all opposition and the path to our objective will become unhindered.

This is the humble suggestion of a recluse. No doubt you have access to better avenues for the betterment of our nation.

Servant of the nation,
MUEEN FARIDI
Sajjada Nasheen, Shrine of Baba Faridi Sabri

265

M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad

SHC, Hyderabad II/15

10 November 1945

Your Exalted Highness,

As I understand, the question of your Prime Minister is being considered by you and, from the press reports, I gather that Sir Mirza Mohamed Ismail's

name is mentioned. I thought it my duty to send you a copy of the correspondence that have [*sic*] taken place between him and me in 1941,[1] in order to impress upon you what his mentality and character is. As your friend I feel that his appointment will be detrimental not only to the interests of the Musalmans of Hyderabad but even to yourself as a ruler. However, it is for you to decide what you should do, but I consider it my duty to draw your attention.

The originals are with me and they can be sent to you any day if you so desire.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad,
Deccan

[1]Not traceable. However, see *SHC*, Hyderabad II/2.

266

M. A. Jinnah to W. H. P. Gardiner

F. 494/33-4

BOMBAY,
11 November 1945

Dear Major Gardiner,

I am in receipt of your air mail letter dated October 11th,[1] but as I was touring, it only reached me a few days ago, and therefore I hope that you will excuse me for the delay in replying.

I am glad that you are in agreement with me, as you have been ever since we met in Karachi in 1941, and you know what Muslim India stands for to-day more firmly and determinedly than ever, and that is Pakistan. I think the British politicians and statesmen know and understand the Muslim case thoroughly, including the prominent members of His Majesty's present Government, because some of the leading men were in the national Government of Great Britain during the period of the war. The only solution to India's problem is a division of it into Pakistan and Hindustan, and I am sure that the present Secretary of State for India is fully alive to the situation, and so is the Premier, Mr. Attlee. If you can, as you say, convert others to our views, the sooner the British Government make up their mind definitely the better it would be for all concerned. The Congress demand, on the face of it, is untenable, for they want to rule the whole of India as the sole heir and successor to the British *raj* and expect the

British to force a constitution upon a hundred million Musalmans, which will mean for us a transfer from the British *raj* to the Hindu imperialistic *raj*. If such a catastrophe is brought about, the Hindu majority Government will have to be protected by the British bayonets, as the Musalmans will never accept it. I am writing this to you as you have been so fully in agreement with us since 1941, and I am glad that you say that you adhere to that position. But I don't think that any useful purpose will be served by associating myself with your suggestions. Of course, I know Mr. Pethick-Lawrence very well, but this matter cannot be really discussed by me by means of correspondence, specially when I am sure that he as the Secretary of State for India and the members of His Majesty's Government and the British politicians and statesmen are fully acquainted with the problem and know what Muslim India demands. I thank you for the great interest you have evinced in our cause.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Major W. H. P. Gardiner,
Rustock, Droitwich,
England

[1]Not traceable.

267

Syed Fazal Shah to M. A. Jinnah
F. 830/171

SHAHJEHAN PALACE HOTEL,
FORT, BOMBAY,
11 November 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

I take the liberty of impressing on you the urgent necessity of publicly censuring the British policy in Indonesia. When Europeans are helping each other in their nefarious designs, there is no earthly reason why we should lag behind in supporting the just cause of our brethren in faith in the neighbouring countries. I am sure you would kindly fix an early date to enable Muslim India to demonstrate its sympathy towards the Indonesian cause.

Yours truly,
SYED FAZAL SHAH
President,
Primary Muslim League No. 3

268

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

SHC, Sind VII/5

11 November 1945

Dear Sir Ghulam Hussain,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 4th,[1] and I have noted what you say. Whatever Mr. Yusuf Haroon may have done, that cannot decide the question of merit. You know the fact that emerged in the course of our discussion was, and it was even admitted by you, that the officer in question is closely connected with Mr. Moula Bakhsh and has been under an obligation to him and his family for a very long time now, and even to-day Moula Bakhsh is his patron. It is human nature that the officer so placed would, to put it mildly, find it very difficult and would be greatly embarrassed, and even though he may act fairly, he will remain a suspect and will be distrusted. It is therefore in the interest of everybody, including the officer concerned, that he should be put in this difficult position, and you agreed that on the whole it would be better to put somebody else in the district in the place of Khan Bahadur Ghulam Akbar. This is apart from any other allegations that have been made against him. This matter therefore cannot be decided one way or the other because Mr. Yusuf Haroon may have said things either merely in bravado or to put you in the wrong. You must do the right thing as the Premier of Sind, and not be carried away by such unfortunate incident as that of Mr. Yusuf Haroon, as described by you. As regards taking decisions about the tickets etc. it is for the Parliamentary Board to do so, and I find from newspaper reports that they are fully alive to the situation.

With very kind regards to you all, and let me take this opportunity of thanking you for your hospitality during my visit to Karachi.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Seafield Road,
Karachi

[1]No. 248.

269

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/42

11 November 1945

Dear Mr. Ahmed Ispahani,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 24th,[1] and I thank you for it. Mr. Karim delivered the letter to me, as it was intended to introduce him to me, and I had a talk with him, and probably he will report to you the result of our discussion.

Thank you very much, I am much better now. As regards my coming to Bengal, it is very difficult for me just now to commit myself to anything. This is the time for all of us to work individually and collectively, and face the issue which is confronting us in the course of the forthcoming elections and get a thumping verdict in our favour. I hope that everybody will rise above personal and petty considerations and maintain complete solidarity and unity at any cost, and particularly amongst the leading Leaguers and the Musalmans in general. The vital issue is Pakistan. It is not a question of who gets the ticket and who does not, and who will be the Chief Minister or Minister. All these matters are subsidiary. We have two Boards constituted in the best possible manner, Provincial and Central, and if the Provincial Board goes wrong, there is the Central Board, but after their decision, which of course must be final, the only course for every Musalman is to support the man who finally gets the League ticket, even though, to put it bluntly and emphatically, he be a lamp-post, as unless this spirit is shown and translated into action, Bengal will be the first to suffer most severely.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ahmed Ispahani, Esq.,
51 Ezra Street,
Calcutta

[1]See *SHC*, Bengal III/41. Not printed.

270

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Matin Chaudhury

SHC, Assam I/67

11 November 1945

Dear Mr. Matin,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 26th,[1] and I am sorry I was not able to attend to it earlier, as I was very much pressed with other work. As to my coming to Assam, I have it in my mind, but at present it is not possible for me to give you any definite promise or make any commitment. This is the time for all of us to work, individually and collectively, and concentrate with might and main upon the success of the elections. I do hope that Assam will be second to no other province, and if you all work together with complete solidarity and unity, success is within your grasp.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 227.

271

Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (710)

HASNAIN MANZIL,
GAYA,
12 November 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am in receipt of your note of the 1st instant[1] and am issuing it to the press. I enclose two more cheques sent by Shah Mustafa Ahmad for Rs. 460. This is his second instalment.

During the course of my tour of my province I find that the League in the province has deteriorated so much that as an organisation it has ceased to exist. One faction had taken possession to facilitate control of provincial organisation. Loyalty to the *junta* and not the work for League is the motto. The *sine qua non* for election to district and provincial executive posts and the provincial council was the above motto.

The present executives are either hostile or lethargic and the League

campaign would have been a total failure if the public opinion were not with us wholeheartedly. I rely on the Muslim masses and am confident that in spite of the impediments we shall secure a large measure of success.

The Muslim masses, as you know well, have implicit faith and confidence in you. Your presence among them even for a very short time will set everything right and no amount of party or factional propaganda will then do any wrong to the organisation.

I would, therefore, request you to kindly make [*sic*] time to visit my province either on your way to Bengal or on your return. I want to take you to at least all the four divisions which will cost you nearly a week's time. I hope you will kindly include Bihar in your tour and give me a week's time and inform me soon, so that arrangements may be started right from now.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
HOSSAIN IMAM

[1]Not traceable.

272

Shuaib Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/74

SYLHET,
12 November 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As a Musalman of Assam I like to bring to your notice that Jami'at ul 'Ulama-i-Hind is an influential body in our province. The masses are diverted by their lectures that the leader of the League is not a perfect Muslim. So I like to request you earnestly that you should keep [a] beard[1] and put on Islamic cap, *sherwani,* trousers, etc., always. Moreover, you should perform *Namaz* etc. at all times. In a word, you should be an ideal Muslim of the Musalmans of India.

Awaiting your kind reply,

Your brother-in-faith,
SHUAIB ALI

[1]On 16 November 1945, a similar request was made by a correspondent from Lahore. See F. 991/76, *QAP*. Not printed.

273

Abdussattar Tabbani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/78

TABBANI TRADING CO.,
278 EDWARD STREET,
RANGOON,
13 November 1945

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Jinnah Sahib,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Please find herewith a specially printed Pakistan *'Id* card for your kind perusal and regard [*sic*].

We, Muslims of Burma, have now awakened, thanks to your clarion call for Pakistan, and its cry has reverberated throughout the length and breadth of Burma. Muslims are ready to rally round the All India Muslim League, Burma Branch, should a branch be established here. I hope that necessary steps will be taken to do the needful.

It has been decided to give the proceeds from the sale of these *'Id* cards to the Muslim League Fund.

I beg to remain,
Your brother-in-Islam,
ABDUSSATTAR TABBANI

274

Abdul K. Mehta to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/65

MARKS BROTHERS LTD.,
POST BOX 2449,
CALCUTTA,
13 November 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was glad to read your comments on some of the natural resources of Pakistan. In my previous articles and statements to the press I have outlined some of the more important reserves of minerals found in the various provinces of India. Enclosed please find another article[1] on *Natural Gas As A Valuable Asset to the Nation.*

Several parties have asked me to undertake development of oil and gas resources on their behalf. Knowing your vital interest in such development, I thought it might be better if I contact[ed] you first and discuss[ed] with you in detail before I commit myself to any party for the development of oil and natural gas and other minerals of economic importance. I am also expecting to leave for U.S.A. by air as soon as air priority could be arranged. In view of this, the nature of our discussion makes it much more important that we meet soon. I would appreciate your informing me; if you agree with me. Please fix the date and place of meeting.

Sincerely yours,
ABDUL K. MEHTA
Seismologist & Petroleum Geologist

PS. My visit to U.S.A., if arranged, might extend over a period of three months.

[1]Not traceable.

275

Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/21

23 LAWRENCE ROAD,
LAHORE,
14 November 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have not written to you for a long time. You have been so busy with matters of great importance that I felt I should not encroach unnecessarily upon you valuable time.

As to the general situation in the Punjab, I think you must be aware that it has undergone a tremendous change. The League movement is spreading even to the rural areas with (what is even to the League leaders here) unexpected rapidity. Our workers have not yet reached the villages in adequate numbers and yet one hears sensational stories of conversion to the League. Some say the League will capture sixty seats (in the Legislative Assembly) out of eighty nine, others put it even higher than seventy. And this [is] in spite of the fact that there is apparent here a tendency to

form groups, to carry on intrigues and to scramble for power. This new enthusiasm for the League is undoubtedly the result of your superhuman efforts and your wonderful foresight. Your entire work for Muslim India is at last bearing fruit.

I am sure your forthcoming visit to Lahore will prove to be of inestimable value for the Punjab.

The Provincial League office at Lahore is humming with activity as never before. I am acting as organizer of League publicity work, as Raja Ghazanfar Ali, who was appointed Publicity Secretary, is keeping rather indifferent health.

I am also in charge of the League Workers Centre, where a batch of thirty to fifty workers come and stay and have their training for a week. I am delivering to the workers, at least once a week, a lecture (in Urdu) on the achievement of Islam and the goal of Indian Muslims. I am also doing other miscellaneous League work.

In the end may I inform you that in the nine months from January to September 1945, I have worked hard for nine hours a day and have prepared sixteen charts, eight of them depicting the achievement of Islam and the rest describing the awakening among the Indian Muslims with special reference to the League. You may remember that I sent you a scheme in April this year, when I had the privilege of seeing you in New Delhi during your convalescence. Some people, who have seen the work, tell me that it will prove very useful for the Muslims and the League. I enclose herewith[1] separately for your information[2] a synopsis of the charts. I hope to publish the charts after the present election campaign is over. Meanwhile Qazi Isa wants to publish, on behalf of League's Central Publicity Department, some of my new pamphlets dealing with the chronology of the Muslim League, and extracts from Quaid-i-Azam's speeches.

I hope that your health is perfect and pray that you may have long life to guide the Indian Muslims at this critical juncture.

Kindly remember me to Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
BASHIR AHMAD
Bar-at-Law

[1]See *SHC*, Punjab III/22. Not printed.
[2]Jinnah replied that due to his preoccupation with the election campaign he could not presently attend to the charts sent by him. See *SHC*, Punjab III/23 Not printed.

276

Badiudin Mahmud to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (713)

ZAHIRA COLLEGE, CAMPOLA,
CEYLON,
14 November 1945

Revered leader, Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I reached Ceylon safely and [am] keeping well by the grace of *Allah*. I hope your visit to Baluchistan has benefited your health. May *Allah* bless you with good health and long life. This is the prayer of every Muslim who yearns to see the establishment of Pakistan in India.

I am writing this, Sir, to inform you how happy the Muslims of Ceylon are on your decision to pay a visit to Ceylon in April. They were jubilant when they heard the news of your decision from the announcer of the All India Radio on the 11th of August. It is their fond hope to give you an enviable reception when you visit them in April. With this end in view they have already decided to form an All-Island Reception Committee to make the necessary arrangements. I have conveyed your message to all the leaders and the organizations and their appreciation will be placed in a resolution at the next annual session of the Ceylon Muslim League, to be held on 2nd December 1945, and the same will be conveyed to your goodself after the meeting.

I personally beg to convey to you, Sir, my sincere thanks for the interview[1] you so graciously granted me and the great encouragement you gave me and my mission by accepting the invitation of the Muslims of Ceylon.

While wishing you every success in the election campaign,

I beg to remain,
Yours-in-Islam,

BADIUDIN MAHMUD
Hon. General Secretary,
All-Ceylon Muslim Political Conference Committee

[1]The writer had invited Jinnah, on behalf of the Muslims of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), to visit that country. Jinnah said he did intend visiting next year. See *SHC* (714). Not printed.

277

Haqiqatullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (715)

JODHPUR,
14 November 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is evident that our country is passing through a critical transitional period and the day is coming nearer when a constitution-making body would be evolved for making future changes in India, in which the Indian States' people will take their due share.

We are sure that Pakistan will be established tomorrow or the day after and the rights of Muslims of Hindustan shall be safeguarded one way or the other, but two and a half crore Muslims of Indian States are apart from the All India Muslim League constitution and thus our future is as dark as anything. Consequently neither any measures have been taken to bring us within the influence of AIML nor the necessary political consciousness has been awakened in the Muslims of Indian States.

Of course, the late Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung had tried in this direction but by his untimely death, we Muslims have been taken [*sic*] in a state of orphanage, and now there is a ray of hope only from your personality, however, as at present it may be indirectly. Now we may be allowed to suggest to you that unless and until some influential personality such as Mian Iftikharuddin Sahib is deputed directly to organise Muslims in Indian States, their existence will be precarious.

As for [as] Indian States' representation in the future constitution is concerned, Pandit Nehru has been making a sweeping tour of Indian States and in the last month he toured Rajputana States. In view of that, Jodhpur Lok Parisad Party, which is a shadow party of the Congress, had invited Pandit Nehru to Jodhpur to gain influence over the subjects as well as the States' Governments, and it can be said now that Pandit Nehru has also completed a secret pact for sending States' representatives through His Highness of Jodhpur who is a leading prince of Rajputana. It is to be noted that Lok Parisad Party presented Rs. 21,000 to Pandit Nehru for election purposes. In reply to it the Muslims of Jodhpur proper have decided to send at least Rs. 7,000 per our proportion to Quaid-i-Azam for the forthcoming Pakistan Election Fund and at

present we have succeeded in collecting Rs. 8,500 but our target is Rs. 21,000, i.e. equal to what was presented by the Hindus to Pandit Nehru.

You will be glad to know that we established Marwar Muslim League, Jodhpur, before All India States Muslim League was brought into existence. We are proud to say that not a single Muslim is in a non-Muslim organisation such as Marwar Lok Parisad or others.

Now it is the general feeling of Muslims of Jodhpur that they are prepared to present double the said amount if you grace us with a flying visit to Jodhpur for a day. It may be noted that Jodhpur is an important air station and falls on the way from Karachi to Delhi or Allahabad and Calcutta or from Bombay to Lahore, etc.

From all points of view, Marwar Muslim League have resolved to invite your kind honour and request you to accept the Jodhpur Muslims' poor contribution for Pakistan Fund.

Your non-political visit to this place would lead to encouragement and political awakening of Jodhpur Muslims in particular, and Rajputana Muslims in general, and the foundation for a separate entity of Muslims would become more strong.

Besides this, it would also put a check upon the Congress-minded representatives who are to be sent to the Federal Constituent Assembly.

As the Constitution of the All India Muslim League does not touch the Indian States, which means that the States may go on as before, so by your personal visit you would be able to influence the State authorities, as Pandit Nehru had done by having personal talks with His Highness. It is to be noted that His Highness gave a dinner to Pandit Nehru. It is evident that Pandit Nehru must have put forth a united demand for a responsible govt. ignoring the Muslims' rights.

Jodhpur is a leading state in Rajputana and any reforms or any policy adopted here would be followed by other States.

In the end, we again state that your personal visit to Jodhpur would give immense benefit to Muslims which could not be achieved by the joint propaganda of British India Muslims for years to come. So we request your honour to spare a few hours for this place so that we may be able to achieve what we desire.

[*Last para omitted*]

Yours sincerely,
HAQIQATULLAH KHAN,
President,
Marwar Muslim League

278

S. M. Askari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 972/15-8

BHOPAL,
15 November 1945

'Id Mubarak

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you remember that I am one of the most ardent admirers of you[rs]; not only myself but the whole Shia community is proud of you. You remember also that the year before last, when you came here in Shimla Waqf case,[1] we had a long talk over the Sunni-Shia problem on the railway platform. I was completely satisfied on the subject and when the All Shia Parties Conference began to start in Lucknow I gave my statement in a Shia daily, the *Sarfraz,* and asked the Shias to postpone their rights [*sic*], if any, at this moment and fight for the Muslim League.

I am shocked to know that Hooseinbhoy Lalljee, even without the authority of the so-called All Parties Conference, has stood against you, whom every Shia loves and is proud of. I am determined to fight out this battle against this Lalljee who has blackened our face. I have written to Raja Sahib Mahmoodabad, who knows me well, to take me from Bhopal while on his way to Bombay on the 22nd. I request you to recommend me to Raja Sahib and wire him to accept my humble services in the cause of Islam. I assure you that you will find in me a good soldier to fight out this national battle. Let me tell you that Shimla Waqf case is not yet decided.

Hoping for an early reply,

Your most affectionate servant,
S. M. ASKARI
Vakil

Note: I have decided to suspend my practice for three months to fight this national war of election.

[1]Prince Obaidullah Khan, elder brother of Hamidullah Khan, Nawab of Bhopal, had set up a trust for grant of scholarships for studies at college/university level outside Bhopal to students belonging to the State which had no college/university. Obaidullah Khan resided at Shimla, a small hill in Bhopal, and the trust came to be known as Shimla Trust on that account. Obaidullah's descendents made an abortive bid to usurp the trust, against which the State filed a law-suit. Jinnah appeared as counsel for the State and won the case.

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M. A. Khuhro to G. M. Sayed
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Sind VII/7

MUSLIM COLONY,
KARACHI,
16 November 1945

Allaho Akbar

Dear Mr. Sayed,

You know that the prestige of the Muslim League in Sind is at stake in the election to the Central Legislative Assembly for which the Muslim League ticket has been allotted to Mr. Yusuf Abdoola Haroon. I have observed that so far there has been no official statement issued by you, as the President of the Provincial Muslim League, calling upon the Muslims of Sind to support the League nominee, Mr. Yusuf A. Haroon. You are well aware that the contest between Mr. Yusuf A. Haroon and Mr. Rashdi, who is standing in defiance of the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board, is very keen. The success of the Muslim League candidates in Provincial Assembly elections depends largely upon the result of this particular election.

It is, therefore, your moral as well as official duty to strain every bit of your energy for the success of Mr. Yusuf A. Haroon. I have done my best for the success of Mr. Yusuf by touring along with him and separately in all parts of Sind and by meeting the voters and influential persons in each district and calling upon them to support the League nominee, Mr. Yusuf A. Haroon. It is also expected that you and all your friends and prominent Leaguers in Sind should do likewise.

Surely, as the President of the League organisation in Sind, our organisation expects from you the same support to the League nominee. There is hardly a fortnight between now and the polling day. I, therefore, request you to devote your entire attention from now on to the electioneering work of the League nominee for the Central Assembly. Let it not be said that we failed in our duty at a time when the Muslim League high command expected us to be up and doing. I also pray to [you to] issue a public statement as quickly as possible supporting Yusuf Haroon and calling upon others to do the same.

I hope this personal appeal to you as the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League will not go unheeded, and you will please

let me know early what steps you are taking to help the organisation for this election.

With all best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

G. M. Sayed, Esq.,
President, Sind Provincial Muslim League,
Karachi

280

Abdul Karim to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/67

112 PARK STREET,
CALCUTTA,
16 November 1945

Most respected Sir,

I have the honour to lay before you the following few lines for favour of your kind consideration:

That this Province of Bengal is very badly suffering for want of a good morning English daily newspaper, for want of which the Muslims, specially the students and the young, are being dragged to other Hindu dailies, and [are] thus having unsteady views about the Muslim League and remain[ing] ignorant about the Muslim wishes.

Is it not possible, like the *Statesman* of Delhi and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Allahabad, for the *Dawn* to begin its publication simultaneously from Calcutta also? If that is not possible at present, can it not deliver its copies every morning in Calcutta by aeroplane like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which is doing [so] in Cawnpore and Lucknow?

It is needless to mention that about 75% of the Muslims reading English newspapers are subscribing to Hindu papers as there is no good Muslim paper. I am afraid these things will certainly have a very bad effect especially during election time.

Must respond, Sir,

I remain,
ABDUL KARIM

281

Mubarek Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC I/76

321 WEST 56TH STREET,
NEW YORK,
16 November 1945

Dear Mr. President,

Greetings

Your very kind letter of September 28th[1] duly to hand. To say that I was pleased to receive the same would be putting it very mildly.

You have certainly given me great encouragement and a spiritual uplift which will enable me to continue the great work with a lighter heart, and I hope eventually to reach our ultimate goal.

I have shown your letter to many of my associates, who are also very pleased with the contents of same, and they also have requested me to forward you their very kindest regards and best wishes for your continued good health and success in our common cause. May I also add that Mr. Henry Tudor Mason, President of the All Nations Association, who in conjunction with his associates has sponsored many of our functions, also assures you of his continued moral support to the best of their ability and the means at their disposal.

I shall also be pleased to hear the latest news from you direct when convenient for you to forward the same to keep me well posted, regarding the true happenings in our beloved country.

With kind personal regards,

I am,

Respectfully,
MUBAREK ALI KHAN
General Secretary,
India Muslim League of America

[1]No. 152.

282

Mohammad Ashfaq Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 140/23

MOHAMMAD ALI MEMORIAL HIGH SCHOOL,
BEAWAR,
17 November 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In response to your appeal made at Matheran to redouble the efforts in the educational sphere, the Old Boys' Association, Mohammad Ali Memorial High School, Beawar, started its work. Consequently it has collected a little amount of Rs. 2,000. Besides the said institution, we have decided to construct the college which will be named Jinnah College.

We are holding our annual function in the 1st week of December 1945 in which we shall donate this first instalment for the construction of the rooms adjacent to the Mohammad Ali Memorial High School, Beawar. The foundation of the proposed Jinnah College will be laid *Insha Allah* by your blessed hands after the elections are over and the contribution of Rs. 50,000 is made towards it which will be done from time to time.

At present we request you, Sir, to send us a message[1] so that the Muslim youth of Beawar may be encouraged. This message will be the ray of the moon of Pakistan which will ever shine in this dark non-regulated [*sic*] Province.

Thanking you, Sir, in anticipation,

Yours truly,
MOHAMMAD ASHFAQ SIDDIQI
M.A., LL.B. (Alig.)
Secretary, Old Boys' Association

[1]For Jinnah's message, see No. 301.

283

A. H. Ansari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/111

NAGPUR,
19 November 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With due respect I beg to lay down a few lines for your kind

consideration:

That our Hindu brothers have well advanced in industry and business. They, through their organisation, have opened a number of technical institutions all over the country, of which you are aware. In Nagpur, there is a Laxminarayan Technical Institute where the Muslims are not admitted at all.

I, therefore, hope, and my colleagues are eagerly waiting, that Quaid-i-Azam would announce collection of funds for opening the industrial centres in all the provinces and the Provincial Muslim League [would] be instructed, in this connection, to take early measures to raise the general standard of living of the Musalmans.

Hoping that my humble suggestion shall [*sic*] receive your personal attention.

Yours sincerely,
A. H. ANSARI

284

Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 334/110-11

ZARAFSHAN,
LAHORE,
19 November 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have refrained until now from troubling you, but the matters here have reached such a serious stage that I must bring them to your kind notice. You are the head of our great organisation and I look up to you to do justice and uphold the constitutional principles of the All India Muslim League.

1. You are, no doubt, aware that the City Muslim League, Lahore, has been serving the cause of the Muslim League constantly for the last eight years and has carried on, in every sense, the policy and programme of the Muslim League. You, yourself, are fully aware of our work and have had personal opportunity of attending our great gatherings.

The City Muslim League whose annual elections took place last February under the supervision of the Provincial League has been suspended at this critical time in a most unconstitutional manner, having no parallel in the history of the Muslim League, on account of personal jealousy and enmity against me. It is particularly unfortunate that, at

this critical juncture when we have to fight our enemies and it was imperative that we should cooperate, this high-handed and autocratic order should have been passed creating disruption, discontent and bitterness amongst Muslim League workers in Lahore. We have been the torch bearers and the pioneers of Muslim League work in Lahore and hold the League colours flying under the most difficult circumstances and instead of appreciation and encouragement at the time we get stabs in the back. I can say with absolute confidence that this order has been passed on account of the intrigue of the Communist workers who have joined the Muslim League. The work of the League is suffering greatly in the city at this critical time when not only the provincial elections are approaching but the City of Lahore Corporation elections are drawing near. The Corporation elections are being held before the Provincial elections. You can yourself judge and realise how imperative it is that this illegal order is withdrawn immediately.

2. Regarding the Provincial elections, I feel that on the basis of justice, merit and fair play I am entitled to the Muslim League ticket from my own district, S. E. Towns Urban which include Ludhiana. I have applied for this ticket but I am afraid that even in the matter of ticket I am going to be let down and my right and claims trampled under foot. I look up to you for justice.

With respectful greetings,

Yours sincerely,
RASHID ALI KHAN

285

S. Jan Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/88-9

JAN MANZIL,
5 PHAYRE ROAD,
POONA,
20 November 1945

Sir,

I have been thinking over [*sic*] for some time and have been very restless about my action in going against the mandate of the Muslim League in joining the War Committee for which I was suspended for two years.

I have been a staunch Muslim Leaguer right from the beginning and have tried my best to serve the interests of the League in Poona

and also in the Assembly. Even after my suspension, I have not done anything against the interests of the League. My services to the League are known to you all.

At this critical juncture, I feel that I can never remain outside this great Muslim organisation which is the only body which can safeguard the real interest of the Muslims in India. I, therefore, wish to place my services unreservedly at the disposal of the Muslim League.[1]

I have today sent my resignation[2] of membership of the Bombay Legislative Assembly —a copy of which is herewith attached for favour of information.

Yours faithfully,
S. JAN MOHAMMAD

[1]Jinnah advised him that he should approach the President of the Provincial Muslim League. See *SHC*, Bombay I/92. Not printed.
[2]See *SHC*, Bombay I/90. Not printed.

286

Abdul Hameed Bhatty to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/175

EMPRESS GARDENS ROAD,
JULLUNDUR CITY·
20 November 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The other day a meeting was held by the Unionist and Zamindara League at Hariana in Hoshiarpur District. Some of my friends who attended this meeting tell me that speakers of these two parties told their audience that Unionists are pro-League and pro-Pakistan. But their Pakistan is quite different to League's Pakistan. In the Pakistan of the Unionists, the Government will be [based] on *Qur'anic* and Islamic principles, whereas in Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan the Govt. will be on English principles. The simple villagers can easily be [mis]led by this type of speeches and slogans.

I know that you clearly told the A.P.A. correspondent that in Pakistan it will be people's Govt., and you are not in a position to say what sort of Govt. we will have in Pakistan. You also said that it will be a democratic Govt. I think it is [for] the public to decide whether they want Islamic or [some] other type of Government. May I request you to please issue a statement clearing this point.

The Provincial League is holding big meetings, mostly in towns and not in villages. They should pay attention to villages of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur Districts and hold big meetings and send some of the

prominent leaders to make speeches. It is common that the organisers give the names of such leaders for a meeting in a village; meeting is held but the chief speaker does not turn up. People go away disappointed and sometimes the result is adverse. A meeting was to be held at Miani in Hoshiarpur Dist. There was an advertisement bearing names of some of the big League leaders of the Punjab and I came to know that most of them could not come.

I shall also write to Nawab of Mamdot and others. Kindly answer this letter,

ABDUL HAMEED BHATTY
A humble servant of League

287

M. Abbas Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/77

2 RACE COURSE GARDENS,
PESHAWAR,
20 November 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to inform you that I have tendered my resignation to His Excellency the Governor, North West Frontier Province, on the following grounds:

i. The period of my pact in the N.W.F. Province Coalition Cabinet expires with the life of the present Assembly. This is about to take place and I am now quite free to act as I like.
ii. That I believe in the principles and programme of the Muslim League and the ideal of Pakistan for which the Muslim League stands.
iii. That it is wrong for any self-respecting Muslim to co-operate with the Congress which is a Hindu organisation.
iv. That I have joined the Muslim League.

It has given me immense pleasure to join the Muslim League and to save the Muslim nation. Henceforth, I place myself at the disposal of the only leader of the Muslim nation—the Quaid-i-Azam—and to act in the best interests of the Musalmans in any way that you may deem proper.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. ABBAS

[1]See No. 288.

288

M. A. Jinnah to M. Abbas Khan

SHC, NWFP I/78

PESHAWAR,
21 November 1945

Dear Mr. Abbas,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 20th,[1] and I thank you for it. I note your reasons for having joined the Muslim League and that you assure me that you will serve the Muslim nation. I further thank you for the expression of your confidence and trust in my leadership, and I hope that you will play a full part in the organisation in the spirit of selfless service in the interests of Muslim India and for the achievement of our goal of Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

Khan Mohammad Abbas Khan,
2 Race Course Gardens,
Peshawar

[1] No. 287.

289

Mohammad Sadiq Chaudhri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/11

P.O.B. 22,
HYDERABAD, SIND,
21 November 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Punjabi Muslims, numbering several lakh (writer of this letter being one of them), who have permanently settled in Sind after the advent of the Jamrao canals in 1900, and Sukhur Barrage canals in 1932, are solidly behind the All India Muslim League and its programme. They have full faith and confidence in your leadership.

We are tired and sick of the undesirable, destructive and anti-League activities of Mr. G. M. Sayed, and his clique, in which he has consistently indulged during the last few years, culminating now in open rebellion against

the All India Muslim League, and its high ideals for which he is paying lip sympathy like the Khizrites of the Punjab. The whole Punjabi Muslim population of Sind would regretfully welcome disciplinary action against Mr. G. M. Sayed and his clique. All India Muslim League has waited too long to order a halt to the nefarious activities of Mr. G. M. Sayed, and should not waver now.

I assure your goodself, on behalf of the entire Punjabi Muslim population of Sind, to stand loyally and faithfully behind you. Punjabi Muslims of Sind have solemnly resolved and are working to vote solidly for the League candidates in the coming elections. The Central Parliamentary Board, to appease Mr. G. M. Sayed, gave League tickets to five followers of Mr. Sayed.They don't deserve it. Their replacement, now, by other suitable League candidates has become essential on account of their anti-League activities. Mehr Mohammad Ali, Zamindar, *Taluka* Digri, District Tharparker (Sind), is an influential Punjabi Zamindar of that locality, who has good, old, social connections with Mr. Bhurgari— a follower of Mr. Sayed who is opposing Mir Imam Bux, League candidate from Digri, Jamesabad, Samaro, and Mirpur Khas *Taluka* Constituency. We want a few lines addressed to Mehr Mohammad Ali from your goodself. Mr. Yusuf Haroon wrote to you from Hyderabad (Sind) a few days ago on your Delhi address for such a letter. Please do send such a letter either to Mr. Yusuf Haroon or to myself to be delivered to the said Mehr Mohammad Ali, for which I shall feel obliged. Mehr Mohammad Ali wants such a letter in order to refuse help to Mr. Bhurgari.

Yours very sincerely,

MOHAMMAD SADIQ CHAUDHRI
Secretary, All Sind Punjabi Zamindars and Abadgars' Association

290

Mohamad Salim Fasih to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/189

PESHAWAR,
21 November 1945

My venerable Quaid-i-Azam,

I myself, with a few other students of Edwardes College, succeeded in approach[ing] you and request[ing] you to kindly give us the privilege and honour to have you in our College. But unfortunately you did not seem agreeing [*sic*] with our request. I wish to lay down a few facts for your favourable consideration. If they become successful in their mission

[*sic*], I will be the most fortunate person, and if not, I shall pray to God to give me the power to stand this disappointment. It is my first chance to have the honour to request you directly and, therefore, I hope you will excuse me to take a few of your precious minutes.

My Quaid-i-Azam! In the first instance to tell you why we are so much anxious to bring you in our College is due to something very burning [*sic*] in our hearts and cannot be easily described. I suppose in simple language it is called love. At least I am fully confident that you will return love for love and not disappointment for love.

The second thing is that the leaders of other communities are, from time to time, visiting our College. Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Nehru, Mr. B.B. Desai; all of them have come to our College. Srojini Naidu is also expected very soon. They come whereas we Muslims are in majority, and if our leaders do not come it will show something very undesirable.

Thirdly, nearly everybody in our College knows that we are trying to invite you to this College. When they will, I mean to say the non-Muslim students, come to know that you have refused to come to our College, our position will be very awkward.

Fourthly, only yesterday the students of Islamia College said to me that we are all *Achhoots* studying in [a] Mission College and Quaid-i-Azam will never like to come there. My Quaid-i-Azam! Your refusal will confirm their statement. I wish I could show them that being in a Mission College I have an equally Muslim heart throbbing in my chest.

Sir, they are a few from the whole facts [*sic*]. I don't want to take much time by putting down each and every one. I hope they are enough to make our position clear.

Please save us from a great disappointment.

Yours obediently,
MOHAMAD SALIM FASIH
Student, Edwardes College

291

Khalil Ahmad Noori to M. A. Jinnah

F. 976/77-8
[*Original in Urdu*]

OSMANIA BAZAR,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
22 November 1945

Respected and revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Exalted Sir, it is submitted with profound respect that I want to

serve my nation and religion. I am in a dilemma as to whether I should leave the Govt. service and serve the Muslim League. My Govt. service has no importance against the Muslim national cause. Though at present my mother and younger brother and sister depend on me but God in His mercy surely would make arrangements to sustain them.

My intention was to carry out propaganda for the Muslim League against Congress in NWFP particularly during the elections, but I was down with fever. Though now I am feeling better I am not sure if I shall be able to bear the cold of NWFP. On a number of occasions, during the local bodies' elections, I have done propaganda work. I received education up to B.A. from Jami'a Usmania. I have been the President of Economic Committee of the Jami'a. I know English, Urdu, Arabic and Marathi.

Now, I am waiting for Quaid's order for compliance. It is requested with profound regards that my submission may please be accepted.

I am,

Yours sincerely,
KHALIL AHMAD NOORI AZAD
Rationing Inspector

292

Travancore Coir Factory Workers' Union to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1057/50

ALLEPPEY,
22 November 1945

Dear Sahib,

I am forwarding herewith the resolution adopted unanimously by the public meeting held under the auspices of the Travancore Coir Factory Workers' Union, Alleppey, on 20th November 1945, with comrade T.V. Thomas, B.A., B.L., President of the Union, in the chair.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
General Secretary

Enclosure to No. 292

F. 1057/51

RESOLUTION

The meeting expresses its solidarity with the provisional governments and peoples of Indo-China and Indonesia today, battling for freedom

from imperialist rule.

It warmly congratulates the Indian seamen in Australia for their brave and patriotic action in refusing to sail ships laden with ammunition and troops to the Dutch East Indies.

It appeals to the leaders of all political parties and to the Trade Union Congress to join together and see that from India also no arms and troops are allowed to go to Indonesia or Indo-China to be used to suppress the freedom movements of those countries.

It expresses its confidence that if a call to boycott Dutch and British ships bound for Java and Cygon [Saigon] is given to all seamen and dockers by the respected leaders of our people, there will be a response that will make it impossible for the imperialists to use India as a base against the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese freedom movements.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

293

Kazi Anwarul Islam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 303/1

86 A LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
23 November 1945

My dear leader,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I like to submit the following proposal for your kind consideration:

That the Muslims of India are a separate nation with their own history, tradition, culture, language and many other things quite distinct from the Hindus, is now unquestionable. The coming election is a struggle for liberation from the Hindu *raj*. In this struggle, what is essential is a national song which will inspire our gallant fighters of Pakistan. I, therefore, propose that you should now make arrangements for the preparation of a new song, quite in keeping with the spirit of Pakistan. to be adopted as our national song of Pakistan.

By the way, I like to suggest a few existing songs which may, for the time being be used until a new song is prepared, for the purpose.

First of them is, Allama Iqbal's *Tarana, 'Cheen o Arab Hamara'* and the other is composed by Bengal's *Bulbul,* poet Kazi Nazrul Islam, beginning with

the line, *Bajiche Dammama Bandhore Amama Shir Uchun Kari Mussalman.*

Reply is solicited,

Yours faithfully,
KAZI ANWARUL ISLAM,
B.A. (Eco.)
Sub-Editor, The Azad

294

Syed Akbar Ali Naqvi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 140/15-6
[*Original in Urdu*]

LALLATPUR,
DIST. JHANSI,
23 November 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I deem it my duty to inform you about the restlessness and resentment prevailing among three crore Shias in India due to the attitude of the Muslim League and the detestable indifference of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to Syed Ali Zaheer, President, All India Shia Political Conference, in not replying to his letter seeking Muslim League's co-operation in pursuance of the decisions of the Shia Conference. In view of this, the Shia community will be justified in believing that the Muslim League, fearful of the majority community, is not willing to accept the demands of the Shias but is also determined to crush them. The Shias deplore your attitude and express their anger and hatred against the behaviour of the ML leaders.

You are committing a blunder by contesting against our great leader, Mr. Hooseinbhoy Abdullah Lalljee. This is tantamount to another blow to the Shia community.

Being a Shia yourself, had you cared for the interests of the community and not sacrificed their right for the sake of the majority community, the Shias would have voted for you and made your opponent unsuccessful. However, your personal attitude is absolutely against Shia interests. If you consider that your decision is correct you are making a grave mistake.

At the end I request you to withdraw in favour of your opponent, who is the only member of the Shia community determined to represent them in the Central Assembly, voice their grievances and secure their rights. Mr. Hooseinbhoy Abdullah Lalljee is a great leader.

I wish you have realised your mistake and decided to withdraw in favour of Mr. Hooseinbhoy Lalljee. In this way your sense of justice

and fair play will be manifest to the Shia community.

Servant of nation,
SYED AKBAR ALI NAQVI
Assistant Secretary,
UP Shia Conference

295

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/13

[KARACHI,]
24 November 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

The A. P. news that you would not go to the concluding session of the Peshawar Conference, which you were expected to address, disturbed us, for we feared you may not be well. Your body is the custodian of our national health and may God keep it.

After you told me at Karachi that the *Mullajee* would support the League, I thought that would bring the total Bohra votes to us as the Reformists' votes were not in doubt, but for the last week the propaganda carried on in *Bombay Samachar* made me doubt if the *Mullajee* was playing some pranks on the one hand and some of our young men, under Congress influence, on the other.

So I rang up Maskati just now and he assured me that the *Mullajee* was backing you and that if at all he was playing any mischief or may do so the day after tomorrow, Mahomedali Maniar was on the alert and constantly in touch with the Jami'at leaders through Abu Jasdanwalla who will ask for a League ticket for the Bombay Assembly. Maskati said your election was in no doubt, whatsoever, but that Hooseinbhoy will replenish his treasury by taking back his deposit money.

This evening, my nephew has called to dinner at his house some of our important workers and arranged a fixed-time trunk call with me. We shall thus have an eve-of-election chat. One Saleh Bombat is working against you. He is of no particular consequence, but even one vote cast for a Congress henchman is an injury to us.

I trust you must have received copy of a letter to Nawabzada, which I sent you on Thursday last.[1]

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

[1]Not traceable.

296

Mirza Ashrafuddin Haider to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/72

NILOKHIA,
MYMENSINGH,
BENGAL,
24 November 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I beg to draw your kind attention to the fact that, in Bengal, Muslims are generally very backward in English education. In *mofussil* Bengal we are to deal with these people. When we say in conferences and meetings, what is League, what we want, and what our leader is doing for us, they pay their full attention and in some cases express their deep regret as they do not understand the valuable speeches and writings of their Quaid-i-Azam directly.

To popularize the League with its aims and objects and to mitigate [*sic*] their desire, a variety of books should be published ir Bengali. But Bengal is on the back bench in this matter.

However, I have begun translating the books, viz. *Recent speeches and writings, Nationalism in conflict in India* and *My Leader* by Z. A. Suleri.

I hope to publish the books before the election and in order to make the books attractive I have decided to decorate it [*sic*] with your photos.

It requires your kind permission. I expect that not only will I have your sanction but your good wishes will also stand behind my attempt.

Thanking you [and] with best regards from my heart,

I remain, my leader,

Yours most obediently,
MIRZA ASHRAFUDDIN HAIDER

297

Ghulam Jan & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/184-7

HARIPUR,
24 November 1945

Our respected Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

We know you have got a very crowded programme, but the importance

of the matter and the exuberance [*sic*] of our feelings at the injustice and dishonesty shown in respect of the best man of the Hazara District (Khan Mohammad Sarwar Khan Tahirkheli, Advocate, Abbottabad), compels us to place before you certain facts which might prove necessary in appreciating the position of the district particularly and the province generally.

Before the separation of this Province from the Punjab and even after it up to the present day, Hazara District is looked upon as a non-Pathan district and treated in such a shabby manner by the bureaucratic government and their agents, the aristocracy of the Peshawar District, that there is no love lost between Peshawar and Hazara. In these feelings the southern districts of the Province (Kohat, Bannu and D.I. Khan) have always sympathised and aligned themselves with Hazara. It is on account of these feelings, which cannot be easily appreciated by outsiders that the Hazara people look upon the people of Peshawar side as purse-proud [*sic*], bogus and time-serving adherents of the bureaucracy, who would spare no pain and opportunity in painting the Hazara people in very sombre colours and gain undue advantage at their expense. The Peshawar people in their turn have no regard for the Hazara people if any opportunity arises. These feelings are so deep-rooted that much time will have to pass before the minds of the people can be purged of them.

Since its separation, Frontier Crimes Regulations were the general law in criminal matters in this Province. The result was that there were no two families in the Province who did not look askance at each other for having served at the council of elders (*Jirga* system) and convicting people according to their own whims. Outcry against this system of judicial lawlessness was so much that in 1922 Bray Committee was appointed, but even then F.C.R. could not be repealed. At that time it was revealed how the masses hated the aristocracy in this Province and how the aristocracy among themselves hated each other. Time went on when the people had to pass through the *Khilafat* agitation[1] when the big people of the Province at the instance of the British Govt. did all that they could against the masses. You might be aware of the fact that Hajee Sahib of Turangzai, a peaceful theologian who had been specially invited to lay the foundation of Islamia College by the late Sir G. Roosekepple and his friend, the late Nawab Sir Abdul Qayyum of revered memory, was outlawed by the machination of the Muslim officials, and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who was a nonentity in those days, had confined [*sic*] himself to the betterment of the morals of his own *'Ilaqa,* was sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment. These events made the Charsadda people Red [*sic*] and the sufferings

they had to undergo subsequently along with the Mardan and Peshawar people made them so obstinate that they could not divest themselves of their old notions against those officials and Khans who were responsible for their miseries. The people did not hate the British bureaucracy so much as they hated their agents, the Khans and the officials, who carried out the orders of the bureaucratic government. The first opportunity, when they showed their displeasure, offered itself [*sic*] in the last elections when Nawab Sir Abdul Qayyum, Nawab Sahib of Hoti, K. B. Quli Khan, and many other towering personalities, who had the least association with the official world, were thrown overboard by Red Shirts in their constituencies. The late Sir Abdul Qayyum took refuge in Hazara. The same old Khans and the official world, who were responsible for bringing the Red Shirts in this Province, are now safely lodged in the Muslim League camp and the public has reasons to suspect how they all overnight had become enamoured of Islam and its political organisation. We leave it to you to form your own conclusions.

As remarked in the beginning, Hazara people had no sympathy with the Peshawar bigwigs. It was their opportunity after the first elections at the time of formation of the first Ministry to demand from [the] late Nawab Sahib that he and his friends should either accept the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam and form Muslim League party in the Assembly or distribute the loaves and fishes of the offices [*sic*] equitably among all deserving people. The Nawab Sahib, with the help of the Government, used all coercive measures against Hazara people in order to force them to accept the behest of the Governor, but eventually he failed. Since then there has been no lasting [*sic*] love [lost] between the Peshawar people and the Hazara District. Nawab Sahib was then surrounded and advised by men like R. B. Mehr Chand, K. B. Sadullah Khan, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Nawab Zaffar Khan, Sardar Asad Jan Khan and others. How they treated the Muslim League is not unknown to you. People from Hazara of course could not repose any confidence in the coterie of the late Nawab Sir Abdul Qayyum though they highly honoured him. He also always expressed his inability to democratise the government or popularise the Muslim League as he said that he had no such instructions from his boss, the British Governor. After that, unfortunately his mantle fell upon S. Aurangzeb Khan. He followed the same policy of excluding all competent people from participating in the government of the Province and suppressing the Muslim League wherever it was strong. It was no secret that Hazara people under the leadership of Khan Mohammad Sarwar Khan had organised and popularized the Muslim League in the Hazara District and the

wrath of S. Aurangzeb Khan and his colleagues especially fell upon these people of the Hazara District and they, with the co-operation and advice of local Deputy Commissioner, began to give lift to one K. B. Jalalud-Din, a contractor of Abbottabad, who is the embodiment of all low-type activities in which men of low origin and status freely indulge in gaining position in the public. Against the protest of all responsible Muslim Leaguers of the district, he and his hangers-on were given dictatorial powers in the matter of Muslim League affairs. This so enraged the Leaguers that they refused to touch K. B. Jalalud-Din and his association with a pair of tongs. When a reception was given to Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan at Abbottabad he openly said on the public platform that he was the creature of the British Government and could ill-afford to displease the local Deputy Commissioner.

In short, the Hazara people are very religious-minded but majority of them are so democratic that they would have no truce [*sic*] with *Khan Bahadurs* and *Jagirdars* unless they came down to the level of the public. As Hazara has no big Khans, all aristocratic people are of the same status as the middle class. They cannot afford that their leaders in the political field should be such persons who [*sic*] take their cue from the local authorities. K. B. Jalalud-Din owes his entire position to such patronage of the Govt. About 15 years ago he was an ordinary motor driver getting something [like] Rs. 30 p.m. His association with the Muslim League under the instructions of S. Aurangzeb Khan enraged the representatives of the Muslim League so much that at the time of last meeting of ad hoc committee at Peshawar, when Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan was there, Hazara speakers, one and all, demanded very forcefully:

a. that no title-holder should be taken on the Parliamentary Board,
b. that no such person be taken on the Board who himself wishes to stand in the next elections,
c. that only such tried Muslim Leaguers be permitted to stand on the Muslim League ticket who in the words of Quaid-i-Azam have real ability and integrity of character to represent the Muslim League,
d. that no such person should be encouraged to come to the Assembly who does not understand English language.

At that time we had clear apprehensions that a clique in Peshawar had been formed. That clique wanted to keep every power in its own hands. Their proposed method was to paint their opponents in the blackest colour and to bring on the Parliamentary Board safe persons. The result of the formation of the Board has justified our apprehensions. We fear what was gained by the Frontier Muslims during all these

hard days of struggle has been lost overnight. Such people have been taken on the Board who, among themselves, have divided various jobs in the Assembly and in order to hold such jobs they have adopted such candidates who are the nominees of the bureaucracy and who suffered crushing defeat in the last elections. The future Assembly, in the opinion of an independent critic, if these people become successful, would not be a Legislative Assembly but a council of elders formed under the F.C.R. and comprising Government pensioners, title-holders and *jagirdars* who would dance to the tune of the Government officials. We have already lost much prestige by the association of S. Aurangzeb Khan with the official world and working at their dictation and do not know where we shall stand if the present nominations of the Parliamentary Board are upheld.

Another rumour is that both Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Habibullah Khan are fifth-columnists in the Muslim League. We crave your permission to refer to a rumour which is being persistently diffused in this *'Ilaqa*. It is this that Abdul Qaiyum Khan has been specially instructed by Sir O[laf] Caroe to get hold of all these disgruntled and defeated members of the aristocracy of the time of late Sir Abdul Qayyum and bring them in the Legislative Assembly so that he should have an easy time when he comes over here as the Governor of the Province in March next. With this object in view, he has tried to eliminate the most qualified and highly educated patriots of this District from nominations.

With apologies for this long note,

We are,

Your most obedient servants,

GHULAM JAN

Secretary,

Haripur Muslim League

AND OTHERS

[1]Modern Turkey was founded as a republic in 1923 by Ataturk who abolished the *Khilafat*, an emotive issue for Indian Muslims who had launched a country-wide movement for its continuation. Actuated by the unscrupulous doctrine of political opportunism, Gandhi made a calculated bid to manipulate the *Khilafat* agitation as a ploy to force the issue of Indian independence from Britain. The agitation was called off by him in 1920 on perceiving that his casuistical bid was doomed to fail. See Sharif al-Mujahid, *Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, 15 & 281.

298

Mohammad Zaffar Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 140/18

GOVERNMENT MEHMANKHANA,
PESHAWAR,
24 November 1945

My dear respected Quaid-i-Azam,

With best respects it is my ardent duty to bring the real facts to your kind consideration. As I see, the new so-called League members who have joined the organization recently are trying to conceal the real facts from you and are kicking out the old sincere workers from the field altogether through their crooked means which are as follows:

Firstly, they had deceived Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan and Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman by inducing them to nominate such members in the Selection Board who have never served the organization uptil now and who have joined it now for their personal motives, and ignored altogether the old and sincere members of the Muslim League.

Secondly, the Selection Board has, in the first instance, given tickets to the Selection Board members and ignored altogether the real and sincere workers. They have not allowed even the respectable and influential people who have worked throughout for the cause of League even to meet you and to pay their respects and also to place the real facts before your kind notice. In this connection I would quote my own case that I have been several times to your place but no report of my desire for meeting you has been made to you.

I can confidently say that some of the members who have been given the League tickets are not sincere Leaguers and have got no influence in their respective constituencies and I am afraid that their failure in the forthcoming general election is likely to discredit the entire Musalmans of this Province for which we all are fighting.

Under the circumstances it is prayed that I may kindly be given an interview at the earliest possible opportunity so that I may bring the whole facts to your kind notice.[1]

With best and sincere wishes,

Yours sincerely,
NAWAB MOHAMMAD ZAFFAR
MLA

[1]See No. 299.

299

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Zaffar Khan

F. 140/17

PESHAWAR,
25 November 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 24th,[1] and beg to inform you that I have repeatedly made it clear that I have no power to interfere with your Provincial Selection Board or with the Central Parliamentary Board, who will finally decide and nominate the official League candidates for your Province, and I have given my reasons in the various speeches I have made recently publicly, that it will be improper on my part to interfere with these Boards or influence them directly or indirectly, because they are set up by our own constitution and they are subject to our rules and regulations.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Moh[amma]d Zaffar Khan
of Bannu, MLA,
Government Mehmankhana,
Peshawar

[1]No. 298.

300

M. A. Jinnah to Alam Zaib Khan

F. 140/24

PESHAWAR,
25 November 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] and I thank you for it. I am glad that you are wholeheartedly supporting the Muslim League. I would have seen your leading members with pleasure, but I am sorry I am unable to do so, as I am leaving Peshawar. This is the time for all of us to work. I am doing my bit, and I have to go to so many places in

different parts of India, and similarly I appeal to you to work. We have no time now for discussion and talking, as we must concentrate on the victory of the Muslim League in these elections.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Alam Zaib Khan,
President,
Anjuman Ittihad-i-Aqwam, Bajaur,
N.W.F.P.

[1]Not traceable.

301

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Ashfaq Siddiqi

F. 140/22

PESHAWAR,
25 November 1945

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your letter of November 17th,[1] and I have noted all that you say. My message to you is: work, support the Muslim League and let us have a thumping verdict in favour of Pakistan in these elections. All other matters must stand over till after the elections.

Thanking you again,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Mohammed Ashfaq Siddiqi, Esq.,
Hony. Secretary,
Old Boys' Association,
Mohammad Ali Memorial High School,
Beawar, Ajmer-Merwara

[1]No. 282.

302

Muhammad Younus to S. M. Padshah[1]
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 830/183

121 ANGAPPA NAICKEN STREET,
GEORGE TOWN,
MADRAS,
26 November 1945

Sir,

It is strongly desired by the workers of the Muslim League all over the Province that a Workers' Conference be held at the earliest possible date with a view to having a united and chalked-out programme of work, for the whole of this Province, especially at this juncture when the enemies of the Muslims are sparing no efforts to defeat the Muslim League candidates in the coming elections. For this purpose, it is very essential that the workers from different parts of this Presidency must assemble at a place and review the existing situation in different parts of this Province where Muslims are unevenly scattered, and to assist Muslim League organisations in all the areas in the Province in the election work. You are well aware that this Conference of workers of the Muslim League will be the first of its kind in this Presidency.

You will be pleased to know that arrangements are being made to form a reception committee of the Muslim League workers for the purpose. Your full support and guidance is earnestly hoped for.

The Conference will be held in the first week of January 1946. Nawabzada Mohamed Ismail Sahib, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman Sahib and Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad will be invited to attend the Conference and any one of these great leaders may preside.

Your advice in this connection is urgently and earnestly solicited.

Yours faithfully,
MUHAMMAD YOUNUS

[1]President, Madras Presidency Muslim League.

303

M. A. Jinnah to Faiz Mohammed

F. 140/28

PESHAWAR,
27 November 1945

Dear Mr. Faiz Mohammed,

I am very thankful to you for the splendid services that you have all rendered at the Conference and in working with such great discipline at the various meetings and gatherings that were arranged during my visit here. I congratulate your very efficient and well-disciplined body, whose services I had the good fortune to witness with my own eyes. I hope that you will maintain the same spirit and discipline and organize our National Guards who will be worthy of the honour of our nation.

I wish you every success,

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

Faiz Mohammed, Esq.,
Salar, Muslim National Guards,
NWFP

304

Mohammad Yunus to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/160

KATRA SHEIKH CHAND,
LAL KUAN, DELHI,
28 November 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Ever since I passed the M. A. examination in Economics from the St. Stephens College, Delhi, I had a mind to enter into the industrial life of the country. But due to my financial position I had to do government service for many years. I have now decided to enter into the business career.

My plans are that I should try to acquire a few processes for the manufacture of a few consumption [*sic*] goods from a few English or US firms and would explain them here. Thus the quality of my products would be assured.

I have already taken a process for the manufacture of wax boot polish from Messrs Steel Brothers and Co. Ltd. (a great English firm). I

am corresponding with a few US firms with regard to their processes for face creams, face powder and toilet soaps.

I have a very small amount of capital and cannot afford advertisement, etc. I have, therefore, decided to approach the Muslim educated youth only by means of pamphlets wherein I shall explain as a student of Economics how their support is hardly [*sic*] required for the support of Muslim industries.

I shall be obliged if you kindly send me your good wishes which I shall regard as my capital.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD YUNUS
M.A. (Eco.)

PS. I have also worked as a lecturer in Economics in the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi.

305

Latif Kasim Parkar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/157-9

TALUKA-KHED,
DISTRICT RATNAGIRI,
28 November 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Praise be unto *Allah*, the Creator of all human beings, for giving the Muslims a great leader like you. Just as the day follows the night and the night the day, so we Muslims of this District are also following you not because you are a prophet but because you are a faithful leader.

The Muslims of this District have faith in your leadership. We trust you with all our hearts and are prepared to sacrifice ourselves whenever you require us [to]. We will do our best to fulfil your heart's desire and obtain [*sic*] Pakistan, the word which is on the lips of every Muslim.

Ahmed Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer had visited our village Furus on 25-11-45 and given us your message which says that every Muslim should fight [for] this election and show the Hindus and false Muslims that the Muslim League is strong. Dear Quaid-i-Azam, we will do our best and fight this election and show the Hindus that we are strong.

The Hindus say that we are brothers but how can that be so. It is a great sin for the Muslims to eat pig whereas the Hindus are allowed to eat it. The Muslim can eat the flesh of cow whereas the Hindus do not. The Hindus don't believe in God whereas we believe in *Allah*. So how

can we be one when we differ in everything. We Muslims are a separate nation. We will follow you just as a river which flows on and on. When people criticise you they don't hurt you only, but 100,000 [*sic*] Muslims.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam, I am writing this letter on behalf of my village people and other Muslims of this District and we pray to *Allah* to spare you for many years more so that we Muslims may improve and be successful in obtaining Pakistan.

May the Muslims be successful in obtaining Pakistan. *Aameen*

Yours truly,
LATIF KASIM PARKAR

306

Ghulam Rasul to M. A. Jinnah

F. 610/3

QUETTA,
29 November 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Referring to our talk at Quetta on the 19th October 1945, about Rs. 35,000 under dispute between the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Baluchistan, and Qazi Muhammad Isa,[1] I invite your attention to my telegram dated the 13th November 1945, which ran as under:

> Please wire if twenty-first November Peshawar suits you.

I never received any reply to this telegram. For your early departure from Karachi we could not meet there.

2. In view of your preoccupation and my own circumstances I am doubtful if we could meet anywhere in the near future. I would, therefore, request you to convey the views of the other party with whom you must have talked over the matter. If he is willing to pay the amount everything ends; otherwise, I believe, you will agree, that the Anjuman will be within its rights if a remedy is sought in a law court.

3. You will appreciate that the matter has considerably been delayed, only for reference to you, and any more delay may be detrimental to the interests of the Anjuman. Requesting for any early reply.[2]

With good wishes and regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM RASUL

[1]See No. 318.
[2]See No. 328.

307

Ismail E. Kaka to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (735)

267 FRASER STREET,
RANGOON,
30 November 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The position of the Muslims, during the Japanese occupation of Burma, was one of degradation and despair as they were generally supposed to be reactionary and pro-British. Their activities in every field, particularly in politics, had to be suspended. Muslim religion was pressed into service by the propagandists to bring the Muslims into disrepute with the Japanese. We have to admit with much regret that the propagandists scored a degree of success in their onslaught against the Muslims.

Muslims were compelled, by force of circumstances, to show leaning towards Congress, much against their own wishes, to escape maltreatment and humiliation at the hands of Japanese and their friends. In those dark days what sustained and kept [*sic*] the Muslims was their ultimate faith and confidence in the triumph of truth and righteousness. With the defeat of the Japanese, Muslims feel that they have been delivered out of the hands of the oppressors, and they considered it desirable and necessary to organise themselves for their future prospects.

Hence Muslim League is being reconstituted to achieve unity among the Muslims in Burma.

Yours truly,
ISMAIL E. KAKA
General Secretary,
Burma Muslim League

308

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/2-3

CALCUTTA,
[*Undated*] *November 1945*

Honoured Sir,

I am an Indian, unknown and trifling. As an Indian, I have a claim

to approach you and beg to place before you some thoughts about India. I pray, please throw light on them and publish in the press, specially in Calcutta. I beg to convey my regards and apologise for my inability of mentioning my name.

India is suffering under bondage. Her four hundred million children are feeling the agony and are crying for freedom. They have organised and the Indian National Congress is in footing [*sic*]. They have leaders—leaders not of same group and not of same outlook. There must exist groups in a vast land like India—vast in area, vast in population, vast in religion and spiritualism. Some are 'don't care' about any group. They want to see the whole of India happy. Some leaders like to see their respective groups happy. Thus have come the Mahasabha, the League, the Communist Party (with different names), and each of these is a claimant of some special interests of their own. But none can forget freedom. So, the Congress is the genus and other organisations its species. The League wants happiness and prosperity of a fraction of Indians but the Congress wants the same for the whole. The League wants independence of Bengal, Assam, Baluchistan, Kashmir, N.W.F.P., Sind and the Punjab, and wants to form a federation. Then there will be another federation of the other parts of India. These two will each be bi-federation [*sic*], either being a unit of the Federation of India. So, League's demands are within the scope of the Congress. The Congress should revise its constitution to hold all groups and hear and meet their demands and grievances. It should be an all-representing one.

The Indian National Army is the pride of India. Russia is proud of Stalin. France is proud of General de Gaulle whose portrait, the Victor of Verdun,[1] on entry into free France, embraced [*sic*] to his heart. Would not Subhas Chandra [Bose] and his valiant generals and soldiers be treated by Indians in the same spirit? Can India forget them? What a burning love for motherland! These generals belie the European propaganda that Indian Musalmans do not cherish freedom. They prove they are more active.

Communal clash—it is bad. But has it not been magnified? In a country of four hundred million people, if one or two hundred die in such clashes, is it much or is it more than street accidents? Besides, the spirit that one can die for one's ideals, should be adored. Musalmans of India should be praised for the same. They have courage. They have unity.

[UNSIGNED]

[1]A town in France, scene of heroic French resistance to German attack in several battles of World War I in 1916.

309

Sh. Abdur Rasheed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/180-1

29A TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
1 December 1945

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly accept my sincerest congratulations on your grand and Nawabzada's well-deserved election success. May God the Almighty inflict still heavier defeats on the enemies of Islam and the League—*Aameen*.

Doubts about the success of Bengal League candidates in the Central[1] and Provincial Assemblies are growing by [*sic*] Congress propaganda and blackout of Bengal news in the *Dawn*. Will you kindly clarify the position publicly at an early date—if the situation demands, by reinforcing the League activities in Bengal by a fresh batch of Aligarh University students. Let 100% seats be captured[2] in the Bengal Presidency— *Insha Allah*.

Kindly answer my question: what are the basis and facts on which Mr. Nehru is so sanguine [as] to force the British to quit India in a couple of years' time? Is it the secret army that he is reputed [*sic*] to be organizing or something else?

Praying for your longevity and [for] complete success of the League [so] that it may have a permanent hold on the Muslims of India by the establishment of Pakistan and that the movement may not be lost, as the Hindu critics say, like the gas of the soda water.

I am,

Your obedient follower,
SH. ABDUR RASHEED
B.A., LL.B.

[1]All Muslim seats in the Central Legislative Assembly were captured by the Muslim League.
[2]114 out of 117 Muslim seats in the Bengal Legislative Assembly were won by ML.

310

Abdul Wajid to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 882/169-70

RAMNAGAR,
PAHARGANJ,
NEW DELHI,
1 December 1945

Dear Nawabzada,

On the eve of your departure for NWFP, I take the privilege of placing before you the position of the Muslim League in that Province with some suggestions. The Muslim League leaders in that Province must be keeping in close touch with you and must have supplied you with detailed information but I also feel it my duty to point out certain deficiencies which can be overcome without difficulty.

The entire Province is awakened to the cause for which the Muslim League stands. This awakening is not due to any propaganda work done by the League but has been the result of dissatisfaction with the Congress Ministry that prevails. The present Ministry accepted office with only one aim and that was to remove the corruption that unfortunately had been prevalent in the time of Mr. Aurangzeb Khan, but it has badly failed in its object and corruption is still rampant there. The League, due to its tender age, has not been able to convey its message to the rural areas with the result that the dissatisfied people of the villages are under suspense. They have, on the one side, to dissociate themselves from an organization which they have cherished so long and break away with some relations who are still sticking to their old ideas and, on the other, they do not find any organized body to which they can give strength and also receive strength. Urban areas have their League branches but the rural ones are almost without it [*sic*]. Urban people are all with the League but those in the villages, who need to be approached, have entirely been ignored. After having been firmly established in the cities, it is high time to start propaganda in the villages. For the achievement of this we have to cope with shortage of workers. I suggest the following:

i. Prospective League candidates should carry out preliminary tours of their constituencies and form League branches in all villages fixing responsibility on individuals. The Pathans are of a nature that unless they are approached they feel an insult to vote for

anybody. Every voter has got to be approached by a person who is a member of the League branch of the *Mohalla* or village. This should be done before the Congress agents can reach them.

ii. Your speech in Aligarh College aroused great response. Similar speech in Islamia College, Peshawar, will give you at least five hundred student workers. Xmas holidays are approaching and, without wasting their academic time, they can do a lot in those few days.

iii. The entire teacher community is behind the League. Promises given by the Congress Ministry to the Teachers' Association after their strike in February last have now been violated. The President of the Association has been dismissed from service and other prominent workers are now being persecuted. The President of the Association commands great influence amongst teachers and if he can be employed to work for the League he can make all other teachers active workers. At present they are carrying on passively but that work can be converted into active one. No doubt this will cause a complication afterwards but the poor teachers can be satisfied without difficulty.

iv. Courses of training should be organized on Aligarh and the Punjab lines.

Moulvis and fluent speakers from the Punjab and U.P. should be sent to Frontier. They will be more successful than local Pathan *Moulvis*.

Qur'anic verses bearing on the solidarity of the *Millat* and enjoining to [*sic*] keep separate from other communities should be published in leaflet form with Urdu and Pushto translations and distributed widely. I quote one or two verses:

> "O you who believe, do not take people other than yourselves as intimate friends for they will not falter in inflicting loss upon you; they love what distresses you; vehement hatred of you has become apparent from their utterance and what their breasts conceal is greater still. *Allah* has made His communications clear to you if you understand."

And again:

> "You will not find a people who believe in *Allah* and the latter-day [*sic*] befriending those who act in opposition to *Allah* and His apostle even though they were their fathers or their sons or their brothers or their kinsfolk."

So many other verses can be cited but at present the above two will suffice.

I hope you will find these humble suggestions useful.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL WAJID

311

Shiv Ram Kochar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 926/176

1 WELLINGTON MALL,
LAHORE CANT.,
1 December 1945

Dear Sir,

In the course of your speech[1] delivered to the students of the Islamia College, Peshawar, on 25.11.45 [26.11.1945], as published in the *Tribune*, Lahore, dated 27.11.45, you said, "Concede our demand for Pakistan with grace or we shall take it."

As these words are being repeated since 1940, will you therefore be good enough to state as to when and from whom you will take the Pakistan.

The provinces of your Pakistan, viz. NWFP, Sind, Baluchistan, Bengal and Assam, are ruled by the British Government and unless these are conceded to you, your Pakistan cannot be established.

In view of this fact, will you please throw light [*sic*] if you have ever addressed the Viceroy in this connection or taken any direct action to take these provinces from the Government. So far it has been observed that you always address the Congress and occasionally the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikhs, and fulminate against these bodies although the aforementioned provinces are not in their possession.

Is it not, as the people say, that Pakistan is merely a stunt, for Mr. Jinnah has never dared, and is also not expected in the future, to take any direct action, as is done by the Congress and other bodies, and they further allege that he simply makes speeches and quarrels with the Congress in order to create embitterment [*sic*] in the country which suits the policy of "divide and rule" of John Bull.

To remove the above impressions from the minds of people, who belong to no party but want communal peace and advancement of brotherhood in the country, will you be good enough to reply at your early convenience.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the press.

Your well-wisher,
SHIV RAM KOCHAR

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 332-7.

312

Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem Siddiqi to M.A. Jinnah

F. 882/316-7

OSMAN SHAHI,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
2 December 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

First of all I hasten to offer my loyal greetings and congratulations on your glorious victory in the election. It is a victory not only for you but for the whole Muslim nation indeed.

The Musalmans of Hyderabad desire to celebrate your birthday on 14th January 1946, and are very anxious to welcome you here and to weigh you in silver on this date. Elaborate arrangements are being made under the auspices of Quaid-i-Millat Library, Hyderabad (Dn), and with the object of requesting you to grace this occasion, the managing committee of the Library came to Bombay on 30th November 1945, but were informed by Miss Fatima Jinnah that it would not be possible for another two days to have an interview. On approaching Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, Moulana Ibn-e-Hasan Razvi and Miss Fatima Jinnah with a request to come to Hyderabad on this auspicious day, all of them have very kindly consented to come except Miss Fatima Jinnah who told us that her visit would be conditional on your visit.

Now I request you most earnestly to pay a visit to Hyderabad on 14th January 1946, and grant the Musalmans of Hyderabad an opportunity of fulfilling their long-cherished desire. This date has been, in anticipation, announced in the press. If anyhow this date does not suit you and is not convenient according to your engagements then it is entirely left to you to fix any other date in February or March for your birthday celebrations, especially when your diary includes the programme of a visit to Hyderabad in the near future. Arrangements will be made according to the date fixed by you.

It is requested to kindly keep the fact in mind that your presence here is necessary not only for the object of weighing you in silver but, on the eve of impending reforms in Hyderabad, your valued guidance and wise counsels will immensely facilitate the future course of action to be adopted by the Muslims of India's premier State in moulding their destinies for generations to come.

Your advice in this regard will be anxiously awaited.[1]

Yours truly,
BAHAUDDIN MHAMOOD SALEEM SIDDIQI
General Secretary,
Quaid-i-Millat Library

[1]Jinnah regretted he was unable to visit Hyderabad, Deccan, until after the general elections. See F. 882/315, *QAP*. Not printed.

313

Syed Aziz Shahpuri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/88

149B AKBARPUR,
ALLAHABAD,
2 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Accept my congratulations on the brilliant success of the Muslim League in the elections to the Central Assembly.

In reality, the forces arrayed by the Congress against our national organization have been completely vanquished but the enemy is not going to accept his defeat and is again organizing the defeated parties to unite and fight the provincial elections in order to regain his lost prestige.

I dare to offer some suggestions. Please excuse me for this boldness. Please go through this letter patiently and, if you find them acceptable, please do try to use them to the best advantage.

The organizations or parties, viz. Jami'at al-'Ulama-i-Hind, Ahrar, Ansar, Khaksar, which have tasted the bitter fruit of their disloyalty to the only true party of Muslims of India, are feeling, I think, ashamed of their actions. They may be wishing to come to our side but may be waiting for some pretext. Some of them may be seeking some excuse for deserting the Congress camp.

You should, therefore, as a leader of the Muslim League, invite the presidents of those organizations. After all they are our brothers. We should forget their mistakes and forgive them. If the Muslim League takes the initiative, it is not an insult to it because the Muslim League is, at present, victorious. The opposite parties may feel insult [*sic*] to approach the League for negotiations because they have been defeated. Muslims have always been broad-minded and large-hearted. Please show the same character of Muslims at this time and win over those brothers of ours who have gone astray. In the provincial elections it will be smooth sailing if these parties join the League. I hope you have understood my point. The detailed procedure may be chalked out by you.

I request you to reply[1] at your earliest convenience whether you agree to my proposal or not. I am enclosing herewith postage stamps worth Rs. 0-1-6 for the reply.

Praying for your long life and hoping to receive a line in reply,

I am,

One of your sincere followers,

SYED AZIZ SHAHPURI

[1]See No. 359.

314

Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP VI/72

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

MAHMUDABAD HOUSE,
QAISERBAGH,
LUCKNOW,
3 December 1945

My dear uncle,

In the beginning of this, which is my first letter to you since my recent appearance in public on the platform of the League, I take the opportunity to salute you, our Quaid-i-Azam.

I offer to you, Sir, my humble services as a soldier in the cause for which the Muslim League stands and has stood so bravely heretofore. I am at your service now. I need not tell you, Sir, that the Muslims of India are praying that Pakistan may be attained, by the grace of God, under your able leadership and in your lifetime.

Your recent statement on the form of government in Pakistan has emboldened me to pen these few lines for your perusal. I am glad, Sir, that you have dispelled, to a great extent, all the doubts that were being entertained on this score. I welcome, Sir, your statement (though you only expressed your personal opinion) that the Government of Pakistan will be on democratic lines with state control over the key industries. Let us hope that the constitution of Pakistan will be modelled on the latest and most up-to-date experiences of the practical working of democracy rather than on vague and indefinite slogans such as *Hakumat-i-Ilahiyya* etc.

The Congress Party has issued its manifesto and it is high time the League also issued its manifesto. As long as we were concerned merely with the few privileged voters of the Central Assembly, the cry of Pakistan was quite enough, but now, when we shall have to deal with less educated

persons, there is a likelihood (at least in this Province) that the Congress slogans of "abolition of *zamindari*", "prohibition", etc., together may catch a considerable number of voters. To counteract those influences, I have drafted a few points for a manifesto, but I first wish to ascertain whether there is anything in these points which is likely to go against the League's present policy. Some points may be suitable for an all-India policy, while others may be desirable in certain provinces only. We can easily give effect to the constructive points of our manifesto in those provinces where our party forms the government. In other provinces, we may not be able to give effect to our manifesto without the help of other parties but such a manifesto will at least have these advantages:

i. It will guide our MLAs.
ii. It will give the lie to Congress propaganda that the League has no constructive programme.
iii. If the Congress or Unionists oppose any of its points, our press will be able to criticize the reactionary policy of Congress or Unionists.

In short, Sir, I want the League to show these *Congresswalas* that our *Rajas, Nawabs,* Knights and *Kothiwalas* are more progressive than their *Sona Chandiwalas.*

With *salaam* to *Phuphi* [Miss Fatima Jinnah] and affectionate regard to you,

Yours affectionately,
NABBU
[MOHAMMAD AMIR AHMAD KHAN]

PS. I shall feel grateful if you will kindly give me an opportunity to discuss with you the points of the manifesto after *Moharram* (i.e. the 18th of December). Waiting for a word in reply,[1]

Yours affectionately ,
NABBU

[1]Jinnah replied that the views expressed were very encouraging and hoped to discuss them, when possible. See *SHC,* UP VI/73. Not printed.

315

H. Abdus Sattar H. Ishaq Seth to M.A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/100-2

TELLICHERRY,
4 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I could not write to you before this because it was difficult to reach

you in your tour. Hooseinbhoy only gave the Muslims of Bombay a very good opportunity to demonstrate their affection and regard for you. Similar is the case here. The so-called Majlis candidate, who is opposing me on the strength of Hindu money and support, gave the Muslims of these parts a very good opportunity of demonstrating to the world their great regard for and attachment to the League. The election was held on the 1st instant. The reports that are being received from every part of the constituency clearly show that I am having an easy walkover. Out of 5,000 votes, so far tabulated in my office, my rival gets about 450, that too after giving him a generous margin out of doubtful votes. Reports from some more centres have yet to come. But they are all strong League centres. So, with the help of God, we can be sure of splendid victory for the League in this constituency as well as in the other Madras constituency where the League candidate is being opposed by a so-called nationalist Muslim candidate, who is supported, among others, by the ill-famed Dr. Abdul Latif.

I have sent a telegram to you yesterday[1] giving a brief report of the position here. I feel proud that Moplas have given a glorious account of themselves in this election. They maintained a solidarity that was unique. Voters—very old people among them—came walking for miles together to vote for the League. Even *purdah*-observing ladies came out in large numbers to record their votes for the League candidate. In many places my rival failed to get any quarter. People refused even to see him. The Congress press tried to raise the false cry of violence on the part of the Muslim Leaguers. But the district officials refused to be stampeded into hasty action. Of course many Hindu officials did use their official position to win support for my rival. But the Moplas, poor and uneducated as the vast number of voters among them are, refused to be cajoled. The counting of votes which is to take place on the 10th at Calicut will show the splendid stand of the 15 lakhs of Moplas behind the League.

I must now plead the case of my people before you with greater strength than I have done before. We have always been very considerate about your health and about the heavy duties that fall on you. My people have done glorious work during the past ten years. They are now knit into one solid bloc and stand ready for your call. The Congress spent money like water—they used every influence, that of the Hindu zamindars, the Hindu moneylenders and the Hindu officials. But nothing daunted the Moplas. All this they have done during the last ten years fondly hoping for, and keenly looking forward to, the day when you will be in their midst to see and appreciate their work. They have been watching your travelling about in north India. But still they waited for your pleasure.

Now the time has come when I must plead their case with a little more insistence. Before the session of the Central Assembly and the provincial elections intervene, you must agree to pay a short visit to Moplas. It need not take much of your time. Bombay is only four hours' flying distance from Cannanore. There used to be a regular Tata's Airline service. We are prepared to arrange a special aeroplane for the purpose of your tour. You can leave Bombay after breakfast and be in Cannanore (Malabar) for lunch. The journey actually takes less than four hours. The distance is about 400 miles. I shall accompany you in the plane.

You need spend only three days in Malabar. We shall arrange a very light programme with only one meeting a day with plenty of time for rest. There will be no processions of the usual noisy nerve-racking sort. All our processions will be in the form of state drives where the spectators will line both sides of the road and your car will pass slowly between them. They will keep standing and not move with your car. I need not state that the greatest care will be bestowed [*sic*] on your health and comfort, sparing you as much as possible. You know me very well in that respect.

Please permit me to plead that you must do this for my people who have remained patient for ten long years. I am prepared to come over to Bombay to arrange this tour in consultation with you. Please send me a wire. Any day after the 10th will suit me. I shall arrange the aeroplane and fix the programme. The weather is most suitable in Malabar now. It will continue to be so till the end of January. Christmas week is the best. But you can choose any time you like. Only it has to be before the commencement of the Central Assembly session. Believe me the whole of the west coast is waiting breathlessly for your reply. Your favourable reply will set a wave of happiness all over this vast area. Please give my people this supreme happiness which is their just due.

Yours sincerely,
H.A.S.H.I. SETH
MLA (Central)

PS. A telegram from you, on the announcement of the result of my election, expressing your appreciation of the solid stand of the Moplas for the League, will be very greatly appreciated. You can make that telegram the vehicle for announcing your visit to Malabar.[2]

H.A.S.H.I.S.

[1]Not traceable.
[2]In a telegraphic reply, Jinnah promised he would tell him later about his visit to Madras. See *SHC*, Madras II/104. Not printed.

316

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/190-3

BOMBAY,
5 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to offer you my sincere congratulations on your splendid success in Bombay election. We, the Muslims, sincerely pray to the Almighty God that He may give you a long and happy life to lead us to the cherished goal. Your majority was a crushing blow to the so-called nationalist Muslims and Hindu Congress.

I now crave your indulgence to the [*sic*] following few lines and trust you will give them full consideration:

I am a young League worker. My honest belief, and this is shared by many more young Leaguers, [is] that the present League leadership in Bombay is not up to the mark. This was apparent from the speeches made at the Kaiser Bagh meeting held last night. Many people were disappointed with the performance. It is honestly believed that the present Bombay Parliamentary Board is full of favourites and does not command full confidence. Unless your goodself takes personal interest in the selection of candidates for the provincial election, the whole programme will fail. Success in central election merely [*sic*] should not be a guide. Here voters are many and varied. The Board has a difficult task ahead but lacks common sense and tact.

There are already rumours that one seat from Bombay is reserved for Khan Bahadur Hasanally. This will be a very bad selection. Mr. Hasanally is a sincere social worker but this should not be all. He is not a politician. The best selection of a Khoja will be either Mr. Somji or Habib Ibrahim. We must send people who understand politics and are able to give fight to Congress giants and not merely to fill seats. Mr. Hasanally may well be sent to Bombay Council. Another rumour is that the Parliamentary Board does not want to give a ticket to Dr. A. Hamid of Khandesh. This will be sheer injustice. He deserves a ticket. Mr. Aziz Gafoor Kazi does not deserve any ticket now. He has lost his influence and hold on the people of Ratnagiri. This is evident from the recent election to Central Assembly from Southern Division. It is estimated that out of 183 votes secured by Mr. Lalljee, more than 100 votes were from Ratnagiri District. Apart from this, Mr. Kazi inwardly helped

Mr. Lalljee as he was personally opposed to Mr. Haroon Jaffer, although his nomination was endorsed by you. The League ticket for Ratnagiri should not, therefore, be given either to Mr. Kazi or his son but to a really deserving young man from that side who resides there. Mr. Kazi may at the most be given ticket for Bombay Council. Please remember many such things will have to be weighed in respect of each district before selection is finally made. I would suggest that in each case the applicants may be requested first to decide amongst themselves so as to minimize friction. This will incidentally create confidence in the Board and cooperation amongst workers. Otherwise there will be defections and, with Congress help and money, the position of the League will be difficult.

Many thanks, Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours obediently,
A young League worker

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S. M. Syed Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/196

146 KEYZER STREET,
COLOMBO,
5 December 1945

Respected Sir,

While your most honourable services for the upliftment [*sic*] and welfare of the Muslims of India have been ringing at my heart [*sic*] uninterruptedly, your recent election to the Central Legislative Assembly, representing the Muslim section of the Bombay City, especially at a time when the All India Muslim League is facing political opposition from many sectors, inspires in me the doubtless hope for ensuing victories over [*sic*] the greatest cause of Muslim independence by means of the establishment of Pakistan, which alone, as uttered by you some days ago, is the solution to the present Indian deadlock and for a peaceful Muslim living [*sic*] and for the achievement of which every Muslim should strive his utmost.

Honoured Sir, I beg to write these few lines only to reveal to you my loyalty to the All India Muslim League and my willingness to co-operate with you (at this old age of mine) through my earnest prayers for a glorious attainment of our sole aim—Pakistan.

May Almighty God bless you more and more to be a formidable guide of the Indian Musalmans and the Muslims of the world at large.

Salaam

I am,
Dear Sir,
Your sincere brother-in-Islam,
S. M. SYED HUSSAIN

318

M. A. Jinnah to Qazi Mohammad Isa

F. 610/4

5 December 1945

Dear Mr. Isa,

While at Quetta you were good enough to explain to me certain matters relating to Anjuman-i-Islamia which are in dispute, and you promised me to carry out what seemed to me a very reasonable course, but you have not yet done so. I am writing for it, and the sooner you do it the better in order to remove any doubts and suspicions. I have been pressed again to let them know the result of my talk with you, and therefore please do not delay it. If I don't hear from you within a reasonable time, I shall communicate to the other side that I have spoken to you, and that it is now a matter for you and the other side to fight it out.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

319

Khwaja Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/73

MOST CONFIDENTIAL

11 WALIULLAH LANE,
EAST WELLESLEY SQR.,
CALCUTTA,
5 December 1945

Dear honoured Sir,

For some time I was seriously thinking of writing to you about Bengal position but your whereabouts [*sic*] prevented me so long. About

some serious developments here you are our last hope for remedy. You have most probably come to know that Sir Nazim has almost decided not to come to the Bengal Legislature. This is simply due to nothing else except his apprehension arising out of the demeanour of Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, that he (Sir Nazim) is not likely to be the Premier if the Muslim [League] ministry be formed. You perhaps know that in the Parliamentary Board, Mr. Suhrawardy's party is in majority. This is simply due to the fact that Sir Nazim is always guided by three most unpopular and unwanted gentlemen: Fazlur Rahman (former Chief Whip), Shahabuddin (ex-Minister) and Hamidal Huq Chowdhury, MLC. Otherwise, as you also perhaps know, individually men like Mr. Suhrawardy cannot bear any comparison with Sir Nazim who is the fittest man in all respects to be the foremost leader of Bengal. Sir Nazim has, of course, gone out on tour with other members of the Board and he says that though he is not going to contest he will always do his best for the community. Of course, this is always expected from [*sic* for of] him.

Now, Sir, the position is this. Bengal Muslims have great faith in Sir Nazim. Without him Muslim ministry is not possible. Europeans and any other community are not expected to co-operate with any other gentleman except Sir Nazim. It is also apprehended by many people that Mr. Suhrawardy may nominate his supporters, irrespective of merit. In that case League position will greatly suffer, besides other questions. It is learnt that Sir Nazim had privately asked for some sort of assurance from Mr. Suhrawardy, lest he may be humiliated afterwards, as also apprehended by many responsible quarters. But Mr. Suhrawardy is not ready to convince him, at least of that position. Our contention is that if Mr. Suhrawardy has no ulterior motive then what is the harm in both of them clearing their position at least privately. Facts are to be faced and there should be no mincing of matters.

You are, therefore, most earnestly requested to advise them to make up their differences at this most vital moment of Muslim destiny. The present critical situation is really undermining League position internally. A mild chastisement to Mr. Suhrawardy from you is really called for. Decent sections of Muslims do not like him and his selfish activities. The League in Bengal has only become a little more popular after his exit as the General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League.

Yours sincerely,
KHWAJA AHMED
LL. B. (Alig.)
Advocate

Jinnah with his sister Fatima Jinnah at Matheran Railway Station, April 1939

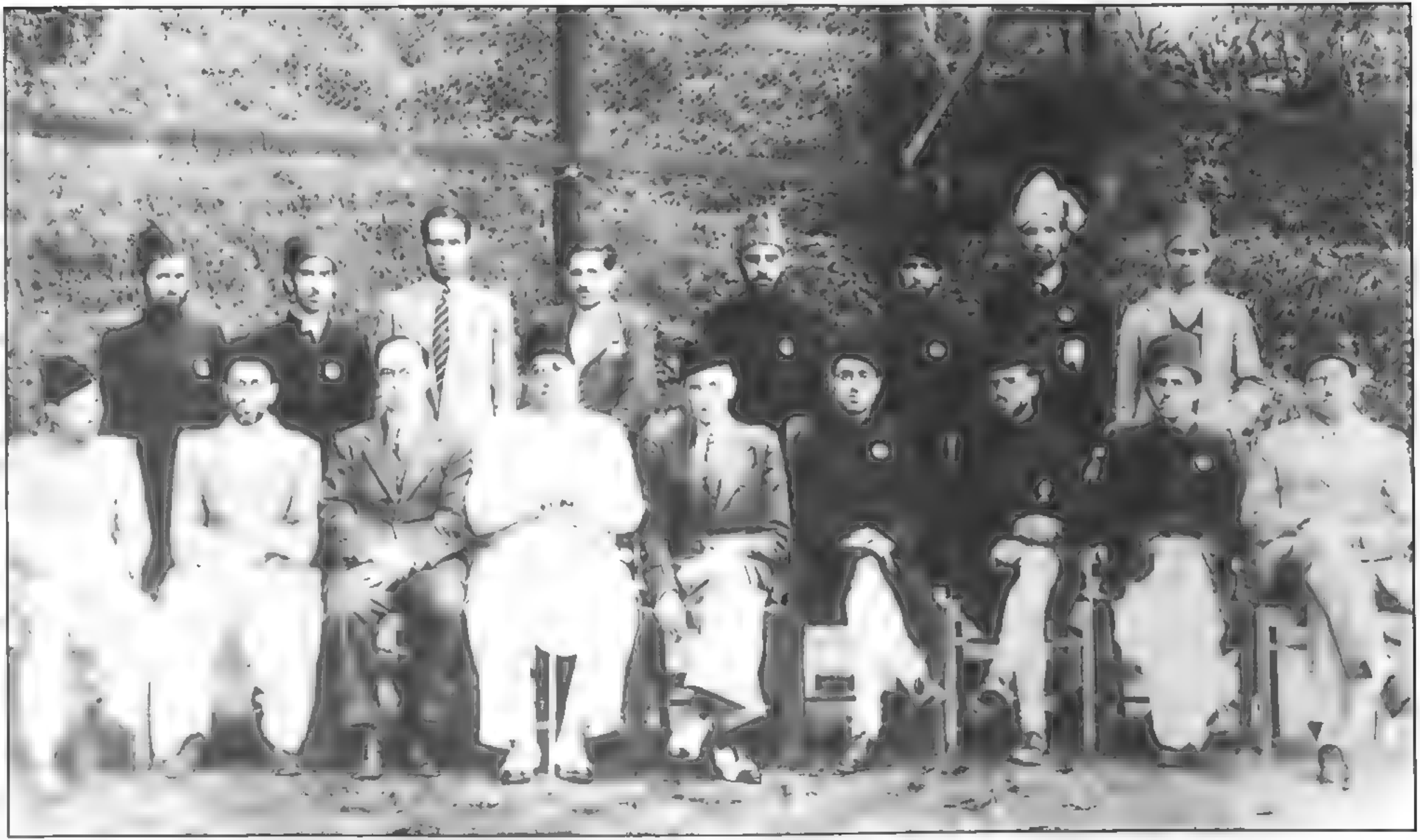
Jinnah with war correspondents, July 1942

Jinnah with prominent Muslim ladies at Rockland Guest House, Hyderabad, Deccan

Jinnah and sister with Muslim National Guards at Ahmadabad, 1945

Jinnah and sister photographed with an Army Unit

Jinnah on way to venue of Simla Conference, 1945



Jinnah with office-bearers of Simla District Muslim League, 1945

Tribesmen of NWFP present the traditional gift of a goat to Jinnah, 1946

Jinnah at Cunningham Park, Peshawar, April 1948

Jinnah and sister on way to the opening ceremony of State Bank of Pakistan, Karachi,
1 July 1948

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M. A. Jinnah to Imtiyaza

SHC, P&P I/117

5 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 15th.[1] and thank you for the copies of *The Mind of Muslim India* that you have sent me, but I regret to have to say that you have committed a great blunder, as was done by a Madras writer previously, in stating that my wife received a dowry of thirty lakhs of rupees. That was contradicted, and that writer [word illegible] it in the second edition of his book. Actually you have made another mistake in saying that my daughter is married to a Parsi. I wish that you had not written about the private life of a man without making sure of the real facts. Of course, I appreciate your motive and intention in taking the trouble of writing this little pamphlet, and that it is inspired by your desire to help the Muslim League.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Imtiyaza, Esq., B.A.,
C/o Mohammad Ghouse Peer Sahib,
Headmaster,
Erangeri,
Mysore

Imtiyaza had requested Jinnah's opinion about his publication, *The Mind of Muslim India*. See *SHC*, P&P I/116. Not printed.

321

Ghulam Nabi Auj to M. A. Jinnah

F. 906/133

KARACHI,
5 December 1945

My dear *Janab* Quaid-i-Azam,

You will be glad to know that the Anjuman Taraqq-i-Urdu, Karachi, has decided to hold provincial Urdu conference at Karachi on December

22 to 24, wherein distinguished personalties of India are expected to participate.

It would not be irrelevant to refer that this Anjuman has been sincerely and earnestly engaged in making Urdu language acceptable to Sindhis and we are, to a great extent, satisfied at the realisation of our hopes and endeavours. Through our efforts the Education Dept. is showing great propensity towards the adoption of Urdu as an essential subject in primary schools.

However, we hope one day Sindh, like the Punjab, will be a cherished centre of our linguistic and political aspirations.

I am quite aware of your present heavy engagements and I sincerely pray for your success which is ultimately the success of all the Musalmans of India. *Aameen*

In the end I earnestly request you to kindly find few moments and oblige the Anjuman with your most esteemed message for the occasion.

Most sincerely yours,
GHULAM NABI AUJ
Secretary,
Anjuman-i-Tarraqi-i-Urdu

322

S. A. Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar I/76

PATNA,
5 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I trust you must have received my telegram[1] which I despatched last evening hurriedly after I heard of the big news on the wireless.

Muslim India has been vindicated by your signal victory and it is a colossal honour to the Muslim world. I have no doubt that the ten crore Muslims of India and outside must be praying [to] God to spare you long enough to guide the destinies of the nation whom you have undoubtedly brought from the mire of obscurity to the blaze of limelight. Mr. Hooseinbhai Lalljee will, no doubt, preserve this election as a souvenir which has, however, enabled him to link up his name with that of yours. My only prayer is that God may spare you another century with sound and perfect health to nurse the nation, which you have so lovingly fondled in your arms and which has now grown to be a stalwart warrior ready to break lance at the slightest challenge.

I fear I am encroaching too much on your most precious time, but I could not resist the intrusion; for apart from other weighty considerations, I cannot forget the kindness shown to me in my adversity in Delhi.

With profound regards and respect,

Yours respectfully,
S. A. ASHRAF
Senior Deputy Magistrate and Collector

[1]Not traceable.

323

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/103

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
5 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

There was spontaneous rejoicing in Muslim quarters when the result of your election was announced. Need I say how glad I am that Lalljee has been taught the lesson of his life? I cannot forget the talk between Ardeshir Dalal and Lalljee on the 20th October last in the lobby of the Central Assembly in the presence of Azizul Haque and myself:

Dalal to Lalljee: "Well, I take my hat off to you for having announced your decision to cross swords with Jinnah. You are either a brave man or a very foolish fellow". Lalljee:"Why? I am not foolish nor does it require bravery to face and defeat Jinnah".

Dalal:"Oh! really? The result will show who is right, You or I".

Myself. "Exactly!"

Amir has been returned with a thumping majority. I am bursting with joy. Our candidates too are making excellent progress and *Insha Allah* we shall teach our opponents the lesson of their lives.

Muslim League *Zindabad*!

Mohammad Ali Jinnah *Zindabad*!

Our cause is just and with *Allah*'s help we shall go from success to success, in spite of the gigantic obstacles that are put in our way and in spite of the money bags that are being emptied at the feet of Muslims who come forward to abuse the League.

When may we expect you in Bengal?

With kind regards and praying for your good health,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

324

M. A. Jinnah to Mofizur Rahman

Telegram, SHC, Students I/111

5 December 1945

Mofizur Rahman, Secretary, All Bengal Muslim Medical Students' Association, 28 Convent Road, Calcutta.

Your telegram.[1] Wish you all success your conference eight December. My message "Establish complete unity, face elections with grim determination. Issue life-death. Every vote for League means rescue of hundred million Musalmans, Islam, Pakistan. Every vote against League means transfer slavery from British to Hindu *raj*. Students of Bengal I am confident will not fail us."

M. A. JINNAH

[1]See *SHC*, Students I/110. Not printed.

325

Syed Maqsood Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/206-7

SANYO GITA GANJ,
248 NAYAPURA,
INDORE, C.I.,

6 December 1945

My beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Accept my most heartiest [*sic*][1] congratulations on your success in the Central Assembly election. How proud and pleased I am on your success. If all trees were pens and the mighty oceans [were] ink they could not describe my feelings of joy and happiness. I was doubly glad to learn that your opponent who was induced by the Hindu Congress forfeited his deposit which completely exposed the hollowness of nationalist Congress Muslims of their pretentions that the Muslim masses are with them. This will open the eyes of the Hindu Congress for ever and keep the[ir] hands off Muslims at the forthcoming provincial elections.

The present elections in every part of India will clearly show that the Muslims of India are solidly behind the All India Muslim League and are determined to achieve their cherished goal of Pakistan under the able and powerful leadership of their beloved Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

In conclusion, I supplicate the Almighty *Allah* for rich blessings to be showered upon your goodself and grant you a long life to steer the ship of Pakistan to its destination, [which] is the daily prayer of mine.

I am yours till my life is ended.

SYED MAQSOOD ALI

[1]A solecism, though Shakespeare, in *Julius Caesar*, did use the expression, "the 'most unkindest' cut of all."

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S. K. Sider to M. A. Jinnah

F. 926/181-3

[*Original in Urdu*]

[*Extract*]

6 December 1945

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

Jai Hind

As a Muslim I have a right to express my views before you. Many years ago when I was in Europe, I used to hear people sing your praises and admire about your popular craving for freedom of India.

But it appears to me that you and your Muslim League are against freedom for India but though do not understand your reasons. Is there some secret behind it?

I beseech you to take active part in the struggle for freedom along with other Indians under the banner of Indian National Army (INA). Presently, they are sacrificing their lives or rotting in jails, while their families lead a life of untold miseries, only for the sake of freedom. Your help in this struggle would earn you appreciation and you would be remembered fondly in history. Have mercy on the sufferings of the INA freedom fighters and announce your resolve for a free India.

We all pray to the Almighty God for your long life.

Hoping to get an early response,

Yours obediently,

S. K. SIDER

327

T. M. A. Wahid to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/120

TRICHINOPOLY,
6 December 1945

Sir,

Pray accept my hearty congratulations on your splendid success in

the elections by a thumping majority making your rival lose his deposit which will serve as a lesson to those Muslims who are opposed to the League. This marvellous success coupled with the thought-provoking triumph of the Muslim candidates all over India will convince the British Government and Lord Wavell of the truth and force of your contention of the two-nation theory and will stultify the imagination of the Congress leaders who state that Congress represents all Indians including Muslims.

By the by I beg to refer to my previous letters and submit that my externment from my homeland, followed by forced separation from my family as a result of my patriotism and loyalty to Govt., and my premature retirement from service for my stern enforcement of rules in respect of Congress prisoners, has put me to untold hardships and sufferings. I therefore request that you will be pleased to sympathise with my case and move Lord Wavell to get me the legitimate relief which has been persistently denied to me. The enclosed letter[1] may also be given your kind perusal to see if any suggestion can be put through with success to save the I.N.A. men on trial for treason.

With my *tasleemat* and prayers for your long life, and *Khuda Hafiz*

Your faithful co-religionist,
T. M. A. WAHID

[1]See *SHC*, Madras I/118-9. Not printed.

328

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Rasul

F. 610/1-2

7 December 1945

Dear Mr. Ghulam Rasul,

I received your letter of November 29th,[1] and I also received your telegram[2] expressing a desire to meet me at Peshawar. I did not reply because it was obvious that I could not very well discuss this matter with you then. As I have already informed you, strictly it is not for me to interfere in this affair and undertake any enquiry. It is entirely a local matter concerning Quetta and strictly outside the League, but the gentleman concerned is a prominent Leaguer, and I was persuaded by you to speak to him. I have not had a proper opportunity to do so, but once more I repeat that I can do no more in this matter than to draw his attention to the matter, and even to do that is difficult, as we are so busy with these elections that we have not even breathing time.

I hope therefore that you will not unduly press me to keep my promise. I shall be in Delhi by the middle of this month, and perhaps when I am there I may get an opportunity of fulfilling my promise.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ghulam Rasul, Esq.,
Baluchistan Secretariat,
Quetta

[1]No. 306.
[2]Not traceable.

329

A. K. Chowdhri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/14-5

NO. 1 IND. BASE WORKSHOP,
I.E.M.E., S.E.A.C.,
7 December 1945

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Right [*sic*] glad to learn that you have been re-elected to the Central Legislative Assembly and your opponent has lost his deposit. More glad to learn the same victorious result of Raja Amir Ahmed Sahib and others.

I am a soldier serving in South East Asia Command in His Majesty's Land Forces, but I belong to the same great nation of this vast sub-continent that you have the honour to lead in every sense of the term in her best interest.

I heartily pray to the All Merciful *Allah* for your long life, a life which is more valuable than [that] of millions and millions like us. We want you to live for years and years to come, for us and us only. Babar prayed to *Allah* dedicating his own life for Humayun and I also pray today for your life sacrificing my own, leaving ten years only for me to live to see the result of your able guidance.

No more today. With all my best compliments and regards,

Yours-in-Islam,
A. K. CHOWDHRI

330

Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/15

KARACHI,
7 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly excuse me if I trouble you by writing this letter in which I want to draw your attention to the fact that the Central Parliamentary Board has not yet decided about the award of League tickets for certain constituencies in Sind for which the opposition is working hard and our people are sitting silent. I feel that the delay will be very dangerous to the League cause. Already, owing to rift in our own camp, we are suffering heavily. I would request you to kindly ask the Central Parliamentary Board to be very quick in deciding the matter.

I would further request you that some of the leading members of the League are working against the nominees of the League in various constituencies. That is demoralising the whole camp. People are divided and, as the things stand, they do not know what to do in the matter. I think the League high command should give a lead in such matters and tell the people to go after [*sic*] those who are following the League command. If that is not done the whole thing will be in a mess and people will be divided and we shall lose the force which we would otherwise command. I respectfully submit that you will kindly give your attention to this as early as possible.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
PIR ILAHI BAKHSH

331

Harishchandra C. Behrawalla to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/93

GULAB NIVAS,
ELLIS BRIDGE, AHMEDABAD,
7 December 1945

Dear Sir,

Please accept my hearty congratulations for the brilliant success

achieved in the recent elections. It proves that so many people have got faith in and love for your goodself. It is hoped that you will take up and solve permanently the question of unity of [the] two great nations—Hindus and the Muslims of this great country—to bring independence completely.

My late father, Dr. C. T. Behrawalla, was very well-known among his Muslim friends and was often invited to the meetings to deliver speeches. He had great respect for Islam and its literature.

Wishing you every success and good health,[1]

Yours faithfully,
H. C. BEHRAWALLA

[1]Jinnah's Secretary thanked Mr. Behrawalla for his good wishes. See *SHC*, Bombay I/95. Not printed.

332

Resolution by AIML Central Parliamentary Board

SHC (772)

PESHAWAR,
7 December 1945

RESOLUTION

To meet the urgent demand of electioneering campaign and to expedite the work of the election in the Province, it is considered necessary to appoint a Committee of Action for the North-West Frontier Province, to conduct the elections to the Provincial Legislative Assembly. This Committee will exercise all the powers vested in the Election Board and the Finance Board which were appointed by the Centre.[1] The following will be the office-bearers and members of the Committee of Action:

1. Qazi Mohammad Isa, President
2. Mian Ziaud Din, Secretary
3. Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar, Peshawar
4. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Peshawar
5. K. B. Jalalud Din Khan, Abbottabad
6. Samin Jan Khan, Mardan
7. Malikur Rehman Khan Kayani, Kohat

The meetings of the Election and Finance Boards will be convened as and when necessary by the President of the Committee of Action and, in his absence, by any member of the Committee of Action nominated by him to act on his behalf.

The quorum for meetings will be three.

[1]See No. 193.

333

Eshack Abdul Latif to M. A. Jinnah

F. 676/31-2

43 ROYAL STREET, PORT LOUIS,
MAURITIUS,
8 December 1945

Dear Sir,

First of all please allow me to congratulate you and the Muslim League, on behalf of the Mauritius Muslim Youth Brigade, for the splendid success of the League candidates at the elections to the Central Assembly. The Muslim Youth Brigade wish the Muslim League candidates full success in the provincial elections too.

I take this opportunity to request you to be kind enough to honour us with a message for publication in the *Muslim Youth Bulletin*. Given that there is no regular sea mail service with Mauritius, please send your valuable message by air mail immediately.

Out of a total population of 410,000, there are 55,000 Muslims (all from India) and 220,000 Hindus. The elections are fought on a joint system but the electoral franchise is high [*sic*]. The Governor is coming next week from England with a plan for constitutional reforms. Under these circumstances, I request you not to fail to send a message with an appeal for the unity of the Muslims, otherwise their situation will become desperate. If you require, I can send you detailed account of the activities of the Muslims in Mauritius.

Hoping that you will have no objection to my humble request and thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
ESHACK ABDUL LATIF
Editor, Muslim Youth Bulletin

334

T. M. A. Wahid to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/121

15 MADURA ROAD,
TRICHINOPOLY,
8 December 1945

Sir,

With my *tasleem,* I beg to inform you that there was a Congress

meeting in this town last evening to celebrate the victory of the Congress candidate, T. V. Sadagopachari, in the recent election to the Central Assembly, when one of the speakers, T. K. Srinivasan, started attacking you personally——which was checked by the Muslims present there. There was confusion and the speaker apologised. The Congress seems to have got perturbed at the successive triumphs of the Muslim League candidates in the elections to the Central Assembly. The conspicuous absence of any of the regiments of INA under your or [any] other Muslim Leaguer's name and other factors may go to show that Subhash's[1] escape to join the enemy and his formation of INA to invade and occupy India, with the help of the Japanese, are in pursuance of the Congress 'Quit India' resolution of August 1942. It is very unfortunate that many Muslims were enamoured of their promised victory and have fallen victim to the machinations of the Congress, the arch-enemy of Muslims.

Excuse me for requesting you again to look into my case[2] and as it will serve as an example of the ill-treatment of Muslims under the British Crown, to refer the same to H. E. Lord Wavell with a view to put [*sic*] a stop to similar injustices being inflicted on Muslims of whom you are the uncrowned king in India.

Pray excuse trouble,

Your faithful co-religionist,
T. M. A. WAHID

[1]Subhash Chandra Bose: an officer of the Indian Civil Service who resigned and joined the Congress, of which he remained President for some time, founded Forward Bloc within the Party; escaped from house-arrest in 1941, and absconded to Germany and thence to Japan; became President, Indian Independence League, Singapore, and Head of the Provisional Government of India and the Indian National Army under the Japanese; killed in an air crash in 1945; called *Netaji* by his followers.
[2]See No. 327.

335

Mohammad Din to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1011/106-7

DERA ISMAIL KHAN, NWFP,
9 December 1945

Our respected leader,

With the greatest respect I beg to submit that I am a press reporter in D.I. Khan and supply all the Urdu Muslim newspapers with the latest news.

Once Qazi Isa came to D.I. Khan with Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, the Chief Minister, and sent for me and told me to do the Muslim League work by supplying all the Muslim Urdu papers with the news concerning the activities of the Muslim League and the material which they may be able to utilize in League's favour. As I am a poor man and the Muslim newspapers do not pay me any remuneration, therefore, Qazi Isa promised to pay me Rs. 25 every month as my pay for this work.

I began to do the work regularly according to his instructions and also sent him regular weekly reports of my workings [*sic*], the news and the material he wanted from me. He paid my wages for the first two months and then stopped the payment. I thought him [*sic*] too much busy and therefore continued the work with the hope that he will some day clear all my arrears. Sufficient time passed but he did not send me my pay in spite of my many reminders, nor did he ask me to stop the work for him.

In the meantime, I had a few occasions to meet him personally; he kept postponing my payment on some pretext. I then reported the matter to Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, but Qazi Isa paid no heed to his request.

Then I submitted the matter to Nawab Sahib of Mamdot. As I got no answer, I wrote to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. He forwarded my letter to Qazi Isa. Thereupon, Qazi Isa sent me a letter, the true copy of which is attached herewith[1] for your honour's perusal. I was really wonder-struck to read his reply. He refused to pay my arrears of rupees three hundred on a false pretence which he has simply fabricated to avoid my claim. It is really surprising that such a leader as Qazi Isa can go to such a length as to deny one's wages on false grounds.

As I am a poor man and have hard-earned these wages, I am entitled to get it [*sic*]. I have spent much of my time in doing the propaganda work entrusted to me, and had thus to close my shop for a very considerable time, which told very heavily upon my business.

With the greatest hope of justice, I submit my appeal to your honour for favourable consideration.

Praying for your good health, long life and prosperity,

I beg to remain,

Yours most obediently,

MOHAMMAD DIN

Press reporter

[1]Not traceable.

336

Abdul Waheed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/91

9 LATOUCH ROAD,
CHARBAGH,
LUCKNOW,
10 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is a matter of great satisfaction that, with the grace of Almighty God, the Muslim League has come out victorious at every election for the Central Assembly. The provincial elections should be more taxing and tough and the Muslim voters, therefore, need every emphasis to be told that the victory of League will be the victory of Islam in the forthcoming elections. With this [in] view I suggest that you may consider fixing a date, preferably a day at the end of December, as Victory Day. On this day Muslims in India should celebrate the sweeping victory of the League on the Pakistan issue. Prayers should be offered as a matter of thanksgiving and processions should be taken out. Meetings should be organised where importance of the forthcoming elections should be emphasised. Streets should be decorated with flags and buntings and houses should be illuminated at night.

I am sure this will give to the average voter an idea of the importance of the forthcoming elections and will prepare a good background for us to carry on our work for a sweeping victory at the provincial elections also.[1]

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL WAHEED KHAN

[1]Jinnah thanked him for the letter and promised to consider his suggestion. See *SHC*, UP I 92. Not printed. Subsequently he declared Friday 11 January 1946 to be celebrated as the Victory Day See *SHC*, UPI/92 and F. 810/108, *QAP*. Not printed.

337

Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Hyderabad II/18

10 December 1945

Received your letter of eighth December.[1] Please inform exact date of your arrival here and also duration of stay at least one week in advance in case you are able to come.

NIZAM OF HYDERABAD

[1]Jinnah had expressed a desire to visit Hyderabad. See *SHC*, Hyderabad II/17. Not printed.

338

M. A. Jinnah to Peerzada Syed Hussen

SHC, Bombay I/94

10 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 6th,[1] and thank you very much for your good wishes and for your deep regard for the Muslim League and myself.

As regards your desire to give a dinner party at the Taj in my honour [along] with the office-bearers of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League and other two elected members of the Central Legislative Assembly, while I thank you for your kind thought, I regret that it is not possible for me to accept your very kind invitation, because my movements are quite uncertain to begin with, and we are all absorbed in facing these elections, and my advice to every Musalman now is to work. The time for rejoicing will come later, when we know the complete results of our efforts, and secondly I do not like that money should be wasted on functions of this character. I would therefore advise you, if you are so very keen to please me, to contribute the amount, which a dinner at the Taj would cost you, either to the Provincial Muslim League Fund or to the Central Muslim League Fund. You cannot use your money better at present.

Yours faithfully,

M. A. JINNAH

Hakim Peerzada Syed Hussen,
Bone-Setter,
Pydhonie, Bombay

[1]Syed Hussen had congratulated Jinnah on his election to the Central Legislative Assembly, and offered to host a celebratory dinner in his honour. See *SHC*, Bombay I/91. Not printed.

339

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

Telegram, SHC, Bengal III/104

10 December 1945

Hassan Ispahani, Calcutta

Your letter.[1] Many thanks. Wire nomination date provincial elections. Also wire latest date you require me go Bengal. Consult friends.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No 323.

340

A. H. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/17

KARACHI,
11 December 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending herewith an impartial survey of the whole situation. I am not interested in anybody or in any organisation but the All India Muslim League and its ideals. Kindly go through it and if it appeals to you, necessary instructions may be issued to the authorities concerned. In any case, my name may not be disclosed as I am an outsider and have got to serve here in Sind.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. H. SIDDIQI
Principal,
Sind Muslim College

Enclosure to No. 340

SHC, Sind VII/18

NOTE ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SIND

It was felt on all hands that Mr. G. M. Sayed must be brought round so that a happy compromise may be brought about between the various warring elements of the League in Sind. In order to achieve this object, the students of the Sind Muslim College, in the first instance, passed a resolution in their Union, asking Mr. G. M. Sayed to offer unconditional surrender to the League high command; and subsequently, they, along with other Muslim students, staged a black flag demonstration at his residence. The students were well received by Mr. G. M. Sayed who continued to convince the students till 3 p.m. but the latter insisted on his unconditional surrender. In the end, Mr. G. M. Sayed, in accordance with the demand of the students, agreed to discuss the matters with their leader, Mr. I. I. Kazi, in the presence of the representatives of the students; and when he showed his willingness to come to a settlement, it was decided that the other two leaders, Khan Bahadur Khuhro and Mir Talpur, may also be invited to the house of Mr. I. I. Kazi and there should be a heart-to-heart talk. On the following day, the talks continued

for several hours and Mr. I. I. Kazi succeeded in bringing round Mr. G. M. Sayed to the point of settlement. If there is any person whose advice cannot possibly be ignored by Mr. G. M. Sayed, it is Mr. I. I. Kazi. In such circumstances, my humble suggestion is that the members of the Parliamentary Board and those of the Action Committee may kindly come over to Karachi, and I do hope that, through the intervention of Mr. I. I. Kazi, a happy compromise will be brought about; and I am sure that Mr. G. M. Sayed will submit to the dictates of the League high command.

The importance of Mr. G. M. Sayed in Sind politics may not be minimised particularly at this critical juncture; and Mr. Yusuf Haroon's election may not be regarded as a precursor of all round success in the provincial elections. When almost all the prominent leaders of the League have set up candidates against one another, the staggering success of the League cannot possibly be expected. In such circumstances, it is impossible for any League candidate to defeat Khan Bahadur Moula Bakhsh; and if the latter gentleman returns successful, he will not only command all the non-Muslim [League] seats but may also win over the wavering element among the Leaguers. If, in these circumstances, Mr. G. M. Sayed is expelled from the League, he will have no other alternative but to join hands with the nationalist group, who, with Moula Bakhsh as their head, will be able to form the famous *Azad* Ministry in this Province. Thus, looking from all points of view, it seems desirable that a settlement may be made with Mr. G. M. Sayed[1] who, through the intervention of Mr. I. I. Kazi, is in a compromising mood and will be willing to submit to the dictates of the League high command.

Coming to the candidature of Khan Bahadur Moula Bakhsh, it may be pointed out that he is being supported by Sardar Bahadur Abdur Rahim Khan, the leader of the Khosa tribe. In order to counteract this unholy alliance, one of the tickets from the Jacobabad District may be given to Sardar Khan of the Khosa tribe. In this case, Sardar Bahadur, the head of the Khosa tribe, will be compelled to leave Khan Bahadur Moula Bakhsh in the lurch. In the absence of any work of propaganda in the District of Jacobabad, no League candidate can be successful if put against Sardar Khan who is one of the biggest zamindars of Thul Constituency. In case he is opposed by the League candidate, the whole element of the Khosa tribe will continue their alliance with Khan Bahadur Moula Bakhsh. Under these conditions, there is likelihood of losing all the three seats of Jacobabad; and one of them may by won even by Mr. Mohammad Amin Khoso. Or no League ticket may be given to any candidate in the District of Jacobabad.

G. M. Syed was expelled from Muslim League in January 1946.

341

Abdul Karim Zaidi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/71

FEROZEPORE,
11 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Before inviting your kind attention to any point, I want it to clear [*sic*] that I belong to Muslim League, and for the welfare of the Muslims and the Muslim League want you to interfere in such an important matter.

Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot (President, Punjab Provincial Muslim League) and Mian Mohammad Sarwar, *Rais* of Behk Estate, District Ferozepore, are standing [*sic*] to fight election of the Punjab Provincial Assembly from one and the same constituency, i.e. they are out to oppose each other. M. Mohammad Sarwar is a very big landlord and *Jagirdar* and is next to Nawab Sahib in this District, aged about 28, and is very pacient [*sic*]. He has got a tender heart and is prepared to do anything for the betterment of the Muslims.

He was a follower of Mr. Mashriqi. Before the time of Khaksar agitation of Lahore, the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan called him at Lahore and made him understand the whole situation and asked him to resign from his khaksarship which he did at once. Now at this time when Mr. Mashriqi is out to oppose the Muslim League, the only representative body of Muslims, [he] has again entrapped him. Finding no other suitable Muslim in Ferozepore District to stand against Nawab Sahib, the Unionist Party has also selected him. M. Mohammad Sarwar being a young man and inexperienced has become the victim of these two. In case none of them withdraws and the election is fought, the relations of the two families will become very much strained and the coming generations of them both will have also to pay for that. These results will not only affect the Muslims of this District but the Muslims of the Punjab also.

It may be noted here that, at the beginning, he had no intention of fighting the election, but has been dragged in by the above two parties. Rather, he was going to start a factory at Abohar, which could have afforded livelihood to hundreds of Muslims. Now the same money is being wasted for election purposes.

It is understood that the whole position has not been cleared to you. Such a man can prove useful to the Muslims and the Muslim League, if handled properly. Election will not prove beneficial to the

Muslims, rather will end in some loss. I, therefore, respectfully pray you to interfere in the matter and solve the position. In case attention is not paid to this, the result would be rather bad and discouraging. The matter is not such that it could be entrusted [*sic*] to be solved by Nawab Sahib or anyone else. Kindly handle it personally and oblige the Muslims of this District.

Thanking you in anticipation and praying for your long life, health and every success,

Yours obediently,
ABDUL KARIM ZAIDI

342

Ahmad Said Chhatari to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad II/84

HYDERABAD,
DECCAN,
12 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was very glad to learn from Mr. Mir Laik Ali that you would be visiting Hyderabad on your way to Madras on the 22nd December. I shall be grateful if you would accept my humble hospitality by staying with me as my personal guest or the State's hospitality by being [a] Government guest, whichever suits you better.

Looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you while you are here and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD SAID

PS. I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me have a copy of your tour programme.

343

M. A. Jinnah to H. Kutab Alam

SHC, NWFP I/88

12 December 1945

Dear Mr. Kutab Alam,

Before I left Peshawar I don't think I adequately thanked you for all

that you did during my stay there.

I was extremely happy to see the wonderful spirit amongst our people in the North-West Frontier Province, and I felt that victory is in the hollow of our hands, if you will all work as disciplined soldiers and maintain harmony and unity at all costs.

Thanking you, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H. Kutab Alam, Esq.,
C/o Mian Mohammad Yusuf,
Outside Katcheri Gate,
Peshawar

344

A. Haye to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/75

ISLAMIA COLLEGE, LAHORE,
12 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Punjab is the nucleus and the corner-stone of Pakistan; but it is infinitely deplorable to note that the whole of this north-western zone (including the North West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan) has no daily newspaper worth the name, which could be called a purely pro-League paper. In this connection, Delhi is lucky to be ahead of us in having the *Dawn*, of which, at one time, a proposal was mooted to bring out a simultaneous edition from Lahore as well. This, however, did not materialize, as, I understand, you disapproved of it.

Now, perhaps you know that, of late, some of the local Muslim papers with the so-called League leanings have been exhibiting a definitely anti-League attitude and are bitterly criticising the League policy with the result that the question of starting in the Punjab, a separate daily paper, both in English and Urdu, has come to the forefront, and become an all-important problem. But, at present, with the antagonistic Unionist Government on our heads and the after-effects of the war not yet redeemed [*sic*], it is well-nigh impossible to have a new declaration sanctioned from the authorities in the immediate present.

The only practicable solution to the problem, therefore, is to request you that you may very kindly permit us to bring out a simultaneous

edition of the *Dawn*, at our own expense, from Lahore. This will not only redound to the good name of the *Dawn* and the League (just as the *Statesman* and other newspapers are published simultaneously at New Delhi and other places), but will also put the Punjab (Pakistan) Muslim politics on sound lines.

With kindest regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

A. HAYE

345

Sooghra Humayun Mirza to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad I/77

[*Original in Urdu*]

HUMAYUN NAGAR,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
12 December 1945

Revered and respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Tasleem

Recently we held a meeting in which the enclosed Resolution was passed. As we are unitedly willing to cooperate with your League, we hope you will favour us with your valuable advice. We are with you in all circumstances.

My *salaam* to your honourable sister,

SOOGHRA HUMAYUN MIRZA
President,
Zenana State Muslim League

Enclosure to No. 345
SHC, Hyderabad I/77

[*Original in Urdu*]

RESOLUTION

1. This meeting of the All India States Women Muslim League affirms complete loyalty with His Exalted Highness *A'la Hazrat* the Ruler of Deccan and Berar and is ready to make any sacrifice for the permanence of his rule.

2. This general meeting of the All India States Women Muslim League decides that all the Muslim women of India should keep

themselves committed to the All India Muslim League as it is the sole representative of Muslims of India. This meeting vehemently condemns any attempt to create disruption in the ranks of the Muslim League.

3. This meeting of the All India States Women Muslim League affirms that all the Indian States be requested that keeping Islamic laws in view, arrangements be made for the education and training of Muslim women and if the States approve it, the President of the All India States Women Muslim League will be willing to cooperate with them in every way.

4. This general meeting of the All India [States] Women Muslim League reassures the State rulers that although the aim of this League is to defend the rights of Muslim women, it in no way intends to interfere in other matters of the States; rather, on the other hand, it declares in unequivocal terms that it will, with the cooperation of their respective States, help keep all the Muslims as loyal citizens of these States.

346

Shah Mohammad Azizur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/112

28 MARSDEN STREET,
CALCUTTA,
12 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Accept our solemn promise of adherence and solidarity.

I, on behalf of the younger section of the Bengali Musalmans, beg leave to invite you to our zone of Pakistan.

Muslim students of Bengal will be redoubly [*sic*] encouraged and deem it a proud privilege, if they have the honour of having the commander of hundred million Indian Muslims amidst them.

Bengal needs your presence,[1] and awaits it fervently, for a still better position of our national organisation.

It will be of great convenience if we get a programme of your tour in Bengal.

Affectionately yours,
SHAH MOHAMMAD AZIZUR RAHMAN
General Secretary,
All Bengal Muslim Students' League

[1]For reply see No. 372.

347

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/43

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
12 December 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 11th November.[1] I regret the delay in replying to the same, but there was nothing important that I could write to you.

The results of the elections for the Central Legislative Assembly have been exceedingly good. I think even Bengal may turn out hundred per cent.

The biggest issue will be the provincial elections. Here we got all sorts of rumours about [the] Punjab and other provinces. As far as Bengal is concerned, the leaders of the League are all at work and I think, if proper men are selected, the masses will en bloc vote for the League.

It will be nice if you could come to Bengal for a few days.[2]

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD ISPAHANI

[1]No. 269.

[2]Jinnah replied that he would try to visit Bengal around mid-February 1946 See *SHC*, Bengal III/44. Not printed.

348

Dorothy Standley to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/112

C/O LT. COL. B. L. STANDLEY,
4 EDWARD ROAD,
BANGALORE,
13 December 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to ask your help in settling a discussion I have been having with my husband which arose from the enclosed cutting from the *Madras Mail* of the 11th December.

The sentence you are quoted as having said and which has led to this argument, I have bracketed in ink. In this sentence you will see

that you are quoted as saying "with the key power in matters of defence and foreign affairs etc., at the Centre."

I beg you now to enlighten me[1] as to whether the "Centre" referred to is visualised by you as being (a) the Centre of an All India constitution or (b) the Centre of an independent Pakistan, in which case would you also confirm your presumed conception that an independent Hindustan may well have its own Centre.

Your sincerely,
DOROTHY STANDLEY

[1]Jinnah replied that the statement was explicit needing no further clarification. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims I/114. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 348

SHC, Non-Muslims I/113

PAKISTAN ONLY HOPE FOR FAIR AND LASTING PEACE[1]

Deadlock in India between Hindu Congress and Muslim League

Jinnah Reiterates his Demand

Bombay, Dec. 10: "I remain convinced that Pakistan is the only hope for a fair and lasting settlement of the Indian problem. The deadlock in this country is not so much between India and the British. It is between the Hindu Congress and the Muslim League," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in an interview today.

"I think more and more Congress members are beginning to realise that this is the crux of the matter, and that furthermore, nothing can or will be solved until Pakistan is granted."

"The British Government," Mr. Jinnah added, "are putting the cart before the horse in proposing an all-India constitution-making body, before a settlement of the Pakistan issue. First, we must get agreement on Pakistan. Then, and only then, can we proceed to the next step. But there will have to be not one, but two constitution-making bodies: one to frame and decide the constitution of Hindustan and the other to frame and decide the constitution of Pakistan.

"I don't consider that I am being unreasonable about this, and I do not see any ground for a compromise from me. It is Congress that must moderate its attitude," Mr. Jinnah said.

Asked, "what if the British Government decide to force through a settlement?" Mr. Jinnah said: "Well impossible things can happen, but it will mean no lasting or even momentarily endurable solution, not to say that the consequences of such a step will be most disastrous."

LET GANDHI SAY YES

"Patchwork methods will not work at this stage in India's destiny. What is needed is real statesmanship, and real effort to face facts. We could settle the Indian problem in ten minutes if Mr. Gandhi would say: 'I agree that there should be Pakistan. I agree that one-fourth of India, composed of six provinces, Sind, Baluchistan, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Bengal and Assam with their present boundaries should constitute the Pakistan State.' After that it would be a simple matter to sit down as friends and work out the details of a friendly and neighbourly life between the two great nations of this sub-continent.

"Canada and the United States live together. Why can't Hindus and Muslims? Granted there may have to be many adjustments. It is possible that there will have to be exchange of population, if it can be done on a purely voluntary basis. There will also doubtless have to be frontier adjustments where primarily Hindu and Muslim lands are contiguous to the Hindustan or Pakistan States, as the case may be. All that can come, but first it is necessary to take the present provincial borders as the boundaries of the future Pakistan.

"Our Pakistan Government will probably be a Federal Government, modelled on the lines of autonomous provinces with the key power in matters of defence and foreign affairs, etc., at the Centre. But that will be for the constitution-making body to decide.

"I personally do not doubt the sincerity of the British Government. But I do doubt the sincerity of those who profess to see any hope of a settlement outside the granting of full Pakistan to the Muslims of India."

[1]*Madras Mail*, 11 December 1945.

349

Ghulam Rasul to Qazi Mohammad Isa
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 610/9

BALUCHISTAN SECRETARIAT,
QUETTA,
13 December 1945

My dear Qazi Sahib,

Most probably you know that the dispute over a sum of Rs. 35,000 or thereabouts, between you and the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Baluchistan, Quetta, was referred to the Quaid-i-Azam so that some amicable settlement could be arrived at in a homely atmosphere. Unfortunately, the Quaid-i-Azam does not appear to have sufficient time to go into the

matter himself due to the pending elections.[1] Consequently no other course is left to the Anjuman except to refer the matter to a court of law.

As one who had the opportunity to work with you and who does admire the work you have done, I would like to invite you to have this matter settled out of court. There are certain papers in our possession which create *prima-facie* evidence in favour of the Anjuman. If you are dragged to a court of law, it would be very unfortunate and dire consequences may result therefrom, which as one of your well-wishers I would press upon you to avoid. Will it not be possible for you to get this matter settled immediately one way or the other?

Hoping to have your answer within a fortnight,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM RASUL

[1]No. 328.

350

M. A. Jinnah to Maher Mohammad Ali

SHC, Sind VII/24

14 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am glad that you are helping and supporting the Muslim League and all our Punjabi friends, who have settled down in lower Sind, and I hope that you will do your best to help the League activities in the forthcoming Provincial Legislature elections. As you know, it is very important not only for Sind, but for Muslim India, that we should secure a clear verdict for "Pakistan", without the achievement of which we are doomed. I am sure you will understand the significance of these elections that we are fighting tooth and nail. We have two Parliamentary Boards—which will finally decide the selection of Muslim League candidates. After this, whatever may be the individual opinion about a candidate or candidates, it is the duty of every Musalman to support the official Muslim League candidates. Your votes in favour of the Muslim League candidate or candidates are not for the individuals, but your votes are for "Pakistan", and to maintain the discipline, prestige and honour of the Muslim League organisation that is putting up such a heroic fight against all odds.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Maher Mohammad Ali, Esq.,
Zamindar,
Taluka Digri,
District Tharparkar (Sind)

351

M. A. Jinnah to Ali M. Khan

SHC, FC I/64

14 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter No. Q.A./1/7 dated the 8th November 1945,[1] together with the resolutions enclosed, which were passed at the annual session of the Muslim League Branch, Great Britain, which took place on the 4th November at Edinburgh, and I was pleased to note that you are doing good work.

As regards the fortnightly paper—*Pakistan*—which you have decided to start and a copy of which you were good enough to promise to send me, it has not yet been received by me. I would certainly like to read with interest the full report of the annual session published in *Pakistan*.

As regards the affiliation of your branch to the All India Muslim League, I note that you are sending your affiliation papers, which will be dealt with according to the constitution and rules, when received.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Ali M. Khan, Esq.,
President,
Muslim League Branch,
4 Jamaica Street,
Edinburgh 3

[1]No. 254.

352

M. A. Jinnah to Mahmood Hassan

SHC, P & P II/56

14 December 1945

Dear Sir,

Please make arrangements to send one copy of the *Dawn* regularly to Dr. Mubarak Ali Khan, General Secretary, India Muslim League of America.[1] His address is:

321 West 56th Street, New York 19.

If you cannot spare a complimentary copy to be sent to him, please

send me the bill and I will pay for it. Let me know what steps you take in this matter.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Mahmood Hassan, Esq.,
The Manager,
Dawn,
Daryagunj, Delhi

The Manager, *Dawn*, confirmed in reply that a complimentary copy of the newspaper would be sent to Mr. Mubarek Ali Khan regularly. See *SHC*, P & P II/57. Not printed.

353

Mir Haji Hussain Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/22

PERSONAL/PRIVATE

TANDO MOHAMMAD KHAN,
14 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

At the outset I wish to offer my heartiest congratulations on your success at the Central Assembly elections and at the success of all Muslim League candidates to the Central Assembly, including Mr. Yusuf Haroon from Sind.

I venture to approach you with the following few lines to solicit your instructions in the matter. I have been selected as a candidate for Sind Assembly by the Central Parliamentary Board from Tando Mohammad Khan. Miran Mohamed Shah is creating trouble for me and is working against me. He has put up Sayed Kabul Mohammad Shah, the President of the Hyderabad District Muslim League, who was rejected by the Central Parliamentary Board. He is the same gentleman who had stood against me last year in the by-election at Tando Mohammad Khan and was badly defeated by me although G. M. Sayed and his party had helped him, using all the strength of the League and its resources. About this I had wired you as Sayed Kabul Mahammad Shah was not even a member of the League then. I am not at all afraid of Kabul Mohammad Shah's opposition but I think it is wrong, in principle, that League candidate should be opposed by another Leaguer. For this you may take whatever action you may deem proper. Sayed Miran Mohammad Shah at the same time is inciting my cultivators (*harees*) in my *jagir* in Hyderabad *Taluka* and helping them to rise

against me but his efforts will not succeed. He and G. M. Sayed have put up one Ali Shah Pir against my nephew, K. B. Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, in Badin and Tando Bago. Mir Ghulam Ali is a League candidate. All this opposition will not affect me anyway but I protest against their actions which are anti-League. In Hyderabad Town and *Taluka* I have got about four thousand voters whom I can safely call as my own. In Hyderabad there are three candidates, viz. (1) Sayed Mir Mohammad Shah, League candidate; (2) Mir Ali Ahmad Khan Talpur, my own relation but a Khaksar candidate; and (3) Haji Ghulam Ali Memon, an old Leaguer and an influential man in his constituency. In view of the above facts I solicit your instructions as to what to do,[1] whom shall I give the votes.

With all best wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
MIR HAJI HUSSAIN BAKHSH
MLA

[1]Jinnah advised him to get in touch with the members of the Central Parliamentary Board and the Committee of Action, who were then in Karachi See *SHC*, Sind VII/23. Not printed.

354

M. A. Jinnah to Pir Ilahi Bakhsh

SHC, Sind VII/16

15 December 1945

Dear Pir Ilahi Bakhsh,

I have received your letter of the 7th instant[1] and I see that the Central Parliamentary Board has now announced the selection for the remaining seats. I do not know how many times you require a lead from the high command. I spent nearly a fortnight on my way to Quetta and a fortnight on my way back, addressed so many meetings and issued so many statements. The Central Parliamentary Board went to Karachi and stayed there for nearly a fortnight. However, you know it is the primary function of the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board to attend to these matters, and I am forwarding your letter to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Pir Ilahi Bakhsh,
Minister,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

[1]No. 330.

355

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/107

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
15 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since telegraphing you on the 13th instant,[1] the Government of Bengal have made an announcement with regard to the nomination date, as per notification given in the enclosed cutting.[2]

It seems that the Provincial Parliamentary Board has not acted in accordance with the rules framed by the Central Working Committee in the matter of calling for nominations. Some time early in October, they called for applications for the Provincial Assembly and declared 15th of November to be the final date of acceptance of such applications with the necessary deposit money of Rs. 250 per seat. This is in contravention of item 9 of the Rules and Regulations of the Muslim League Provincial Parliamentary Board which reads as under:

"Ordinarily within a week of the dissolution of the Provincial Assembly, a meeting of the Provincial Parliamentary Board will be called to proceed with the work of preparing a manifesto and to invite applications on or before a fixed date in the manner herein before provided."

As per gazette notification of the 17th of November 1945, the Provincial Legislative Assembly was dissolved. Therefore, (a) the date on which the applications were called was premature, and (b) the date of the closing, namely 15th November, was also actually two days before the dissolution of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

In view of the above, it is felt that those who have not applied so far, and desire to do so at a later stage, cannot be barred—because the notification of the Provincial Parliamentary Board was not in accordance with the Rules and Regulations framed by the Central Working Committee. There seems to be some sense in the contention.

I await your reply to my last telegram, on receipt of which I shall act in accordance with your directions.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1&2]See *SHC*, Bengal III/106 & 108. Not printed.

356

S. N. A. Jafri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/93

ALLAHABAD,
16 December 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You might have seen the news in the *Dawn*, dated 14th instant, cutting enclosed,[1] that a deputation of our Association wish[es] to see you at Delhi. It is being said here that you are coming to Allahabad in January next. Our idea is to give you an address on behalf of the Muslim railway employees during your visit here and to present to you a small purse. We want an interview with you at Delhi simply to discuss this matter and also to explain some grievances of the Muslim railway employees. I shall be grateful if you kindly fix some date after 24th December 1945 for the same, and intimate me by telegram at the address given at the end [*omitted*].

You will be pleased to hear that a new feature of *Moharram's alams* and *ta'zias* this year was that in the front of every group of processions there was a Pakistan map and all through Muslim League flags were mounted on elephants. The usual slogan of *Moharram—Ya Ali*—has been replaced by the masses with *Ley Key Rahain gey Pakisan*. This has created a very good impression and has been educative for the Muslim masses. The Hindus were perturbed, for they considered that this was most conducive to permeate [*sic*] the Pakistan ideal into the minds of the Muslim masses.

Yours sincerely,
S. N. A. JAFRI
Bar-at-Law
President,
E. I. R. Muslim Employees' Association

[1]See *SHC*, UP I/94. Not printed.

357

Press Statement by the General Secretary of All India Muslim Students' Federation

F. 1104/382-3

ALIGARH,
16 December 1945

It has been reported to me from various places all over India that

the Hindu students are maltreating and torturing the Muslim students for working with the Muslim League and not for joining Congress meetings and I.N.A. Day celebrations. Everywhere the authorities are not giving proper protection to the victimised Muslim students.

A few days back, I referred in a statement that two Muslim students were beaten at Silchar (Assam) by the Hindu students simply because they did not join the I.N.A. Day meeting.

On 12th December, certain Congress-minded Hindu students shamelessly attacked a Muslim Women Students' Hostel in Calcutta simply because the girl students hoisted their national flag and worked in connection with the Central Assembly election. These valiant soldiers of Jawaharlal and Sardar Patel, who are very eager to tell the world that the Muslim Leaguers are winning the elections by *goondaism*, stooped so low as to attack the women students with brickbats and stones, using most vulgar language. They threw stones on the hostel for days together. I would wait eagerly to see what steps the Govt. of Bengal and the Calcutta University take in the matter. Possibly I am not wrong when I add that this hostel belongs to the Calcutta University and the students who committed the atrocities were also the students of the same University.

One Nazimuddin of Agra Govt. College, who is also the Secretary of the local Muslim Students' Federation, with two other Muslim students was seriously beaten by the Hindu students of the same institution, particularly the boarders of the Thomson Hostel, because they took part in the Central Assembly election on November 27th at the Agra College polling centre. The victims were given no protection by either the Hindu Principal in spite of his assurances in the presence of the City Magistrate, the local police, or the authorities. Consequently, in order to save their lives they left for home. But as soon as they left, their rooms were looted and burnt down. The Hindu students have made their lives miserable and impossible in the College because they are only three in a majority of seven hundred Hindu students. The Hindu Principal has avoided the question of granting compensation and protection to them, though the College is entirely maintained by the Government; also the police and the authorities have paid no heed to them. It seems that there is no administration today in Agra. I demand that the local police and the Principal take necessary steps so that the culprits may be brought to book. I request the Principal to grant compensation to these students. I draw the pointed attention of H. E. the Governor of U.P., the Commissioner of Agra Division, the District Magistrate of Agra, and the D.P.I. of U.P. to this painful episode and request them to take stern measures in the matter.

I warn the Congress-minded Hindu students all over India [that] they must learn restraint. The August Movement, the Calcutta I.N.A. Movement and the encouragement of the Congress leaders may have made them lawless but they must know that the Muslim students of India will not approach them direct [*sic*].

In this connection, the members of the Muslim Students' Federation are strictly warned not to propagate or plead for any individual person unless and until he is nominated by the Provincial Parliamentary Board and approved by the Central Board. Immediate action will be taken against the students who will be working against the Muslim League nominees, directly or indirectly.

Fraternally yours,
MOINUL HAQUE CHOUDHURY
General Secretary

358

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Karim Zaidi

SHC, Punjab I/72

17 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] and thank you for all the information that you have given me.

Regarding the selection of candidates in your district, you know that in the first instance it is your Provincial Parliamentary Board which have to decide and select candidates and after that there is the Central Parliamentary Board whose decision as regards the selection of the candidates is final under our constitution and rules. There must be a finality in this matter, and every honest and sincere Musalman who, at this critical juncture wants selflessly to serve Muslim India, should accept that final decision and wholeheartedly support the Muslim League candidates. It is not a question of voting personally for the individual concerned, but for the official League candidate, which means supporting our cause and Pakistan. Surely, educated people ought to understand this by now and act in that spirit.

As regards your suggestion that I should interfere in this matter and solve the position [*sic*], let me tell you that I have no power to do so under the constitution and rules. The Muslim League is a democratic organisation, functioning according to its constitution and rules. Further, it would be very improper on my part to interfere with our duly constituted Parliamentary Board, whose function it is to finally decide the matter.

I, therefore, cannot personally do anything in this matter.

I thank you again for all the information that you have given me.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Karim Zaidi, Esq.,
Ferozepore

[1]No. 341.

359

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Aziz Shahpuri

SHC, UP I/89

17 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 2nd instant,[1] and I have noted all that you say. Evidently you have not been following the statements that I have been issuing to the press on the subject referred to by you. Let me inform you that every Musalman should at this critical juncture, help the Muslim League in every way he can and join this national organisation. The Muslim League is neither vindictive nor revengeful and its doors are open to all Musalmans. Many have, as you must have read in the newspapers, joined and many are joining the Muslim League. This is not a question of sentiment or *amour propre* in the case of those who require humouring and pampering. If they believe in an honest change-over and are willing to work as loyal Leaguers, they would be, I am sure, received by us without any difficulty.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Aziz Shahpuri, Esq.,
149 B Akbarpur,
Allahabad (U.P.)

[1]No. 313.

360

M. A. Jinnah to Nawab of Chhatari

SHC, Hyderabad II/85

17 December 1945

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th instant[1] and thank you for it.

My visit to Hyderabad is not yet finally decided, but in any case, as His Exalted Highness has requested me to be his guest during my visit, it is not possible for me now to accept the hospitality of anybody else. I will let you know when it is definitely decided whether I can go to Hyderabad about the third week of December.

Thanking you all the same for your kind offer of hospitality, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H.E. The Nawab of Chhatari,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]No. 342.

361

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/110

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
17 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I quote below the telegram I have sent you just now:

> My telegram regarding date arrival Calcutta may be modified if more suitable to you as follows: Arrival first week February enabling you visit if necessary Punjab, NWFP during elections. These provinces shall be obliged receive your decision. Hassan.

It was in response to Sir Nazim-ud-Din's request, after consultation with Suhrawardy.

The revised date may suit Bengal better as it will also keep you free to visit the Punjab and North Western Frontier Provinces at the time when the elections for the Provincial Legislatures take place in these two provinces.

I now await your decision and directions.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

362

Mohammed Mastan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/123

GUNTUR,
18 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Guntur is a very important commercial city and one of the biggest and famous centres for tobacco and cotton in the whole of the world. It has a population of 1,00,000—odd, out of which Muslims are about 25,000. Guntur is the only place where Muslims are thickly populated in the whole of Andhra *Desa*.

The Municipal Council consists of thirty-two members out of which Muslims are seven. The Municipal Council is reasonably proud of sanctioning the construction of a beautiful tower to be named as Jinnah Chowk Tower. This is the first of its kind in the whole of this sub-continent. Guntur has made a history of its own by constructing a tower of this type. The construction of the tower is shortly to be completed.... Now the Council authorised me to approach you with a request that the historical tower may be opened by you. I request you, Quaid-i-Azam, to let me know your best suited and convenient time to accept our humble invitation.

We know that you have got a very important and crowded programme of provincial elections. But allow me to say that this also is no less important. Your visit to this centre will not only satisfy the populace of the city but will go a long way in [*sic*] inspiring tens of thousands of Muslims of Andhra Province who will gather here for the function. In other words it will be a most important Andhra Muslim League Conference. This will not take more than a day. Your visit would be a flying visit to save your precious time and arrangements for the same would be made.

Lastly I wish to inform you that the tower is being constructed as a token of all our respect for all your services to the Muslim nation in particular and the country in general. Quaid-i-Azam, if you permit us, I and the Mayor of the Municipal Corporation will have a telephonic talk in this connection. If not, please permit us to wait in deputation on you to show the documents of resolutions passed from time to time for sanctioning the tower and to invite you in person. Awaiting your early reply,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMED MASTAN

363

Azizuddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/205

BARISAL,
19 December 1945

Janab Quaid-i-Azam,

It is with much hesitation that I dare to address the following few lines to you. I have been informed by Mr. Suhrawardy, Secretary, Bengal Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board, that you may visit some of the districts during your next Bengal tour in January or February next. Barisal being the birth-place of Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq has an importance of its own and there are as many as nine seats in the Bengal Legislative Assembly from this District. So, from the League point of view it is desirable that Barisal should be selected as one of the places for your visit. Out of about forty lakhs of population of this District, Muslims form more than seventy-five per cent; but they are mostly poor and very backward in education. To create a cultural centre for the Muslims at Barisal and to have a public hall as the meeting place of the Muslims, we have been trying for the last nine years and it was only this last month that we obtained the sanction from Government for the lease of a plot of land and to complete this project we require a large amount. We are confident that we shall be able to raise the required amount from the public if you be pleased to pay a visit to this District and allow us to utilise this amount to be raised to present a purse to you and utilise the balance for erecting a Muslim Hall at Barisal to be named Jinnah Hall to commemorate your visit to this District. I have already written to Mr. Suhrawardy to this effect.

Last year, we had one lakh sixty thousand two-*anna* enrolled members in this District and this year our number exceeded three lakh and we claim to have contacted the largest numbers in any one district in the whole of India, in spite of the fact that we had always to work against tremendous odds and opposition from Mr. A.K.Fazlul Huq and his partisans. Your visit to this District, even for a day, will greatly strengthen the position of Muslim League here. We, therefore, appeal to you to pay a visit to Barisal during your next Bengal tour. A kind word in reply will highly encourage us.

With best regards,

Yours most sincerely,
AZIZUDDIN AHMAD
President,
Bakarganj District Muslim League

364

R. Stafford Cripps to M. A. Jinnah

F. 490/18-20

3 WHITEHALL,
[LONDON,] S.W. 1,
19 December 1945

My dear Jinnah,

As the new year approaches I feel constrained [*sic*] to send you a line of friendship and good wishes both to yourself and that great Indian community which you represent.

We are passing through a period of great difficulty in our relations as countries, but I want to assure you that I and many of my friends are most conscious of the claims and wishes of the Muslims in India and are deeply desirous that any settlement of the Indian problem should give full weight to those desires.

I hope that the Parliamentary Mission which is going to India will have every opportunity of contacting you and your Muslim friends so that they too may appreciate to the full your position. I am sure that you will do all you can to see that they have the most frank discussions with the Muslim leaders. The Mission—so far as the Labour Party is concerned—has been most carefully selected and you will, I am sure, find them most interested and anxious to find out all that is possible of the various outlooks of Indians upon the political and constitutional scene.

I hope that the year 1946 may bring to all of us an agreed solution of our problems and that whatever the solution may be it will mean the greater happiness of Indians of all castes and creeds.

My best wishes to yourself,

Yours sincerely,
R. STAFFORD CRIPPS

365

M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad

SHC, Hyderabad II/18

20 December 1945

Your Exalted Highness,

Many thanks for your telegram dated December 10th.[1] I have tried

my very best to have the honour of accepting your kind invitation, but having regard to the electioneering campaign all over India, I am afraid it will not be possible for me now to go to Hyderabad about the end of December as I have to go to the Punjab and thereafter to Bengal and some other places in northern India. I am extremely sorry that I am deprived of the pleasure of meeting you in response to your very kind invitation which had been standing now for so many months, but you know that at present it is very difficult for me to give up my immediate work which is of vital importance to Muslim India. However, if there is anything urgent and you want me, I will make it a point to go to Hyderabad. I shall be free after these elections, about in middle of March and then I shall be very glad to accept the honour of your kind invitation, and will try to go to Hyderabad.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 337.

366

Asadul Haq to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/90

ABBOTTABAD,
20 December 1945

Dear and revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I need not apologize for encroaching upon your precious time because of the supreme importance of what I have to say. Kindly refer to my telegram dated 10th instant:

> You shall have to put up with cries of desperation which proceed from bleeding hearts. With your boundless sincerity, matchless honesty, flawless character and peerless prudence you are the only person to whom one can look up for guidance, solace and support. Below your glittering light there is engulfing, devouring darkness.

You have thrown up a challenge on behalf of the Muslim nation, and the enemies of Islam, with vast resources of men and money, press and propaganda, have accepted it. The armies have entered the battlefield. Your soldiers had come with grim determination to fight and with full confidence in the outcome. But what has happened?

Your lieutenants have sent disorder in the ranks, dismay in the hearts, confusion in the brains—and where? Alas, in their own army! They have preferred opportunism to sincerity, careerism to service, ignorance to education, unscrupulousness to integrity and defeat to victory. A certain empire under the Crescent has been bartered away for a doubtful ministry under the Union Jack.

Quaid-i-Azam! Excuse me this sentimentalism but that is just a glimpse of how the workers feel about it. Sad though the story is, yet the hearts must be unburdened at your feet. But you want facts and here they are:

2. It was after the historic Lucknow session of the Muslim League in 1937 that a small batch of selfless workers started the work of the Muslim League in this Province. The mass movement was inaugurated by a Muslim League Conference at Abbottabad and the organization grew from strength to strength in the wake of it. Seeing the general trend of the masses, the opportunists and careerists tried to capture it. A struggle ensued between reactionaries and progressive workers, in which the latter got the upper hand, slowly but surely. The movement flourished in the Congress regime due to the Ministry's commissions [*sic*] and omissions and also on account of a special trait of Pathan's character—a liking to be in opposition to the Government in power. But the Congress still remained a power to be reckoned with. There was dearth of men, means and character on our side, but we were conscious of the latent appeal in the message of the Muslim League for the Muslim masses. We persevered. The fight went on till the war broke out. The Congress Ministry went out of office. There began a scramble for power in the opposition camp. There was no genuine League Party in the Assembly. But anxious for power, the heterogeneous elements in the opposition began to coalesce, not for any principle, but for self-interest and they donned the League label, as it paid them to do so. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan was the organizer of this move. We knew the men, their objective and antecedents who had formed the League Party. We had very grave suspicions—and they were fully justified by later events—that the ministry formation at that juncture and with that material would spell disaster to the organization of the Muslim League. The Hazara District Muslim League, which was in the hands of progressive elements at that time, unanimously passed a resolution against the formation of a ministry and submitted its copies to the Provincial and All India Muslim Leagues.

3. The reason for this opposition was that, due to war conditions, no ministry could be able to meet the demands of the people, and, all the wrath of the disgruntled masses would recoil on the organization. As

we subsequently learnt to our cost, our apprehensions were not unfounded. Came then the Delhi session of the All India Muslim League. The workers of the whole Province empowered Maulana Bakht Jamal Khan, the then President of the Provincial Muslim League, whose sincerity is only matched by his integrity and selflessness, to place the whole situation before you. We were assured that the ministry would be formed only after the prior approval of the Provincial Muslim League. But when we got back from Delhi to our Province, it was to our surprise that formation of ministry was announced without the advice of the Provincial Muslim League. No sooner the announcement was made than the whole *khannate* class, a conglomeration of reactionaries, opportunists and toadies, flocked to the Muslim League like vultures over a corpse. It paid to be Leaguers then. In spite of requisitions, Mian Ziaud-Din, the evil genius of the Muslim League in the Frontier, would not call a meeting of the Provincial League Council to consider the situation. But he had to do so at last. In order to secure a vote of confidence and place a *fait accopmli* before you, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, the Fazlul Huq of Frontier Province, introduced into the meeting hundreds of *Khans* who were not even primary members till then. He got a vote. The Ministers got salaries and bribes, the members of the League Party got permits and the masses groaned under war conditions. The natural result was a reaction against the Muslim League. In order to secure his position in the organization, S. Aurangzeb Khan rushed reactionaries into it and ousted the sincere and progressive elements. Mian Ziaud-Din proved to be his right-hand man. The Leaguers continued to fatten and the League continued to pine till nothing but bones were left.

4. The complaints reached your ears and the Committee of Action was sent to tour the Province and to see the situation for itself. The workers met the Committee in deputation at Abbottabad and suggested dissolution of [the] Ministry as the only remedy for the revival of the Muslim League. The suggestion was scoffed at! But Providence came to the rescue and the so-called League Ministry whose members danced to the tunes of Deputy Commissioners to our lasting shame, was defeated. It must have been a great shock to you then, but it was a blessing in disguise. Congress accepted office. But as was expected, it could not cope with the situation. Murmurs began to be heard against it and the murmurs soon changed into groans. The workers, who could not say a word in favour of Muslim League during the League regime for fear of violence on the part of listeners—so discredited it had become, thanks to the League Ministry—, began openly to work for it and people slowly began to listen. But Provincial Muslim League had been dissolved and Qazi Mohammad Isa was

made in charge for the organization of Muslim League in the Province. He appointed *ad hoc* committees in the districts; all, with rare exceptions, being reactionary partisans of S. Aurangzeb Khan who dared not face the public. Some of these committees have not met so far and some have met only once or twice. All this work was done at dinner tables in the Dean's Hotel. No contact was made with the workers or masses. In fact it was easier to seek interview with the Governor than with Qazi Sahib.

5. Membership forms were given only to the partisans of S. Aurangzeb Khan in the districts, the genuine workers being discouraged to proceed with the work of the organization. The time was frittered away by the Organizer in feasts and parties and a great fuss was made in the press by issuing statements about the work he had done in the Province. The outside world might have been deceived by this fuss but what is the use of deceiving one's [own] self? But of course this is cheap leadership. Quaid-i-Azam! I must solemnly assert that the organization has suffered a lot by the appointment of Qazi Mohammad Isa as Organizer of this Province. He lacks head, heart, character and personality to be the Organizer of a mass movement. His presence at the helm goes to the discredit of the organization. For God's sake, save the Province from him.You have got a man like Bakht Jamal Khan in the Province itself, whose popularity comes next only to your own. We want men of character and we have got them. Only give them power and have the result. Had we depended upon our *ad hoc* committees only, the results would have been negative, but, there was another godsend—the Simla Conference. It was the moment of life and death for the Muslim nation. People predicted catastrophe. It looked as if abject surrender or a direct clash with the combined forces of the British Government and the Hindu might were the only two alternatives before the *Millat*.

6. But we had faith in God and then in your leadership. We were conscious that behind the imposing facade of the All India Muslim League there were traitors, fifth-columnists, arm-chair leaders and opportunists. It had been the sincerity, integrity and statesmanship of only one man that had sustained this structure in the past. But what would happen now? Workers, without any organization, called public meetings, explained the situation, offered prayers, made preparations for the impending clash—yes, they did— and lo! The light dawned amongst darkness all around and it flashed and fell like lightning on the enemies of the *Millat*. The nation was saved and the All India Muslim League came out with flying colours. It was again all due to one man—yourself, Quaid-i-Azam. It is not flattery. God forbid that I should ever flatter.

That is yourself Quaid-i-Azam—only one man. But what about the

rest? The less said the better. Had it not been for you, they would forfeit securities in any election. They have not the honesty, sincerity and character of a common worker. What is done by you is undone by them. We want to purchase Pakistan with our blood and they are prepared to sell it for a song. Excuse me this frankness, which may appear cruel or may even be fraught with very serious consequences for me in the organization.

7. I have been fighting—yes, literally fighting—for the organization since 1937, and I love it with all my soul. I can't see it going to the dogs. I can sacrifice myself to save it like the boy in the story who lost his life in order to save the train from disaster by passing over the burning bridge. A doctor must be told everything about the ailment. Our worthy leaders of the high command have brought the organization to the edge of the precipice. One step more, and there is a yawning, unfathomable abyss to engulf it. I shudder at the very idea of it. To resume from the Simla Conference, after the decisive victory at Simla there was a huge upsurge of masses in favour of the Muslim League everywhere and so in the Frontier Province. It was wholly a new chapter in the history of the organization, very encouraging indeed. The workers set to work and availed [themselves] of it. General elections were announced. The workers, who had been seriously handicapped in the Frontier Province by the formation of League Ministry, staggered under the enormity of the work required of them. But the circumstances were favourable. They called forth rallies of workers, chalked out programmes and set to work in right earnest.

8. All this was done without the existence, help and direction of any organization. Rather, the so-called *ad hoc* committees, whose duty it was to take up organization in their hands, created difficulties in the way of workers whose only interest was to make the Muslim League strong for the attainment of Pakistan. But the vested interests, represented by *ad hoc* committees, saw their death in the mass-work. Anyhow the work was carried on, and on objective examination of the situation, it was estimated that, if the work continued without any let or hindrance, Muslim League could capture 95%, if not cent per cent, Muslim seats in the Frontier Province. But there was a different reaction to the announcement of general elections in the camp of vested interests. Intrigues began for ministry formation. Prospective premiers and ministers set about the formation of their parties. League tickets were promised right and left. The patch of dark cloud began to widen. Machination became the order of the day. It was in this atmosphere that the Central Parliamentary Board sent a sub-committee to this Province for the appointment of a Parliamentary Board. The workers

had sensed the danger and they had realized that unless these intrigues, and intriguers, were foiled it would be a very hard job for them to win the elections. Nay, it would be impossible for them to do so, because every prospective premier and minister wanted to have his men nominated by the Muslim League, irrespective of their desirability or chances of success.

9. This evil had to be nipped in the bud in order to gain the one objective—to win the election cent per cent. On the eve of the joint meeting of all the district *ad hoc* committees and the provincial *ad hoc* committee at Peshawar to discuss the nomination of Parliamentary Board, a meeting of the workers of the whole Province was convened under the chairmanship of Maulana Bakht Jamal Khan, the accredited leader of the selfless workers of the Province, to formulate suggestions to be placed before the Central Sub-Committee consisting of Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan and Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman. It was unanimously resolved that the following suggestions be placed before the Committee:

a. No prospective MLA be nominated to the Parliamentary Board.
b. No previous MLA or Minister be included in the Parliamentary Board.
c. No title-holder be taken in the Board.

[*Sub-para omitted*]

10. On the following day the same suggestions were very vehemently and unanimously repeated by all the speakers in the joint meeting of the *ad hoc* committees which was attended by the Central Committee. It may be noted that, in spite of the fact that membership of the *ad hoc* committees mainly consisted of reactionary partisans of S. Aurangzeb Khan, none had the courage to oppose these suggestions as the entire mass of public opinion was behind those suggestions. An assurance was given in the meeting that the Committee would give due weight to these suggestions at the time of nominations to the Parliamentary Board. Names had been suggested to them by different deputations of the reactionary as well as progressive persons in accordance with the complexion of each deputation privately at the Dean's Hotel but the general feelings of the masses were put in an unmistakable manner before the Central Committee. The Committee gave them the impression that they would certainly follow those suggestions and the workers went back under that welcome impression. Then came a round of dinners and the matters took a different turn at dinner tables. They say it is easier to approach the heart through the stomach than through the brain....

11. But that is what has unfortunately happened. When the personnel of the Selection Board were announced from Delhi, all the above suggestions were thrown to the winds and just the reverse was done. Ministry-mongers, reactionaries, titleholders, were flocked [*sic*]

into the Selection Board....

12. Almost every member of the Selection Board had his own designs in his district, so none of them could disregard the wishes of the others. What else except bungling and blunders could be expected from the Selection Board under these circumstances? Where Nawabs were available, Khan Bahadurs were rejected, where Khan Bahadurs were to be found, Khan Sahibs were ignored, where Khan Sahibs were the applicants, Khans had no chance and in the presence of Khans commoners were of course a dirty lot! Education [*sic*] outside the Selection Board was a thing to be shunned at all costs in order to avoid rivalries at the time of ministry-making. Sincerity in a candidate was a serious drawback and was invariably punished. To cite a few instances—Maulana Bakht Jamal Khan was compelled by workers to stand in Mardan as no one else could defeat the Congress in its stronghold. There were three or four other applicants for the League ticket from that constituency. When they were examined by the Selection Board they had to confess that only Bakht Jamal Khan could succeed from that constituency. Thereupon the Board raised the objection that he was poor and could not spend money on electioneering. The rival applicants [*sic*] offered to defray his election expenses so that the League may secure the seat. But what did the Board do? It refused to give ticket to Bakht Jamal Khan on the plea that he was poor....

13. In Bannu, Khan Taj Ali Khan, the outgoing Provincial President, a zealous worker of the Muslim League for the last seven or eight years, was eliminated and the ticket was given to Khan Damsaz Khan who was not willing to apply for it and had not applied for it. In Hazara, Khan Mohammad Sarwar Khan Tahirkheli, an Advocate and a staunch League worker for the last seven years, was, in spite of his overwhelming chances of success, ignored for the sake of a *Khan Bahadur* who is in Government service and not a member of Muslim League at all even up-till now. The instances can be multiplied but what is the use of doing it?

It was under these circumstances that a deputation of League workers of the Hazara District had the honour to wait upon you at Peshawar and I had the privilege to represent their grievances before you. It was not quite in a proper manner that we intruded upon you. Perhaps you will remember it. We briefly put before you the situation that arose out of the decisions of the Selection Board. You tried to pacify us by saying that mistakes are possible but when we stressed that it was not a mere case of mistakes because in that case we would not have bothered you, you had to admit that there might have been cases of *Gol Maal*—to quote your actual words. Of course you also said that even if League ticket is given to a monkey he should be supported.

That is possible to do when men are not available but monkeys as against men is too lofty an idea for a common man to understand.

14. People can be made to excuse an error of judgment but flagrant dishonesty cannot be condoned. To quote yourself, "it is possible to make a fool of all men for some time, some men for all time but not all men for all time." Then you were kind enough to say that all the *Gol Maal* would be rectified in appeals to the Central Parliamentary Board. But on our expressing doubts about that you forcefully said that the Central Parliamentary Board would come here, make thorough enquiries especially from workers, and make amends. We have no interest in individuals beyond this. That everything apart, League tickets should be given to those persons who have the best chance of success, but, to our great misfortune and dismay, this is the very principle ignored in the majority of cases.

We had pinned great hopes with [*sic* for on] the Central Parliamentary Board. We had complained to you that the masses were all right, the only thing to be feared from [*sic*] was the leadership. We had hoped after that, that it would be a different high command that would now tackle the cases in the Frontier Province and not the one that had already trampled upon public sentiments sometime ago. We had resolved to be brave and obedient soldiers of prudent and honest generals. But what did we find? Absolute disregard of the future of ten crores of Musalmans, of elementary principles of justice and fair play, of expediency, dignity and honesty. They entirely disregarded the merits of different appeals, worked under extraneous influences and made such a deplorable mess of it that the Leaguers have to hang their head in shame before the entire world. People ask "is this the type of Pakistan that is to come" and we in shame have no answer to give.

15. Now, Quaid-i-Azam! Please see what they have done. From the entire Province they have allowed three appeals. There were so many cases fit for their interference, some of which I have recounted but they have interfered in those cases only where no interference was called for. Firstly they have allowed the appeal of Mian Ziaud-Din who is the centre of intrigues in the organization and who has not the ghost of a chance to succeed—he might forfeit his security. Secondly, they have accepted the appeal of Sardar Bahadur Khan, former Speaker of the Assembly, who has always been playing a double game of hunting with the hounds and running with the hare. Having been returned on the League ticket in a by-election due to the tireless efforts of League workers of Hazara, he has always been running after Dr. Khan Sahib and Congress. He has scrupulously avoided any connection with the League work. He has been openly boasting that his success was not due to the League and has always been belittling the League. He did not resign from Speakership

when the League Ministry fell. He never attended any public meeting of Muslim League but has been seen in the front rows of Congress meetings. He is a careerist, pure and simple. On merit, his opponent Haji Mohammad Ashraf hails from a tribe which has 6,000 votes and Haji Mohammad Ashraf is the only candidate from his tribe whereas Sardar Bahadur Khan's tribe has 270 votes only and there are three candidates from his tribe.

16. Thirdly, it was announced that the appeal of Mohammad Farid Khan has been allowed from Tanawal Constituency (Hazara District). This is a very extraordinary case. No appeal was actually filed by Mohammad Farid Khan. Ticket had been granted to Mr. Nur Elahi Khan, Advocate, a sincere League worker for the last seven or eight years. He had the best chance of success. He produced in his support, before the Selection Board, about 150 *Lambardars*, notables and influential persons of his constituency from 150 different villages on a day when it was profusely raining throughout the day and nobody would leave his house, whereas, Mohammad Farid Khan could not produce a single supporter before the Board. He was given further time but even then no supporters turned up. He has stood for the election at the instance of the local Deputy Commissioner and when it was suggested to him in the beginning to stand on the League ticket he said that he cared a jot for the League (his letter is on the file). As there was no League candidate in the constituency, Mr. Nur Elahi was asked to stand so that the constituency may not be left without contest. He worked hard in the constituency for the Muslim League and created an overwhelming support for himself and also introduced the name of the Muslim League to masses in the villages. When Mohammad Farid Khan realized after this work that the Muslim League was a force to be reckoned with, he applied for the League ticket. Being disliked by the masses and having no support, he approached members of the Selection Board through big personalities.

17. Mr. Nur Elahi Khan had a very strong claim for the League ticket and Mohammad Farid Khan had the best recommendation from big guns. But there was nothing in his favour on the file. Still the matter was kept pending for a number of days. The Board could not make up its mind. At least they couldn't help deciding in favour of Mr. Nur Elahi. I have recounted these facts merely to enable you to assess the enormity of the calamity which has been brought about by the Central Parliamentary Board. This was the Tanawal Constituency's position. As I said, no appeal was filed. But approach was made to Qazi Mohammad Isa and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan through a Nawab and a Nawabzada and without any appeal, without calling upon Mr. Nur Elahi Khan to show cause, disregarding all the canons of justice and fair play, in direct

contravention of the incontrovertible facts on the file, Mohammad Farid Khan's appeal (which did not exist) was accepted. The appeal was sent after it was announced to have been accepted. Can anyone, with a grain of conscience, support this? People have not mortgaged their conscience to such leaders. There is widespread wrath against the Muslim League. It has been lowered deep in the estimat[ion] of the public. The enemies of Muslim League are elated. Workers are stunned. Nothing more extraordinary could have been imagined. When this is the character of top leaders, where will the organization go? The catastrophe is stupendous.

18. There is an uproar against the Muslim League. We cannot cope with the situation. Qazi Mohammad Isa is at the back of all our troubles and he has now been made in charge of the elections in the Province. A new Committee of Action (inaction) has been formed with Qazi Sahib at its head. Workers have been scratched off. And yet you will expect that Frontier should respond to your appeal. Frontier would have done so but these gentlemen won't let it. They have again gathered together a caucus of intriguers (with the expcet [*sic*] of Samin Jan Khan) and named it Committee of Action with all the finances in their hands. It will be no wonder if expectations are falsified and hopes are dashed.

Quaid-i-Azam! You of all people, know it best that organizations are sustained by honesty, integrity, character and prudence. False and dishonest steps lead us to destruction. Your character and statesmanship have so far shielded these gentlemen but there is a limit to every thing. Our patience has been strained to the limit. Too much strain breaks, you know that. You have seen it in the case of Khaksar organization. But let them beware of Musalmans. They are a nation of iconoclasts. They remember the fate of Moulana Mohammad Ali and they are witnessing the fate of *'Ulama* and Allama Mashriqi. Let them learn a lesson. They will be respected and followed only when they are honest and just, otherwise similar fate will befall them. If they want us to be obedient they should be at least honest.

19. For us it is a question of life and death, for them it is sheer play. They are not serious. Quaid-i-Azam! How long will you be able to shield them? Punish them or allow us to do so. We are groping in darkness and confusion. We have to face the wrath of the people. Please loosen the chains of discipline and allow us freedom to right their wrong and secure success for the Muslim League and Pakistan. There is no other way out. Substance is more important than form. Discipline should not be upheld in order to defeat the ideal. Show us light, we are in the dark. Lend us strength,we are wavering.

Yours obediently,
ASADUL HAQ
Advocate

367

Z. A. Suleri to M. A. Jinnah

45 HILLCREST AVENUE,
EDGWARE, MIDDLESEX,
ENGLAND,
20 December 1945

Most beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Now I have been in this country for about two months. I did not write to you earlier intentionally. I wished to study the situation before venturing to submit my report to you. And here it is now.

The Muslim League here is in miserable infancy. The elements which can constitute its structure are (1) students (2) seamen and businessmen-cum-peddlers. Both of these elements are rather of shifty nature. The former has not much time, the latter lacks education. Moreover, what I have come to the definite conclusion is: that in this country it is not the mass movement which is so much in need to be built up, as an information office. I have met many public men, as well as newspaper editors here, and the common complaint is that they have no source of Muslim information. If there were one, it could be depended upon for supply of information and exchange of ideas. Further, it could issue a weekly or fortnightly bulletin, reproducing articles from Indian Muslim newspapers and giving vital facts about the Indian political situation. Also all available literature could be kept for study of those interested. This office could coordinate the activities of Muslim League branches, but generally keep aloof from personal politics which is bound to arise and has already arisen. The office could, however, give such organizations and its personalities the information they might require. The office could keep in close touch with newspapers and journalists.

Note: For its bulletin, the present *Pakistan* issued from Edinburgh could be utilized; also the Roneo duplicator available at Edinburgh could be brought to London for use.

I am convinced that this is the only method to do work in this country—a work which is bound to prove useful for long time to come yet. If you could order me I could look after this office as its superintendent or secretary. I am making this suggestion at the risk of making a personal case, but with you Sir, I can speak my mind without reserve. What strikes me as urgent, I would not hesitate to put before you. I don't claim to be able, but I am available. So far I have been going about a great deal meeting people but I am much worried financially. This financial worry is a great drag on my movement. And a man who

would not serve any other interest, has no resort but to turn to his own leader. I hope you remember that you said when I met you in Bombay that you would consider my suggestion of appointing me as *Dawn's* correspondent in November. I am not aware of the fate of that suggestion. In the midst of a dozen and half Hindu correspondents, I am alone. But I find that this independent position of mine of a Journalist is very useful. But it requires your support to maintain this independent position. I have put the whole case before you and await your instructions.

I am conscious of the length of this letter, specially [because] it is reaching you at a time when you are so busy. But there is a point on which I could hazard an observation. There is some talk here for getting affiliation (for the Muslim League Branch) with India. I think such a position would not be without danger. Activities here would have repercussions on the Headquarters. It would be much better if the Centre remains without responsibilities for the activities of League here, specially with its personal politics of unstable character.

i. The Muslim League success in the election is having a good effect here but generally people in authority have not an "open mind". But a strong attitude will impress them much.
ii. There is a general feeling here that the Parliamentary Delegation is of low order.

We are celebrating your birthday here. My only prayer is that we may celebrate it for many many years to come.

Profoundly regretting the length of this letter,

Your humble follower,
Z. A. SULERI

368

M. A. Jinnah to A. Haye

SHC, Punjab I/76

20 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 12th,[1] and I fully realize the dire necessity of a daily English newspaper at Lahore. Nobody has tried more than I have to get it going, but so far I have not succeeded, as there are so many difficulties, which I think you partly realize in your own letter. The matter is under my consideration, now that the situation has eased a bit owing to the cessation of hostilities, and I shall not let an opportunity pass if I can help it.

As regards your proposal, which you call a solution, that I should permit you to bring out a simultaneous edition of the *Dawn* at your

own expense from Lahore, you don't tell me how you propose to carry this out and when you say "just as the *Statesman* and other newspapers are published simultaneously at New Delhi and other places". I am afraid you do not realize what this means. I would like you to go a little deeper into this proposal of yours and let me have a definite scheme, and have you any idea as to what will be the expense? These are matters which you should carefully consider in connection with your proposal. I thank you all the same and fully endorse the necessity of our starting an English daily in Lahore.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Prof. A. Haye,
M. A., B.E.S.,
Department of English,
Islamia College,
Lahore

[1]No. 344.

369

M. A. Jinnah to S.N.A. Jafri

SHC, UP I/95

20 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th instant.[1] It is not correct that I am going to Allahabad in January next, but I thank you for your kind offer to present me with an address and a small purse on behalf of the Muslim Railway Employees. I am going to Delhi probably by the end of this month, but I am uncertain as to my movements just now; as you know, we are in the midst of this electioneering campaign and, therefore, it is very difficult for me to make any commitment just now.

I thank you most cordially all the same for your support and sympathy that you have evinced in your letter, and I am glad that the masses are beginning to understand the real issue.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Khan Bahadur Dr. S. N.A. Jafri,
Bar-at-Law,
President,
E. I. Rly. Muslim Employees' Association,
Minhajpur, Allahabad

[1]No. 356.

370

Pethick-Lawrence[1] to M. A. Jinnah

F. 498/14

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL,
21 December 1945

Dear Jinnah,

You will, I am sure, be aware that a small delegation of Members of Parliament is coming to India for the purpose of making personal contacts. The Government here have felt that it is a great disadvantage in present circumstances that there has been so little touch between individuals in public life in this country and those in India during the last six years, and that there would be great advantages to both sides in such contacts being renewed. They will come as individuals and they are not empowered in any way to act on behalf of the Government. On the other hand their impressions will of course be passed on by them to Ministers and others in Parliament.

I write therefore to express the hope that you may be able to meet members of the delegation and discuss matters with them. I am sure that they will very much appreciate any such opportunity for a conversation with you.

I am writing a similar letter to Mr. Azad.[2]

Sincerely yours,
PETHICK-LAWRENCE

[PS.] All the season's greeting to you.

[1]Secretary of State for India and Burma, 1945-7.
[2]See No. 308, *TP*, VI, 672-3.

371

M. A. Jinnah to A. H. Siddiqi

SHC, Sind VII/19

21 December 1945

Dear Dr. Siddiqi,

I have received your letter of the 11th instant[1] and I have noted all that you say. The members of the Central Parliamentary Board and the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League are now in

Karachi and I have no doubt that they will deal with the matter on the spot, as they will be in a better position to do so, and, I do hope, in a manner that will be satisfactory.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Dr. A. H. Siddiqi,
Principal,
Sind Muslim College,
Karachi

[1]No. 340.

372

M. A. Jinnah to Shah Mohammad Azizur Rahman

SHC, Students I/113

21 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th [12th] instant[1] and I thank you for it.

As regards my coming to Bengal, I will try my best and hope to be there some time before the middle of February. You have made a wonderful contribution already to our national organisation, the All India Muslim League, and the Central Assembly elections have proved what an organised body can achieve. The success is remarkable, and I am fully conscious that the Bengal Muslim students have played a great part along with the students all over India and have made a notable contribution for the success that we have achieved so far, and we must now face the provincial elections in the same spirit and with the same determination as disciplined people and secure a thumping verdict from all over India for Pakistan.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Shah Mohammad Azizur Rahman, Esq.,
General Secretary,
All Bengal Muslim Students' League,
28 Marsden Street,
Calcutta

[1]No. 346.

373

Jinnah Birthday Celebration Committee, Durban, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC II/41

101 QUEEN STREET,
DURBAN, NATAL,
21 December 1945

Committee celebrating your sixty-ninth [seventieth] birthday. Please honour with your kind message[1] urgently.

JINNAH CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

[1]Jinnah expressed his gratitude for celebration of his birthday and thanked the Muslim brethren of Natal, South Africa for their support. His message was: "stand united, work harmoniously and serve Muslim interest selflessly." See *SHC*, FC II/42. Not printed.

374

S. Mazher Ali Zaidi to M. A. Jinnah

F.962/64-8

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
22 December 1945

Jai Hind

Dear Sir,

We would not have ventured to write to you but because of your recent appeal to nationalist Muslims. Believe us, many honest workers are forced to quit your camp because they have no place in your organization, no say in your affairs, and probably no respect in your hearts. Standard of sincerity in Muslim League still remains number of titles, honorary magistracies, and more or less a continued record of political hypocrisy.

Aligarh students were once solidly behind Muslim League but Central Assembly elections have served as an eye-opener to them and consequently this breach in the once "arsenal of Muslim India". It may give you a shock but reasons are plain and simple. Youth has none but exploitation utility in your organization. We are asked to quit our class rooms, make sacrifices of our studies, but for whom? For those who till yesterday were our arch-enemies and standard-bearers of British imperialism. You once told us to wait and see, you promised us

not to let these Knights, *Khan Bahadurs* and opportunists get the upper hand in League politics. But who reigns supreme now? Those who can spend a few thousand rupees to enrol fake primary members and thereby foist a majority of their henchmen in the Provincial Councils while those who do honest work are throttled and snubbed. This is your U.P. Muslim League Council. The same holds good more or less in other provinces.

But when the elections came, your personal popularity and selfless work of youth (in which Aligarh had no inferior share) was cashed by these exploiters. We wish youth could have been granted a say in Muslim League as in other political organizations in India and abroad.

We have had enough of patience and we reluctantly refused to be exploited further. What a pity! Sincere Aligarh students and their wishes being constantly ignored and snubbed while dishonest *Khan Bahadurs* [being] pampered.

To cut the story short, why you could not get even a single commoner for Central Assembly seats in U.P.? Is it that in your opinion youth or commoners have no right to represent Muslim people? We wish Muslim leadership could think in terms of the lot of the common people.

Purge, we concede, cannot be instantaneous and wholesale but why not begin it and thus allay the suspicions of the youth, specially those of Aligarh. I cannot tell you what bad effect your selection of Knights and *Khan Bahadurs* created upon Aligarh youth, specially enthusiasts and zealots—and they were too numerous— who worked for League in the Central Assembly elections. They returned broken-hearted and disgusted as their practical experience convinced them that unpopular titled people the masses are not ready to follow every now and then.

With provincial elections in the offing we have yet to see how the mistake of Central Assembly [elections] is rectified in the provincial nominations in U.P. and elsewhere.

May I ask you why these old fanatics of Aligarh who once were all out for League now expressly refuse to go out working in the constituencies where Knights or *Khan Bahadurs* are to be nominated as League candidates, specially in U.P. Is it not sufficient to prove which way the wind is blowing? Aligarh but naturally receives impressions from the province in which it is located.

We made protests and representations from inside the League but they always fell on deaf ears. We refuse to have any further truck with these *Khan Bahadurs* and Knights, specially when we see that they are less acceptable to the masses as compared to young sincere workers or ordinary plain people with no honours from the government.

We have taken a vow not to rest content until we get these titled people exterminated from Muslim public life. With this end in view, we have formed a Muslim Students' Federation which for the present

is limited to Aligarh University students.

As yet we have not resorted to the press, and to date for your information we have gathered 400 students round us. We assure you we are in no league with the enemies of Islam but at the same time refuse to be tools of the title-holders.

Our supporters are increasing every day and we are confident very soon even the League leaders who happen to visit Aligarh will automatically learn [of] the change that has come over in Aligarh in the wake of Central Assembly elections.

Aligarh youth is quickly realizing that they are not a commodity to be exploited like that.

Yours truly,
S. MAZHER ALI ZAIDI,
Secretary,
Nationalist Muslim Students' Federation

NB. We are enclosing[1] our aims and ideals for your perusal.

[1]See F.962/96, *QAP*, Not printed.

375

Shamsher Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F.926/184

S. B. HUKAM SINGH ROAD,
AMRITSAR,
22 December 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please accept my congratulations on your well-deserved and expected success.

You have been laying great emphasis on the fact that the majority party should come to the minority for a settlement or M. K. Gandhi should meet you for a settlement.

We, the Sikhs of the Punjab, are anxious to know as to why you have not extended an invitation to Master Tara Singhji, our leader, in connection with a settlement regarding Punjab. Hope, keeping in view your principle, you would meet Master Tara Singhji on your next visit to the Punjab.

Sincerely yours,
SHAMSHER SINGH
M.A.

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K. M. Shaik Mohiyudeen to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/209-10

VELLORE,
23 December 1945

Sir,

We, the members of the Primary Muslim League, Vellore, avail ourselves of the unique opportunity of expressing our fesuent [*sic*] acknowledgment of heartfelt gratitude to God the Almighty, the Merciful and the Most Compassionate on the occasion of your 70th birthday.

We send you, Sir, in all humility our pristine love and deep-rooted affection for your fortitude, tenacity and all [*sic*] honesty. Your remarkable leadership and your undaunted triumph is a pride not only to the Muslim India but the whole world. The world-renowned popularity of yours is to be coveted and traced as an example by other Muslims. Your unshakable belief in Pakistan, your indomitable determination for that end and your immutable resolution are traits which single you out as a successful political leader and have imbibed [*sic*] in the Muslims of India and other parties the political importance of the Muslim League. You are admired and honoured not only by the rich but also by the poor, not only by the Muslim India but the whole Muslim world, not only by the heterodox but also by the orthodox, not only by this party or that party but by all parties. You have attained remarkable success after strenuous, zealous, patient and self-abasing [*sic*] work in converting your enemies into admirers.

You have strained every nerve to awaken in the Muslim masses the civic consciousness and political-mindedness. By your untiring efforts, the Muslims of to-day are not the ignorant and slumbering Muslims of yesterday. They have shirked [*sic*] off their lassitude and languor and are greatly indebted to you for it. You have left no stone unturned to save the Muslims in the critical time from domination. You have pointed to us the happy goal of Pakistan and we follow you with all fidelity of a zealous adherent. It shall not be long [before] we shall be there all together. It would not be out of place here to record the memorable and the surpassing contributions of yours towards the success of the Muslim League in the recent elections. You have brought the Muslim League successful [*sic*] in its acid test of sole representation of the Muslims, rich or poor. The services you are rendering to the Muslim world and, in particular, Muslim India are unforgettable, a mark indelible and

an achievement remarkable. You have never faltered and failed us and hope that you will continue the same in all earnest. May God give you a long life lengthened with [*sic*] all happiness and may you remain with us for ever! *Aameen*

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Your faithful adherent,
K. M. SHAIK MOHIYUDEEN

377

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/25

[ALAVI MANZIL, KARACHI,]
23 December 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

It was on a Sunday, 69 years ago, that you were born. That is why I am choosing that day to dispatch this letter to you to send you our greetings and congratulations and prayers for your seventieth birthday.

In 1920, you gave to the late Hajee Mahomed Allahrakhia Shivjee a [illegible] for his monthly [*illegible*] in which you said that your favourite book was the *Count of Monte Cristo*. We had discussed your choice of [Alexandre] Dumas's masterpiece and I remember having said that its nebulous romanticism could never have been its chief attraction to you.

A boy was flying a kite on a cloudy day. To a question as to how he could enjoy that pastime when the kite could not be seen, the boy replied, "but I feel it tugging at me."

We had felt that it was not the fabulous wealth of the Count of fiction, but something besides that was tugging at you in that novel.

Neither you nor anyone else could have ever sensed then that the extraordinarily handsome middle-aged lawyer with 25 years of successful professional life behind him would, in another 25 years, on his seventieth birthday be the *Count of Pakistan*. Monte Cristo, however, was a solitary grim bachelor while you have, thank God, a hundred million children!

If I mistake not, your maiden speech in the Congress was on a motion relating to *Wakf 'Alal Aulad* and the first instance of a bill ever passing into law at the instance of a private member was also yours—was it not you that were responsible for the *Wakf* Validating Bill?

As I remembered you in my prayers this morning, these thoughts came to my mind and I prayed that Pakistan may be your *Wakf Alal Aulad* and that it may be given to some of us, in howsoever humble a fashion, to validate your *Wakf* by a life devoted to the ideals you are giving us as an imperishable legacy.

May you remain in health and live long enough to inaugurate the new State of your dreams. God bless you, dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

378

Hatim A. Alavi to D. C. Barty
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Sind VII/26

CONFIDENTIAL

ALAVI MANZIL, KARACHI,
23 December 1945

An A.P. message from New Delhi in this morning's paper says that the Parliamentary Delegation to India would be at Delhi by the end of this month and start work almost immediately.[1]

I suppose you know that while Dr. Choithram Gidwani is the President of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee *de jure,* someone else is the holder of that office *de facto* in the customary Congress style. This gentleman was at-home to Miss Agatha Harrison yesterday and her good offices were being requisitioned to arrange as to who ought to be really seen in Sind by the Parliamentary delegation.

I do not know whether Miss Harrison is in a position to tender any advice to this delegation nor would I guess as to what advice she would give, at least to the three members of the delegation whom she knows personally. Nor do I know if the delegation or any of its subcommittees is coming to Sind, but if they do, I request that full opportunities may be given to us so that the Muslim League point of view in all its many-sided aspects be placed before them.

Recently Colonel Albert Mayer, an American, was in Karachi on his way back to the USA. He had undertaken a very serious study and an extensive survey of Indian politics. Through the good offices of a friend who came to me for a chat and our conversation with each other became so animated and interesting that we met at my house for a whole week for nearly two hours each day. Throughout his tour in

India, Colonel Mayer had mostly met Congressmen or those who were in sympathy with that organization and our meetings therefore provided the American with an opportunity of knowing the other side.

A British Parliamentary delegation, I know, is far more equipped in knowledge and experience about India than an American, even if that American be doing the job on behalf of the State Department. But I fear that many important members of the Labour Party in England allow themselves to be impressed by Congress slogans and catch-phrases which may have meaning in England but which represent travesties of facts here in India.

The verdict of the Muslim electorate in the elections to the Central Legislative Assembly is there for all to see, but I dare say the Parliamentary delegation wants to know a lot more than "an expression of mass hysteria" as one of its members some time ago had described the Muslim demand for Pakistan.

The Muslims demand Pakistan not on sentimental grounds alone. Our case for establishing separate sovereign states is based on what we think is unchallengeable grounds provided the same is examined in an unbiased and fair way. That is why I request that the itinerary and the interviews of the delegation and its members should be so arranged that in Sind, as elsewhere in India, [they] may be afforded opportunities to hear and study the Muslim League's case for Pakistan.

Please place this letter before His Excellency for such action as he may like to take on it.

[*Next para omitted*]

With kind regards,

HATIM A. ALAVI

D.C. Barty, Esq., I.C.S.,
Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Sind
Karachi

[1]See No. 370.

379

M. H. Rizvi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/286-7

OFFICE OF G.E.,
SIBI, BALUCHISTAN,
23 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Respectfully and most sincerely I dare draw your kind attention towards

an article appearing in the daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* dated 20th December [19]45. The Congress is probably forming a formula putting forward a step agreeing for [*sic*] acceptance [of] the Pakistan scheme. If there is some truth at the bottom, in our opinion it is to [a] great extent preferable. Therefore, we sincerely request you to kindly think over the subject. No doubt by and by the atmosphere is proving satisfactory in favour of Muslim League and your every demand will be completed, now the time has come to cooperate.

God bless you to control the Muslim League and let your fourteen items duly completed and fulfilled in every respect.

A sincere well wisher of the Muslim League, urging the Almighty to keep you in good health.

Yours sincerely,
M. H. RIZVI

380

Secretary, Muslim Students' Federation, Malabar, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/208-10

PENANI, MALABAR DIST.,
24 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We heartily congratulate you on your 70th birthday and wish you a long life. We pray to *Allah* that you be spared to the nation for many more years to come, to guide it to the goal of Pakistan. At this most critical juncture in the history of Muslim India, your leadership and guidance have become all the more indispensable. May *Allah* grant you the strength and health to take the nation to its destination.

We gratefully recollect your past services and sacrifices in the cause of the Muslim nation and the country. It was you who infused in the Muslim youth a new spirit and urge for free existence. You are responsible for the wide awakening and political consciousness among the Muslim masses that we witness today from one end of the country to the other. You were able to knit into one nation a people who were lying [*sic*] unorganised. You consistently refused to yield to the treacherous designs of the Hindu Congress and thereby saved the hundred million Muslims from utter extinction. As a result of your untiring efforts, Muslims slowly began to realise the true position and began to rally round the banner of the Muslim League. The hundred million Muslims

owe to you their present strength and solidarity.

Perhaps you may be aware that we, Moplas, are to a man behind the Muslim League. Our beloved leader, Hajee Ishaq Sait Sahib, has wonderfully organised the Moplas and made them disciplined soldiers who are prepared to shed the last drop of their blood for the establishment of free Muslim States in our majority areas. The solidarity of Moplas has been unmistakably shown at the recent Central Assembly elections when Ishaq Sait was returned with thumping majority. We have one earnest appeal to make to you. We, Moplas, have been so long eagerly waiting to find you in our midst and receive a message from you directly. Their hopes have been [*sic*] raised when, in 1941, you were expected to take part in the Malabar Muslim League Conference. But we were, due to your unfortunate illness, badly disappointed. We, on behalf of the Moplas earnestly request you to find time to pay a visit to Malabar in the near future.

Once more wishing you a long life,

Yours faithfully,
Secretary,
Muslim Students' Federation

381

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/113

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
24 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I like your speech delivered at the Memon Chamber of Commerce at Bombay very much and every Musalman who has read it has appreciated it as much as I have done. There is, however, one incorrect statement of fact which I would like to correct you on, and I am sure you will forgive me for the liberty that I am taking. You stated that the Congress did not put up a single Muslim candidate in the Central Legislative Assembly elections, that have just finished, on its own ticket. This is not right because out of the six Muslim candidates that contested [*sic*] the Muslim League in Bengal, two were official Congress candidates and the other four were nationalist Muslim candidates backed by the Congress hundred per cent with money, men and propaganda in the press.

I have not received your reply to my two telegrams.[1] I hope it will not be long before I hear from you.[2]

Tomorrow is the 25th of December and your birthday and I wish you many happy returns of the day and may *Allah* give you long life, good health and plenty of energy to serve Him and mankind.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]See *SHC*, Bengal III/109 & 111. Not printed.
[2]See No. 397.

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Ghulam Bhik Nairang to M. A. Jinnah

F. 389/22-3

AMBALA CITY,
24 December 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have sent you a telegram today, worded as follows:

> Shaukat Hyat Khan's constituency, Ambala-Ludhiana Urban, needs your special attention. Kindly arrange visit earliest convenience, Ambala one day, Ludhiana next day.

In mentioning Ambala and Ludhiana in this order I have assumed that you will travel to these places by train and will, therefore, reach Ambala before you reach Ludhiana. If, however, you travel by air, you can alight at Ambala and thence proceed to Ludhiana by car or train. But if you reach Lahore first, according to your reported Punjab programme, and then fix the time for your visit to Ambala and Ludhiana, you can reverse the order in which you visit the two places. In short, whatever the order, the important points are:

a. these places have got to be visited;
b. and that at your earliest convenience (I would suggest some time in the first half of January);
c. the minimum time to be given to each place is one day.

The Governor is straining every nerve to save the Unionist Party from death and the entire official machinery from top to bottom is working to that end, ceaselessly, desperately, and shamelessly. Shaukat is the special target aimed at by the Governor and his henchmen and a huge amount of money, sixty thousand rupees or thereabouts, has

been guaranteed to the rival candidate, Khwaja Eusuf Shah, for his election expenses. We are, *Insha Allah,* confident of success, but we really need your help, and I hope you will come to our aid.

Everybody knows how extremely busy you are and what a tremendous amount of work you are doing. I am always most reluctant to approach you with a request involving a disturbance of the course of your work, waste of your time, or avoidable personal discomfort. In spite of all this, I feel that I must ask you to help us in making Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan's success as much a certainty as is humanly possible.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG
President, Dist. Muslim League

383

Abdul Sattar to Secretary, Bombay Provincial ML
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 882/297-8

REHMAT BUILDING, KOLIWADA,
BOMBAY,
24 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I beg your kind permission to mention herein below few lines for your information and would like to bring the same to your knowledge or point out your negligence.

That I am a *pucca* Muslim Leaguer and a businessman of Bombay and Dhoraji. When I did not find my name in the Provincial election rolls, I approached the Small Causes Court and engaged a Muslim pleader who fought out my case very successfully. What I found there in the Court [was] that the Muslims and Hindus had come to file their cases for the election rolls. The Congress has made such an arrangement that all the Hindus who had come to the Court with their petitions to file in the Court were helped by the Hindu pleaders and advocates freely and these Hindu pleaders and advocates have been fighting out the Hindu cases in the Court. My heart is burning to state that the Muslim League has not yet made any arrangement for the Muslims who cannot afford legal charges and who are very much anxious to see their names in the election rolls and at the time of election help the

Muslim League candidates. There are many Muslim pleaders and advocates in the Muslim League who, I am sure, if approached, will be prepared to come forward for the cause of Muslims, particularly Muslim ladies, to help them in fighting out their cases in the Court for the election.

I think it is my duty, as a *pucca* Muslim Leaguer, to approach you to make immediate arrangements with Muslim advocates to help the ignorant Muslims in filing their names in the election rolls, and for recognising such Muslim advocates in the Court, the League should make such arrangements that such pleaders and advocates be given badges or any sign so that an ignorant man or woman may be able to make out the Muslim League advocate or pleader.

I hope that the Muslim League will make the above arrangements immediately and not turn a deaf ear so that the Muslims be encouraged, and not disappointed, to come forward for the cause of Muslims and help the Muslim League.

Thanking you very much,

I beg to remain,
Your brother-in-Islam,
ABDUL SATTAR

384

Y. E. Moledina to M. A. Jinnah

F. 54/39

MOLEDINA HOUSE,
144 SAMUEL STREET,
BOMBAY,
25 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am writing this on your birthday. The day may not be of as much importance to you as to the Muslims of India. As one of them, I wish you a long life to enable you to lead the Muslim nation to victory.

I have always believed that our organisation and the renaissance movement, of which you are the father, is a one-man show. I can see none on the dark horizon except you who can sincerely, honestly, and with wonderful determination carry the whole nation with him—bringing together all the warring elements, ideologically conflicting with each other.

All this requires a superman—and I believe in super-human power of a human being.

You will, I hope, excuse my discussing at this juncture, once again, the publication of an English paper, of which none has felt the need more than I do. You will remember having suggested the names of the personnel to form a committee for this purpose. I had, accordingly, spoken to Mr. Chundrigar, and had actually done the necessary spadework in the matter.

Mr. Chundrigar promised to do the needful in the matter, after having consultations with you. But further progress, I believe, was held up due to Mr. Chundrigar's absence from Bombay on various propaganda tours in the districts, and his other preoccupations.

I have, now, learnt that a similar committee has been set up, although I am quite unaware as to how it all came about. I do not know if you had any say in so far as the appointment of this committee is concerned. I only wish I could be of some help to the cause I have always cherished.

Hope you are in the best of health. May your tour of the north-western and the eastern zones bring cent per cent success to the League in provincial elections also.

Y. E. MOLEDINA

385

H. G. Sarwar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (828)

PENANG,
25 December 1945

Dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

I wish you were in Penang to see how we celebrated your 69th [70th] birthday. In spite of the fact that the cost of living here is something like five to ten times that of India and provisions are scarce, thousands and thousands are being given free rice and meat all over the Muslim inhabited portions of Penang. At 2.30 p.m. punctually, the whole male Indian population marched in a half mile long procession, ten to twenty deep with band playing, banners flying, and vociferous shout of *Allaho Akbar*, Mohammad Ali Jinnah *Zindabad*, Muslim League *Zindabad* and rendering [*sic*] the air to skies. Volunteers clad in green caps led the procession and the hearts of young and old beat with such joy as has not been felt in Penang before. From 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. without a single

minute's interruption, speeches in English, Urdu and Tamil with lot of songs kept the audience spellbound and to my mind even the angels themselves must have envied Mohammad Ali Jinnah as they did his father Adam of yore. I congratulate you on this wonderful performance of yours. You have won the hearts of Indian Muslims as few, if any, have done before and rightly so. I was present at the Lahore session of the League in 1940 and left for Penang soon after. Your welcome at Lahore did not seem to me half so grand as your very name inspired the Muslims here today. If you were here in person, we would have gone mad with joy. Please do not thank me for I was a mere figure-head in the proceedings and the people chose me because of my age [rather] than for my merits. All the merit, the whole of it without any deduction, belongs to our southern Indian friends of the Madras Presidency, and to my mind Pakistan would prosper there better than anywhere else if the people in that Presidency are as keen as their representatives here. There is not a single dissident voice in Penang about your proposals in spite of the fact that these southern Indians are not to be in Pakistan which is the most wonderful fact of it [*sic*]. I know my Punjab but Punjabis are too learned to be wise and too foolish to be learned. However, I am told by friends that even old Punjab has now changed and is more for Pakistan than it was before.

You are a busy man and I am taking liberty of inflicting this scribble on you for I really cannot let it go without saying a word for my Penang brethren. I can assure you that for sixty years there has never been a public meeting of Penang Muslims or for that matter of their fathers to come up to the most marvellous show that our community had put up today.

I am just back from the meeting held in a huge open ground attached to the Penang Broadcasting Station. Thanks are due to the authorities for lending us the ground and building and for other conveniences.

Long live Jinnah and long live Islam and Muslims!

Yours sincerely,
H. G. SARWAR
of Lahore

PS. I hope you do sometimes read my translation of the holy *Qur'an*.

386

Khadija Shuffi Tyabji to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 830/214

OMAR MANSION,
WARDEN ROAD, BOMBAY,
25 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Herewith I am forwarding to you, on behalf of the Muslim League Ladies Sub-Committee, a copy of the resolution passed at the public meeting of women, organised by the Muslim League Ladies Sub-Committee, in honour of your birthday, on 25th December 1945, at Baig Mohamed Bagh.

With best wishes, prayers and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
KHADIJA SHUFFI TYABJI
President,
Bombay Muslim League Ladies Sub-Committee

[1]Jinnah had sent a message for the meeting on 22 December. See Annex.

Enclosure to No. 386

Resolution by Ladies Muslim League, Bombay

F. 830/215-6
[Original in Urdu]

25 December 1945

This meeting of the Ladies Muslim League, Bombay Province, heartily congratulates our beloved Quaid-i-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, on his happy birthday. The personality of the Quaid is so much intermingled with that of the Muslim nation that celebrating the birthday of the Quaid is akin to the celebration of the nation's birthday.

We have assembled here today also to express our heartfelt gratitude for his untiring efforts in galvanizing the Muslim nation into an effective political force, imbued with the spirit of an independent identity and self-reliance. They have become a united entity, after a lapse of 1,300 years. Thanks to the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, the Muslims are now a nation able to assert its identity and is sufficiently articulate to demand its rights, while pulsating with new life and vigour in its endeavour to achieve its political goals.

We pray to Almighty God that the Quaid may see many more happy birthdays, and may God bestow on him the glowing success in rendering outstanding services to the Muslim nation.

Annex to No. 386

Message by M. A. Jinnah for Muslim Ladies Meeting

F. 918/405-6

BOMBAY,
22 December 1945

[A] few years back Muslim India was in a deep slumber and lethargy and almost dead, one might say. It was in 1937, after the Lucknow session, that the nation was reborn, and with careful nursing, it has revived and regained its strength and force and in a short time to such an extent that it is nothing short of a miracle.

Muslim India rallied round under the banner of the All India Muslim League from one end of India to another and gathered such force that it is recognised as the only authoritative representative organisation of the Musalmans of India. Muslim India, a nation of 100 million people with their homelands in the North-West and North-East and with their past history, cannot any more be dominated and if they stand united then we shall undoubtedly achieve Pakistan.

In order to make our nation strong enough to face any danger, we have to develop the nation-building departments, such as educational, economic and social uplift [*sic*]. Therefore, I appeal to the Muslim women to come forward and help and play their legitimate part in advancing these vital departments of national life. Remember we have been left behind in every department of life of our nation and we have to make up the leeway and women can play a great role in the moulding of the future of our nation. Therefore, I appeal to every woman to make her full contribution towards the renaissance of Muslim India.

We are passing through very critical times. The elections are going to take place within a short time and we must show to the world and our enemies by securing a thumping verdict for our official League candidates and thus show that the Muslim League is the only authoritative representative organisation of the Musalmans and that Muslim India is determined to achieve Pakistan. If we stand together, no power on earth would be able to obstruct our triumphant march towards the realisation of our cherished goal of Pakistan.

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Syed Hasan Bhatkaly to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/212-3

111 MOORE STREET, MADRAS,
25 December 1945

My beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

Christmas Day may be a festival day for the Christians. But the day has a special significance for the Indian Musalmans, for it was on this day sixty-nine years ago that you, the accredited leader of Muslim India, was [*sic* for were] born. As such the 25th day of December, every year, has become the annual occasion for the hundred million Musalmans of India to pay their respectful homage to their Quaid-i-Azam for the invaluable and selfless services he has rendered to the nation.

O the captain of the ship of Pakistan! You made history as the saviour of Muslim India by coming forward to place your services at the disposal of your co-religionists at the psychological moment when they were in dire need of a capable leader who could guide them to glory and prosperity. With marvellous skill and consummate political sagacity you set about reorganizing and reviving the degenerate Muslims. And what a magical change you brought about in a very short time! Not only did you weld them into a strong, united body, giving them a flag, a platform and a definite goal, but you made them a force to be reckoned [with] by the other powerful elements in the country. In short, you infused a new life and spirit in their views [*sic*] and succeeded in creating a nation out of the once discordant, disunited and down-trodden Muslims.

Muslim India is fortunate enough to have you at the helm of its affairs who has devoted the best part of his life for the betterment of your fellow-men; particularly the Muslim youth have in you a leading example to follow, a worthy model to shape their lives.

O my father! You are held in the same high esteem by the Musalmans of India as Kamal Ataturk was held by the Turks.

May God bless you with a long life of health and prosperity and of ever-increasing service to Islam and Muslim India! *Aameen*

Your sincere follower,
SYED HASAN BHATKALY
A student

388

Mahomedbhoy I. M. Rowjee to M. A. Jinnah

F. 882/39

MOOBARAK MANZIL,
50-52 HUGHES ROAD,
BOMBAY,
25 December 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have chosen to address this open letter to you, Quaid-i-Azam and President of the All India Muslim League, to bring to your notice some of the glaring inconsistencies, and I hope that you will give it due consideration.

You are crying from the house-tops that your Pakistan demand should be conceded before you will ever think of extending your hand of co-operation to the Congress. Consistent[ly] with your above policy you have advised your Muslim Leaguers not to vote for the Congress candidates in any council or assembly having joint voting system but to vote for Khaksars where there are no Leaguers contesting the elections.

Don't you know that the Bombay Municipal Corporation is elected on joint electorate and with your connivance the Muslim League contested their elections without any objections, from time to time, and even put up a candidate for the mayoral chair at the last Muslim turn in 1942-43. Will you, Mr. Jinnah, explain where is your principle? Why do you conveniently forget to advise your Leaguers in your own native town of Bombay not to crave or beg for any loaf or crumb from the hand of the Congress Municipal Party in the matter of mayoralty, chairmanship, or membership? Don't you think, Mr. Jinnah, that it is improper for the Leaguers to beg for favours and obligations [*sic*] from the Congress Municipal Party, specially when they do not intend to reciprocate. You will agree, Mr. Jinnah, that the principle of give-and-take should always prevail in all matters and since you are not prepared to co-operate with the Congress without your Pakistan demand being conceded, is it not then proper for you to prohibit your Leaguers from craving or begging for or accepting any indulgence from the Congress Municipal Party and at least put up a show of fair dignified conduct on the part of the Leaguers?

The next mayoral election for 1946-47 as well as for the various committees will shortly take place. Are you, Mr. Jinnah, going to clarify your position and follow a consistent line of policy and declare that

under no circumstances shall the Muslim League Party in the Corporation put up any of their candidates, either for the mayoralty or for the statutory and special committees?

Will you also, Mr. Jinnah, clearly declare your policy that you would not allow the Muslim League to contest the forthcoming Bombay municipal elections in 1947 on joint electorate? I must say that if you have no courage of your conviction[s], then you better give up your idea of imbecile non-co-operation and try to deal fairly and squarely with the Congress.

Yours sincerely,
M. ROWJEE

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Abdul Rashid Arshad Makhdum to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/28

VERY IMPORTANT

BACHRA BUILDING,
TANDO WALI MOHAMMAD,
HYDERABAD, SIND,
26 December 1947

LONG LIVE OUR QUAID-I-AZAM!

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Before I may say something about the League affairs in Sind, I must heartily congratulate you, Sir, for [*sic* for on] your birthday, and I earnestly pray that God may bestow [on] you long life and ever-increasing prosperity to serve the down-trodden community of Muslims.

Sir, I am in correspondence with you since 1942 and, despite your honour's various engagements, you were kind enough to reply me twice. Last month my sister, who is a staunch Leaguer, sent you a letter as I was indisposed, but there is no reply from your side. Quaid-i-Millat! I desire that I may send you various news of Sind politics, which are really sad, but we must not take them to heart, because such affairs always happen in every community.

I will be sending you details, and I hope you will be kind enough to take note of them. For God's sake, in view of the following sad news, kindly send various [*sic*] good and India-fame lecturers to Sind for propaganda of Muslim League candidates for Sind Assembly, as Hindu nation is trying to reign [over] Sind Province for ever. Here goes:

a. Yesterday, Mr. G.M. Sayed, the President of the Sind Muslim

League, had resigned from the membership of the All India Working Committee and Action Committee, and has returned the Muslim League ticket with thanks, and he has done this nonsensical deed at the bungalow of Seth Partabrai of Hyderabad, Sind.

b. G.M. Sayed has given tickets to sixteen candidates for the coming elections in Sind.
c. Aligarh students delivered speeches at Hyderabad yesterday, along with Syed Miran Mohammad Shah Sahib and Mr. Yusuf Haroon, and such sort of meetings, if held by very good lecturers, will produce very good results as Sindhis are swayed by sentiments.
d. One crore of rupees have been allotted to Sind Province by the Congress to make the so-called nationalists successful.
e. Two thousand rupees have been sent to Moulvi Abdul Haq Rabbani (nationalist) contesting in the constituency of Mir Bandeh Ali Talpur.
f. Pandit Nehru is coming here in Sind in the beginning of January, and Sarojini Naidu and other ladies and various leaders have arrived here to poison the mind of the public.
g. Allama Mashriqi was absolutely unsuccessful in Sind; even then, in reply to that, send good leaders to Hyderabad, Nawabshah (where four tickets have been forfeited [*sic*] by Nawabzada Sahib) and Shikarpur, the stronghold of K.B. Haji Moula Bux, the first-class enemy of Sindhi Muslims. Hyderabad is *Kafiristan,* and the Khaksar nominee is contesting against League.
h. S.B. Mir Hussain Bux Talpur, who is the first Muslim unopposed for Sind Assembly, is playing a double role. He has wired Allama Mashriqi to do laborious work for [*sic*] Mr. Ali Ahmad Talpur (Khaksar) in Hyderabad as Talpurs desire to see Talpur successful and League unsuccessful.
i. The above-named man has sent a telegram to Allama for help, whereas on enquiry by Seth Yusuf Haroon, he refused [*sic*] and contradicted it as baseless news (Here it is a double role).
j. About a dozen *Maulvis* have come from Baluchistan for helping nationalist fools.

Most respected Sir, these are [*sic*] fresh news, which are really troublesome, but, Sir, I will request you to kindly send MLAs (Central) already elected, and who are free now, and order them to deliver most appealing lectures in Hyderabad, Nawabshah, Shikarpur, and if possible, and it is certainly possible, in each and every city of Sind. Kindly take note—Sarojini Naidu has delivered lectures in every town of Hyderabad District.

As the above detailed news is very confidential, you will not disclose it; thinking you as the only sympathizer, I am sending you, Sir, the

details, and in future also I will be sending you [the details] if you also desire me to do so.[1] Sir, the time is very critical, and Hindu is trying to divide Muslims by money and by monetary help. Sir, the reality is this, and this alone, that it is only you who have got the best possible sympathy for the Muslims, who are so fool [*sic*] that God can make their destiny always [*sic*]. I will request you, Sir, to take the initiative in each and every work, keeping in view the very short time [left] for the elections. You can disclose my name, but, Sir, the contents of this letter may be kept confidential, which is quite essential, otherwise these big bellies [*sic*] are very dangerous.

In the end, I heartily congratulate [*sic*] you, Sir, for your long life and ever-increasing prosperity and happiness, and you may see Pakistan a reality.

With humblest of regards,

Yours most obediently,
ABDUL RASHID ARSHAD MAKHDUM
B. A., LL. B. *student*

[1]Jinnah thanked him for both the information sent and that promised. See *SHC*, Sind VII/29. Not printed.

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M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/27

IMMEDIATE

LARKANA, SIND,
26 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The contest here for Sind Assembly seats is very serious, particularly at Shikarpur, Ratodero, Miro Khan and Mehar constituencies and, therefore, we badly need assistance of Pir Ahmed Shah of Ranipur and Sardar Abdur Rahim Khan Khoso. I had written to you at Quetta requesting you to speak to His Highness the Khan of Kalat for these persons, but nothing has happened so far. Now the time is very short and something needs be done very quickly. I therefore write this again to request you most earnestly to send me a letter for Ahmad Yar Khan of Kalat to persuade these two gentlemen to help our League candidates. The letter may kindly be sent to me on my Larkana address as quickly as possible.

We also need funds, at least rupees fifty thousand, from the Central organization for propaganda and some little financial assistance to the League candidates who cannot fight on their own resources. I

discussed this matter with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan who must have also written to you. At this time when loyalty of the President of Provincial League is doubtful we expect no help through him to the League candidates. The assistance from the Central organisation is, therefore, most essential. This amount may kindly be sent to Seth Yusuf Haroon direct and Yusuf Haroon and myself shall, after elections, raise provincial funds and pay back substantial amount of this money.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

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Syed Alla Bux to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad I/78

STATES' PRESS OF INDIA,
SHAMSIA,
CHANCHALGUDA,
HYDERABAD, DN.,
26 December 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As you will agree, the problem of the political status and welfare of the States' Muslims is next in importance only to the cherished goal of Muslim India—Pakistan. And as the acclaimed leader of ten crore Musalmans of India, you cannot afford to neglect them in the future settlement for India. A better future for them demands better propaganda [*sic*] of their difficulties and aspirations.

Can it not be apprehended that the States, if left to themselves, might become islands threatening the peace and tranquillity of the bordering British Indian Provinces? Or can it be denied that the British Indian Provinces might influence States' politics more and more to the detriment of the Muslim States? Is it not desirable, therefore, that the States should have an institution to work out planned propaganda in their interest. The answer to these questions came in the form of an idea which took its final shape in the draft scheme which is enclosed for your perusal.[1]

The idea is sound commercially and, as its prospects cannot be doubted, it might become dangerous for the Muslim cause, should it fall into wrong hands. But who can advise which are the best hands, if not you?

I must add that copies of the scheme have been sent to the Nawab

Sahib Bahadur of Bhopal and Sir Sultan Ahmed.

Awaiting your commands and with respects,

Yours sincerely,
S. A. BUX
Ex-Private Secretary to the late Quaid-i-Millat

[1]Not traceable.

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Syed Husain Uraizee to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1011/115-6

22 CHUNA BHATTI STREET,
MOHAMMADALI ROAD, BOMBAY,
27 December 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

While congratulating you on your 70th birthday and praying for your long and healthy life, I take liberty to pen a few words, full of my sincere and genuine feelings, and trust that they will meet with your favourable consideration.

To be concise, I know you from 1916, when you presided over the 16th Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmedabad. I was then your personal volunteer. I also attended the 50th Indian National Congress at Nagpur in 1920. I non-cooperated and left the college in 1921, joined the Congress Movement, Khilafat Movement, worked with almost all the Congress and Khilafat leaders, studied [Subhash Chandra] Bose's Forward Bloc Movement, Pandit Jawahar's Social[ist] and [M. N.] Roy's Radical Movements.

I met you in 1942 in connection with the *Muslim Times,* a Gujarati daily, to advocate the programme and policy of the All India Muslim League under your patronage.

On the 24th October 1945, I wrote you a letter suggesting to start an All India Muslim Statistics and Information Bureau or a similar department under the guidance and supervision of the Muslim League at Delhi. You forwarded the said letter to the Chairman of the All India Muslim League's Central Parliamentary Board at Delhi for their consideration. Mr. Badrul Hasan, the Office Superintendent of the Central Office, AIML, Delhi, informed me, in his letter No. 3863 of 15-11-45, that "An All India Publicity and Information Dept. has been established at the Central Office of the AIML and Mr. Qazi Mohammad Isa, a

member of the Committee of Action and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, has been placed in charge of this Department. Thank you very much for your kind offer of co-operation which when required would be fully utilized."In short, my suggestion has gone in vain.

To be very frank, from my thirty years' practical experience in the political field, I have been convinced that the non-Muslim leaders try or say deliberately: avoid the Muslim brains [*sic*] or persons having initiative, and the Muslim leaders have always kept them away. And the result is that such persons have never met with the favour of the so-called leaders, who have liked flattery and who have preferred publication of their speeches, writings, life sketches and messages as well as photographs to any substantial and practical constructive programme or work which is a dry subject.

When I see the programmes of the Muslim League, I think for a while that the Muslims of India are entitled to achieve their goal of Pakistan in no time. But the very next moment the charm goes away and I am disappointed. To [*sic* for about] your sincerity and selfless service to the Indian Muslims there is no doubt, but are the so-called leaders going to bring relief to the poor, uneducated and helpless Muslims by mere table talk?

It is my fervent belief and conviction that unless selfless, sincere and hard-working Muslims possessing initiative and sincerity of purpose are found out and are given a fair chance to work out constructive programmes in a quiet atmosphere without the effect of party politics, there is no hope for the salvation of the Indian Muslims.

And it was with this motive that I made the foregoing suggestion. Thanking you in anticipation of your kind advice,

Yours in Islam,
S. H. URAIZEE
General Manager,
The daily Muslim Times

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Shaukat Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/52

LUDHIANA,
27 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am addressing you after a long time. I did not want to bother you

earlier knowing how extremely busy you were. Moreover, in obedience to your orders from Simla, we have been on the move to apprise Punjab Muslims of the happenings at Simla. By the grace of God and with your blessings, we have managed to awaken Muslims to a great extent. Central Assembly election results would bear testimony to that. That, however, is no indication [as] to what may happen in the forthcoming elections for the provincial legislature. The Government have learnt their lesson and are leaving no stone unturned in order to undo whatever little we have been able to do. Government machinery of oppression has been let loose against us. We would therefore need all the support we can get to secure a result which would be worthy of the Punjab.

Our greatest force against the combined Congress-Ahrar and the official forces is our Quaid-i-Azam. Can you spare us a month of your most valuable time, say from 15th January to 15th of February. This is the absolute minimum. This would give you fifteen days at least before the polling begins and fifteen days of actual polling. Both periods are important: one for preparing the ground and the other to discourage official interference.

In Ludhiana, we are meeting very tough opposition from Congress and Ahrar, supported actively by the Unionists. Jawaharlal and Abdul Ghaffar have already been there. If you could pay a flying visit to the city it will give a final touch to our campaign and will also end Congress in Ludhiana once [and] for all. If you could leave Delhi on Sunday 13th by the Bombay Express and break your journey at Ludhiana, we can arrange a meeting in the afternoon. You can then leave for Lahore the next morning at 10 a.m. I understand Ludhiana Muslims have already made this request to you. If you approve of this please wire your decision to the Muslim League Election Board, Ludhiana.

I do hope that you would be able to visit Punjab.[1] We need all the help that All India [Muslim League] can give us—this forthcoming [*sic*], we are confident Punjab will produce results which God willing may give the Congress Pandit and the British wishful thinkers something real to think about.

Please remember us to your sister.

With our best wishes for your health and long life,

Yours sincerely,
SHAUKAT HYAT

[1]For reply see No. 414.

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Zia Uddin Ahmad to Ch. Khaliquzzaman
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, UP V/28

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
27 December 1945

My dear Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman,

It was published in the papers that you will be visiting Aligarh on the 25th of December and I thought that I would discuss the question of election in U.P. with you here. I find now that you have postponed your visit to Aligarh. I drew your attention about the election work, particularly in Basti, on the 28th of November 1945 soon after my election. I sent you my written opinion twice and I also drew the attention of all the members of the Parliamentary Board but nothing has been done so far and valuable time has passed away [*sic*]. The selection of candidates is very important but at the same time the election work is no less important. You told me that from the 13th of December you will devote your time to election work. In case you have no time, you please appoint another person to look after this work. The condition of Basti is not very safe and I am receiving letters that the situation has not improved.

I wrote to you in my last letter that I called on each voter in Basti town on the 26th of November and the election result showed that I got 22 against 45. Either the votes were tampered with or the voters did not keep their promises which they made to me a day before. No person either to canvass or to give lectures has really visited Basti. You cannot depend on any local man for the work in Basti which has got three full seats. The work should be done by some responsible outsider with the help of local persons. He should maintain a house for other workers who may be sent to that district.

The responsibility of success in local council election is yours and it cannot be shared by any one else. We are all to help you and to translate into practice your decision. You cannot shift the responsibility either on Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan or on any other person as you will be the leader of Muslims in U.P. Your position is just the same as that of Govind Ballabh Pant[1] and he cannot take the shelter of anybody except Mr. Gandhi.

I very clearly said that the election work must be organised from Lucknow and it cannot be organised from Meerut as Meerut is far away from eastern districts and the letters will take a long time to reach [words missing] you to organise the propaganda and lecture work. I must frankly tell you that the persons whom I used for my election work in Basti talk more than they work.

I now make the following suggestions:

i. Please organise your central office in Lucknow and put it in the direct charge of Maharajkumar of Mahmudabad and other persons, under your general supervision.
ii. Keep your connection direct with each district and do not have intermediary organisers of divisions. This will cause delay in the work.
iii. You will have to provide cars in places which I have already mentioned. I will try to purchase them in the 1st week of January from Delhi.
iv. I do not intervene in matters of selection but in my constituency there are four difficult places, viz. Azamgarh and three seats in Basti for which special care is necessary.
v. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published the news that you are putting Begum Mohammad Ali against Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim. '*Ulama* have great hold on public in Bijnor. If you want to send some outsider, send a bearded man like Maulana Hasrat Mohani to contest Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim.

In case you want to nominate any member of the Aligarh University staff for election, the permission of the Executive Council is necessary. You yourself, Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf, Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan and Hon. Hossain Imam are all members of the Executive Council.

I tell you frankly that our business is only to make suggestions but whatever decision you arrive at, we will loyally carry it out. This is the principle which I have adopted in the Central Legislature also.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD

Ch. Khaliquzzaman, Esqr.,
Khiyaliganj,
Lucknow

[1]Premier, UP, 1937-9 and from 1946; Member, All India Congress Committee.

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Udham Singh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/79

AMRITSAR,
28 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am directed to send a copy of the statement issued by Master Tara Singh[1] for your kind notice.

Faithfully yours,
UDHAM SINGH

[1]Akali leader.

Enclosure to No. 395

STATEMENT BY MASTER TARA SINGH

SHC, Punjab I/80

The *Modern Review* of Calcutta quotes a nationalist Muslim paper *Hakikat* and says that I stated somewhere that Mr. Jinnah was getting money from Muslim States and other places with the help of the Government for pressing Pakistan demand.[1]This is absolutely false. I said nothing of the Government and I know nothing of the matter. In fact, it is not possible for me to believe that a gentleman of Mr. Jinnah's position and character can be capable of such meanness.

MASTER TARA SINGH

[1]See *SHC*, Punjab I/81. Not printed.

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H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Bengal III/15A

CALCUTTA,
28 December 1945

Beg to report tremendous meeting, demonstration in Calcutta inaugurating provincial election League campaign meeting. At least five lakh people without exaggeration. Request you visit Bengal first week

February and stay here fourteenth. Arranging *mofussil* tour as little strenuous as possible. Tremendous enthusiasm and prayer for your presence.[1]

SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY

[1]Jinnah informed Suhrawardy that he might visit Bengal in February 1946. See *SHC*, Bengal III/17. Not printed.

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M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/114

28 December 1945

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your telegrams[1] and letters[2] which I have duly received, including the last one of the 24th instant.[3] I have not been able to reply to your previous letters as I was not able to definitely inform you when I shall be going to Bengal, but as things are now shaping, I hope to be there some time before the middle of February.

As regards the statement of fact in my recent speech on the 20th instant at the Memon Chamber of Commerce at Bombay,[4] I was guided by the original list that was published of the selected candidates on behalf of the Congress [for election] to the Central Assembly. It was not known here that the Congress had put up Muslims as official Congress candidates for any of the constituencies in Bengal for the Central Legislative Assembly, but it does not make any serious difference. At any rate, my point was that they adopted a cowardly attitude having proclaimed to the world the falsehood that they represented all Indians, but when the testing time came, they had no courage to nominate Musalmans on the Congress ticket even making an allowance for the two as against twenty-eight Muslim seats. Therefore, my arguments stand and the facts are still substantially correct. I am glad that my speech was appreciated in Bengal and I thank you very much indeed for your greetings and good wishes on the occasion of my birthday.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards to you all,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Harington Street,
Calcutta

[1&2]See *SHC*, Bengal III/109 to 112. Not printed.
[3]No. 381.
[4]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 353-4.

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M. Hyath Pasha to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/117-18

THE ORIENT PRESS OF INDIA,
82 WALLAJAH ROAD, MADRAS,
28 December 1945

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I am herewith enclosing a copy of the editorial, "Many Happy Returns," appearing in The *Liberator*, the English daily of Madras, dated December 25/26, 1945, penned by Dr. A. Krishnaswami, M. A., Bar-at-Law, Ph.D. (son of Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar) on the occasion of your 70th birthday for favour of kind perusal.

With great respects, and in all humility echoing the same sentiments, I most respectfully wish you a very long and happy life.

With best humble regards to your respected self,

Yours very sincerely,
M. HYATH PASHA
Asst. Editor

Enclosure to No. 398

SHC, Non-Muslims I/118

MANY HAPPY RETURNS

Many years hence, when the events now in the future have become part of past history, citizens of multi-national India discussing our times and the great men who have shaped history for the better will rate Mr. Jinnah's services to the cause of freedom much higher than we are inclined to do today. Probably this is the fate reserved for almost all great men and Mr. Jinnah may content himself, if that be necessary, with the reflection that if his services are not recognised today as much as they should be, eventually justice will be done by posterity. Mr. Jinnah is sixty nine today. He is the leader of our ally, the Muslim League—the guide of a friendly nationality [*sic*] and one of the valiant fighters for the rights and privileges of the common man. History is not the biography of heroes as [Thomas] Carlyle[1] made it out to be; events, the trend of forces, the current of public opinion and what is loosely turned [*sic*] as

the time-spirit have a greater influence on mankind than personalities, however glamorous they be, but it is equally pertinent to point out that there is 'a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood' leads them on to fortune, and it is precisely in the estimate of realities in the manner in which a politician times his strategical offensive, that his greatness is judged both by his contemporary and posterity.

[*Para 2 omitted*]

3. Mr. Jinnah's worst opponents cannot charge him with lack of moral courage or of judgement; in fact, they dread him precisely because he possesses these two qualities—qualities which have stood him in good stead and which have been not a little responsible for revolutionising public opinion in this country. There are bound to be differences of opinion regarding certain aspects of the policy of the Muslim League. We are free to confess that on certain occasions, we have not been able to see eye to eye with our Muslim friends. But on many broad issues such as those relating to the freedom and independence of the nationalities of multi-national India and regionalisation of industries we are partly in agreement with Mr. Jinnah, whose patriotic espousal of these causes has given new hope to the common man, struck terror into the hearts of the privileged and aroused expectations of a better lot for the toilers and workers in this great country. When history comes to be written, not by political nincompoops like Dr. Pattabhi Sitarammayya or by hysterical propagandists like Kanhyalal Munshi, the year 1939 will be selected as a turning point in the history of the nationalities. It is difficult for the younger generation to realise the magnitude of the danger that threatened to overwhelm us. Congress, which works in the interests of the privileged, had exploited the mystical element to a dangerous extent; there was even talk of incorporating Mr. Gandhi among the *Avatars* of Hinduism. Retired educationists delved into the *Gita,* the sermons of Christ, the teachings of the *Sufis* and the *Upanishads* to find out interesting parallels and compile the Gandhi *Sutras*. The demoralisation of public opinion had proceeded far enough; saints are canonised after they are dead, but the *Mahatma* was canonised while yet alive. As if not content with extending their empire over the superstitious in our country, they pressed into their service these men of evil, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, a Muslim divine, now Congress President and a great authority on Islamic scriptures. It looked as though even the Muslims would succumb to the temptation to worship the *Mahatma* just as Christians, under the leadership of

Metropolitan Bishops and third-rate British spinsters, had fallen victims to the craze for making gods of men. Almost all political questions were wrapped up in a veil of mystery and rational discussion was not possible. The young men of our universities began to live plain but indulged in high hypocrisy; the young women, on whose rational development depends our civilisation, became no better than part of a regiment. The whole country was turned into barracks, and governors and viceroy, in order to enjoy peace of mind, also began pleasing Mr. Gandhi and his associates. The country could not be expected to achieve its freedom in such an environment, but did it matter? What boots it to have freedom for all if it involves sacrifice of the privileges of the governing caste? In this atmosphere of gloom and hero-worship, there were only a few who foresaw the trend of events and mustered courage to raise their voices of protest and clenched their fists in the face of the tyrants. Among them, Mr. Jinnah occupies probably the highest place. To him goes the credit of having sounded the trumpet of defiance, exposed the Congress and made the public realise that the fighters for freedom were to be found not among the Brahmins, the Gujeratis and the Marwaris, but in the ranks of the nationalities and the Scheduled Castes, who may not be able to express their passion for freedom in language which a Gunther can quote and utilise for enriching his income as an author, but who can certainly express in language which is deep, heartfelt and sincere. The subsequent events that have taken place are too recent to need mention. Whether Congress likes it or does not like it, Indian freedom will be achieved by us, and when the time comes for due recognition of the services which have been rendered by Mr. Jinnah, it will be found that he, more than any other single individual, had been responsible for creating a rational atmosphere.

[1]Scottish essayist and historian.

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M. A. Jinnah to H. S. Suhrawardy & M. A. Hassan Ispahani

Telegram, SHC, Bengal III/15B

30 December 1945

Your two telegrams.[1] Will try go Bengal February. Will fix date after consultation with you all. My heartiest congratulations splendid results

cent per cent not only in Bengal but all over India. Fixing day celebrate victory all over India will announce it as soon as possible.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 396. Also see *SHC*, Bengal III/109 & 111. Not printed. The second telegram from Suhrawardy is not traceable.

400

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Razzaq

SHC, Students II/82

30 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] together with the report of the activities of the Islamia College Muslim Students' Federation, and I am glad to note that the students are working in right earnest. I shall be always glad to receive your reports and shall be thankful if you will keep me in touch. I hope to be in Lahore about the middle of January and hope to make my contribution to your magnificent efforts that you young men are making at great sacrifice.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Razzaq, Esq.,
General Secretary,
Muslim Students' Federation,
58 Beadon Road,
Lahore

[1]Annex.

Annex to No. 400
Abdul Razzaq to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/79

ISLAMIA COLLEGE,
LAHORE,
[*Undated*] *December 1945*

Sir,

The attached is a general report of the activities of the Islamia College

Muslim Students' Federation, with a brief survey of the circumstances prevalent in different constituencies.

The students are working in right earnest, carefree [*sic*] of the difficulties which they encounter in the shape of inadequate conveyance, rough weather and accidental sickness. Their determination is really praise-worthy and is a message to the idle. They have pledged not to rest till they sound the trumpet of Pakistan in every corner of the province and convey its message to every individual.

Their exhortations to assemble at the League platform, to win over [*sic*] the present political deadlock have created remarkable awakening in the rural areas and the ruralists [*sic*] now seem infused with the spirit of self-sacrifice, determination and perseverance.

I may continue submitting such weekly reports if you very kindly approve the procedure.

Yours faithfully,
ABDUL RAZZAQ
General Secretary,
Muslim Students' Federation

Annexure to Annex to No. 400
First General Report of the Activities of Islamia College Muslim Students' Federation

SHC, Students II/80-1

It was on the 12th day of December 1945, when, at 16 hours, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All India Muslim League, declared open with pleasure, the election office of the Islamia College Muslim Students' Federation. He advised the students to work hard and trust in God. Regular work in the office was started on the 13th December 1945 and different departments were opened.

Letters were despatched to Muslim League candidates in different constituencies, asking their individual requirements of student-workers for the League propaganda work. More than 20 constituencies have so far been visited and some 200 students are deputed for the purpose. These constituencies include more or less 400 villages, and about 60,000 villagers have so far been thoroughly and successfully canvassed. The people in these constituencies are, in general, illiterate and very orthodox religionists. In certain areas there are some who support different parties.

CAMPBELLPUR: (10 STUDENTS FROM 24-12-45 TO ...)

According to the reports received in this office, the Campbellpur candidate, Sardar Mumtaz Ali Khan, is facing a hard contest as different parties exist in this area. Skilful individual canvassing is advisable for which a batch of 15 students, capable and experienced, is leaving tonight.

GUJRAT: (15 STUDENTS FROM 15-12-45 TO 22-12-45; 10 STUDENTS FROM 23-12-45 TO ...)

Gujrat is the centre of the Unionist supremacy and political diplomats believed definite failure of the Muslim League candidate from this constituency. Our students have worked so enthusiastically that the atmosphere now seems entirely changed in favour of the League candidate. People have pledged not only to vote for the League candidate but also to sacrifice their very lives if occasion arises at the altar of the League to win national freedom.

LAHORE TEHSIL: (11 STUDENTS FROM 13-12-45 TO 15-12-45; 5 STUDENTS FROM 23-12-45 TO ...)

Lahore Tehsil is another important centre of the Unionist supremacy. Nawab Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash is a Unionist candidate. He owns vast lands and estates in this area and has considerable influence over the inhabitants. A batch of students successfully patrolled 25 villages, addressed various gatherings in spite of the Nawab's opposition and acquainted the people with the true significance, object and importance of the Muslim League and Pakistan. The villagers were very much impressed and unanimously declared that they would not sell their faith at any cost although unfortunately they are guilty of having sold their bodies for small fragments of land. Circumstances now seem favourable and propaganda work is still in progress. Supporters of the Nawab are now advising him to withdraw his candidature in support of the League candidate.

KHUSHAB: (20 STUDENTS FROM 16-12-45 TO 22-12-45)

Khushab (District Sargodha) is another Unionist target where Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana is struggling hard to exert his personal influence. Malik Mumtaz Tiwana, a kinsman of Khizar, is contesting on the League ticket. A batch of talented students have [*sic*] been sent to fight out the ticket and it is hoped that they will not only root out Unionism [*sic* for Unionists] there but will also crush all possibilities of Khizar's success.

MUKTESAR: (11 STUDENTS FROM 21-12-45 TO ...)

Muktesar is chiefly inhabited by illiterate people. Nawab of Mamdot is contesting on the League ticket. A recent tour of a batch consisting of 11 students reveals the people's firm attitude to side with the League even at the cost of their lives. His success seems guaranteed.

OKARA: (15 STUDENTS FROM 13-12-45 TO ...)

Okara is an important constituency where Mian Abdul Haq is contesting. Students have patrolled 40 villages with very hopeful and successful results. People seem fully inspired with the fire of liberty and are also anxious to put off the cloak of slavery.

JULLUNDUR: (12 STUDENTS FROM 22-12-45 TO ...)

Ahrars are prominent in this area. Congress and other parties are supporting the Ahrar element. A batch of very capable students have been sent to break the spell.

HOSHIARPUR: (12 STUDENTS FROM 16-12-45 TO ...)

Reports from this area reveal that the students have been successful in moulding the people's trend to convert them League-minded [*sic*]. They have extended promises to boycott those who would show even the slightest inclination to vote for the opposing parties. It may be added that the students played their part very well by exposing the Zamindara Party in its true colours.

GURDASPUR: (5 STUDENTS FROM 23-12-45 TO ...)

Gurdaspur affords a different sight. Some Government servants and high officials are interfering and upholding [*sic*] election work. They are scaring people with different threats. A batch of experienced students has been deputed to this constituency and it is hoped they will surmount all obstacles.

CHUNIAN: (11 STUDENTS FROM 17-12-45 TO ...)

KASUR: (13 STUDENTS FROM 12-12-45 TO 18-12-45)

The students have been doing wonders in these constituencies. Very effective speeches have been made both in the two towns, as well as in suburban villages. The villagers seem fired with the ambition of achieving Pakistan.

TALLAGANG: (10 STUDENTS FROM 19-12-45 TO ...)

The students are doing very good work in this area and though the people are mainly uneducated and superstitious, they have understood

the significance and importance of Pakistan. They have begun feeling that it is only the Muslim League which truly represents the Muslims of India.

Batches of 7, 8 and 9 have been sent to Zera (Moga), Muzaffargarh and Shakargarh, respectively, and they will start their activities as soon as they reach their respective destinations.

The Principal, Malik Omar Hayat, is encouraging the activities of the Federation and is taking keen interest to tone up the organisation. We are really, greatly indebted to him for his personal supervision and the concessions he has extended and cannot express that in words.

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M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Karim

SHC, Madras I/129

30 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th instant[1] with the enclosures and I regret to say that it is not possible for me to support your appeal for funds without examining the scheme thoroughly. At present I am afraid I have no time to go into this matter, as you know we are head over heels in facing the elections that are going on all over India. I think you will agree with me before I join in any appeal for funds [that] as a responsible man I must know full details of the scheme, but in any case, it is entirely a local matter and your Anjuman is confined to Bangalore North, and I think in fairness it is the local leaders, the Musalmans of Bangalore and Mysore, to deal with the matter in such a manner as they think proper. There are many schemes and institutions all over India that are carried on and are responsible to the people of that province or district all over India and it is not possible for me to issue appeals to the local people for funds for such purposes for which the responsibility can only be of the local bodies for its management and control of the amount. I am therefore, returning to you the enclosures as desired by you and regret that I am unable to examine your scheme or

to issue an appeal for funds.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Karim, Esq.,
Bangalore

[1]Abdul Karim had requested Jinnah to endorse his appeal for funds for the construction of an Urdu school, a mosque and a residential hostel for the Muslims of Yeshwantpur, Bangalore. See *SHC*, Madras I/128. Not printed.

402

Qazi Mohammad Isa to Ghulam Rasul
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 610/7-8

MAIDEN'S HOTEL,
DELHI,
31 December 1945

On the receipt of your letter dated the 13th,[1] I am sorry I could not reply earlier as I had to leave for Karachi. It seems you have written me your letter in no other capacity than that of a well-wisher, as you have mentioned, otherwise I would not have even replied to it.

When I collected funds for the establishment of a college in Baluchistan, I did it entirely in my private capacity; neither I was authorised by the Anjuman[-i-Islamia] nor by the Muslim League. From three sources, all of them my personal friends, I collected Rs. 32,500 and not Rs. 35,000 as mentioned by you. I made a public announcement about the collection and the reports of such an announcement not only appeared in the local press but even in the all-India papers. Therefore, if there was any mean idea in my mind I would not have made a public announcement of it, and my opponents who are trying to use this as a lever against me, would feel sorry if they try to scandalise me on this issue.

At the time I collected the money, I was closely connected with the Anjuman and naturally I wished this body to derive full benefit of it and besides, the Anjuman happened to be the only Muslim educational

institution in the province to undertake the task of establishing Jinnah Islamia College, the purpose for which I had collected the money, and but for my other engagements I would have collected more, which I intend doing at the first available opportunity.

With this in view, I tried to separate the primary section of the Islamia School and tried to establish it at Islamabad. The work on the primary school building was in fact started but then owing to the scarcity of the material and owing to war conditions the construction work could not be carried through, though the work and the planning did cost about Rs. 5,000. In the meantime, the management of the Anjuman passed into hands controlled more by interested elements hostile to the League, and as a proof of it some members of the managing committee resigned *en bloc,* and the way the election of some of the office-bearers was carried out was extremely objectionable. This naturally placed me in a position which demanded greater restraint of me.

The President of the Anjuman, who happens to be even a personal friend, and also all the Vice-Presidents, never once approached me to clarify the position, and give me an undertaking that if I placed the money at their disposal, it would be spent entirely for establishing Jinnah Islamia College. Under no circumstances would I give the money either to the Anjuman or any other body, without [their] giving me the above undertaking.

Once again let me stress the fact that the collection was made by me entirely in my personal capacity, and if at any stage I came to the conclusion that I cannot utilise the money for the purpose for which I collected it, I shall have it returned to the donors, or take their permission to permit [*sic*] me to utilise it for any other purpose.

I do not know what position you hold in the Anjuman, but I shall feel obliged if you would place this letter of mine before the President, as I would like to hear from the highest office-bearer of the Anjuman.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[QAZI M. ISA]

[1]No. 349.

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T. S. Mani Iyer to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/98

ROOM 24 GORDHNIVAS,
BHAUDAJI CROSS ROAD,
MATUNGA, BOMBAY
[*Undated*] *December 1945*

Respected Sir,

It gives me great pleasure to note that you have been elected to the Central Assembly[1] from Bombay City; I for my part had not the least doubt about your success and pray to Almighty that you will devote your cleverness and energy for the uplift of the Indian masses who all are badly suffering for the past so many years.

I take this opportunity to point out that you, discarding one's own religion, belief in clay and stone; trees and birds; in sun and wind; in flowers and growing things, and naturally you will believe in man, whatever his religion may be and thus work for the emancipation of India at this particular time when the whole Indian nation's one particular object—independence—is within its grasp.

Believe me that though by caste [*sic*] I am a Hindu, I have got great respect and admiration for your knowledge, your acute [*sic*] leadership as well as your public speeches.

Hope you will pardon me for intruding upon your most valued time and apologising at the same time if I have mentioned anything against your sentiment.

Yours respectfully,
T. S. MANI IYER

[1]Jinnah thanked Mani Iyer for good wishes on his electoral victory. See *SHC*, Bombay I/99. Not printed.

404

Ahmad Ali Shah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/100-01

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT BUILDING,
QUEENS ROAD, BOMBAY,
[*Undated*] *December 1945*

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

This is to express the feeling of gratitude that surges in the heart of an average Musalman of India at the recent victory of the League. The enemy was disturbed, out-manoeuvered and defeated and is now in cutting remorse [*sic*].

The manifold [*sic*] victory has proved to the world that then imagined but now realised that Beverley Nichols, when speaking of your political genius in his *Verdict on India,* was not discovering a truth but only emphasizing one. As has been the case with every diplomatic success of the League, I believe this time too there will be mass conversions of the so-called independent, nationalist and other Muslims into the Muslim League fold.

I have a wish to ask of *Allah,* the Bountiful and the Merciful, and that is that He may give you a long life enabling you to lay the foundation stone of Pakistan which seems to be the only hope of revival of Islam all over the world after its hopeless phase of long decline. *Aameen*

Your humble follower,
AHMAD ALI SHAH
Income Tax Officer (probationer)

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M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Rauf

Telegram, SHC, NWFP I/92

[*Undated*] *December 1945*

Abdul Rauf, Working President City Muslim League Peshawar. Your telegram 25th.[1] There must be finality. I appeal every Musalman support Central Parliamentary Board decision which is final. Duty of every Muslim leader to guide our people. Discipline and prestige of our organisation demand that you must respect and support final

decisions arrived at. Above all, cause demands complete unity and universal support [to] secure verdict achievement Pakistan.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]*SHC*, NWFP I/91. Not printed.

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Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad I/75

WOODLAND COTTAGE,
CHIRAGH ALI LANE,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
[*Undated*] *December 1945*

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

First of all allow me to offer my humble felicitations over the thundering success of the League candidates. It is all due to you. You are the one man in the whole history of Muslims who has infused this consciousness and who has dedicated his entire life for the service of *Millat*. Your name will go down in history as the greatest Muslim who saved his nation from ruin and annihilation. If today they raise their heads with a sense of national honour it is due to you, my Quaid. I will be the happiest man in the world if I lay down my life at your feet as an expression of gratitude. How I wish to do so. May you live long, my only leader, to realise all that you have been saying. I am confident that you will live long not only to see the establishment of Pakistan but to steer them [*sic* for it] through other troubled waters.

Some time back, I wrote to you a letter but your Peshawar visit, which was a great success, and other engagements did not give you the time to consider over [*sic*] my request. I am still waiting to hear from you.[1] I am anxiously waiting to know the date and time when you can see me in Bombay. I am anxious to see you at the earliest opportunity.

Hope you are enjoying the best of your health. My wife sends her respects to you. Please remember us to Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD NOMAN

[1]Jinnah expressed his inability to fix an appointment with him for counselling as to what he might do in his future life. See *SHC*, Hyderabad I/76. Not printed.

407

Viqarun-Nisa Noon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/23

65 FALETTI'S HOTEL,
LAHORE,
1 January 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

A happy 1946!

I hope that this will be the happiest year, not only for you, Mr. Jinnah, but for the hundred million Muslims of India as well, because your happiness depends on theirs and theirs was, and can only be, possible through all your selfless hard work you have devoted [*sic*] and are devoting to their beneficial cause.

I am told that you will not be with us in the Punjab until the middle of January. This may be wise because it is bitterly cold here at the moment. I feel the cold here much more than in Delhi.

Firoz is in Campbellpore [Attock] just now. We are told the position in Khushab is becoming better and better. Altogether, the progress of the Muslim League has been a most wonderful and gratifying experience. The situation in parts, thinking only of the rural areas, still remains fluid but we are heading for a good majority.

Please give my kindest regards to Miss Jinnah, and a happy new year to her from us both.

All the best and lots of kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
VICKY NOON

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A. M. Abdul Wahab to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/1

ALANGIAM MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DHARAPURAM TALUK,
DIST. COIMBATORE,
1 January 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the Muslims of Alangiam, an agricultural village about five

miles away from Dharapuram, do feel very grateful to you for the yeoman service you have been rendering to the Muslim cause. We have no numerical superiority to boast of in this part of the country.

We are in perfect accord with you when you say that you require "silver bullets" for establishing Pakistan on a strong and deep foundation in India. Though we may not be able to give "silver bullets", we feel we are in a position to send you two things,[1] one of which is the holy *Qur'an,* with a silver cover, whose spiritual light is guiding our steps along the path of virtue and glory.

The second thing that we propose to give is our whole-hearted loyalty to you and our unstinted devotion to the Muslim cause, of which you are the accredited champion. We have resolved that the Muslim nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that the Government of the Muslims, by the Muslims, [and] for the Muslims shall not perish from the earth.

We are fervently praying to the Almighty to confer upon you the blessings of long life, sound health and everlasting prosperity.

Yours ever in service,
A. M. ABDUL WAHAB

[1]Jinnah thanked Abdul Wahab for sending him the holy *Qur'an* with a silver cover, and also for articulating his loyalty and devotion to the Muslim League and himself. See *SHC,* Madras II/2. Not printed.

409

Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Sind VII/33

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
2 January 1946

My dear Nawabzada Sahib,

Excuse me if I take your valuable time by writing these few lines to you. It is in the interest of our League organisation that our top-most League workers should be honest to the organisation and to themselves, and not behave like G. M. Sayed, after getting him and his friends expelled.

I am here referring to Khan Bahadur Khuhro and his friends who are openly working against Sir Ghulam Hussain and helping Mir Allahbachayo,

who is a non-Muslim Leaguer.

Perhaps you may be knowing that Dadu District is adjacent to Larkana District, and so I am in a position to know all the activities of my friends living in Larkana. Here I must quote the chief worker of Khan Bahadur Khuhro, namely Mian Ghulam Abbas Kadri of Larkana, who came to see me at Dadu two days back and told me that Khan Bahadur Khuhro is working for Mir Allahbachayo and has instructed him and his other friends also to work for the Mir.

Nawabzada Sahib, it will be most unfair to G. M. Sayed and his expelled colleagues that Khan Bahadur Khuhro should go on working against the League candidate and still pose to be a League leader working in the interest of the League.

I think you should immediately see that not only this nonsense stops, but Khan Bahadur Khuhro should issue a statement in favour of Sir Ghulam Hussain and openly work for him.

If this is not immediately done, the Muslim masses will certainly think that you are giving differential treatment to different Muslim groups in this Province.

I would not have written this letter, but I feel it is my duty in the interest of the organisation to inform you of all these facts. Otherwise, there will be demoralisation in the League camp, and we shall suffer terribly.

This matter calls for your most urgent and immediate action as time is very short.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
PIR ILAHI BAKHSH

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M. Safdar Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar I/83

MAHARAJGUNJ,
JAMUI (MONGHYR),
2 January 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Before I write something I feel proud to mention that I am a staunch supporter of the Muslim League and Pakistan and believe in your

leadership. Perhaps you know that recently Master Tara Singh, in one of his speeches somewhere in the Punjab, said that Mr. Jinnah gets six lakhs of rupees annually through the Nizam of Hyderabad for his loyalty to the cause of perpetuation of slavery in India. Soon after it, the *Searchlight,* Patna, a Congress organ published another news in its *dak* edition of the 30th December 1945. The cuttings of these are here with the letter.[1] Your enemies have shaped all these in another manner. They are creating mischief in our election work. I believe these are nothing but mere propaganda. Why don't you bring a defamation suit against them? They also say that whenever Mr. Nehru and others ask you to define Pakistan clearly, you fail to do it. Is it correct?

The other thing they blame you for is that you should first of all try jointly with the Congress to free India from foreign domination and then settle the partition of India among ourselves, but you always keep Pakistan first and independence of India next, and thus you stand as a stumbling block on the way to freedom of forty crores of mankind.

You know Bihar is a backward province and particularly the southern part of the Monghyr District. This area is quite cut off from the reach of the news of the Muslim League. Will you be so pleased as to reply [to] my these questions so that I may be able to remove the misunderstanding of my Muslim brothers and make them understand everything?

Thanking you,

I remain,
Yours obediently,
SAFDAR

[1]Not traceable.

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S. A. Quddoos to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/1

CUTTACK,
3 January 1946

Dear Sir,

I most respectfully beg your pardon for intruding upon your most valuable time. But the matter is so urgent that I could not, with justice to my conscious [*sic* for conscience], remain silent. I am also not alone

in this but many of my friends and acquaintances also hold the same view which I am laying before you, and this I am doing with the mutual consent of all.

A Muslim League [branch] has been formed here. People say it is not legally constituted, its office-bearers are not elected but nominated by each other. Some blame is also laid at the door of Molvi Zakir Ali Sahib as having sanctioned [*sic*] unfit persons to responsible places. But myself and most of my friends are common men engaged in our respective humble trade and profession, hardly possessing any leisure [*sic*] or capacity to take part in active politics. We have therefore neither the time nor the inclination for questioning any legal intricacies of the above-mentioned type [*sic*]. But what we cannot understand is that there are only four Muslim seats in the Orissa Assembly, but five members of the Parliamentary Board itself are claiming them. Had they been all fit persons, we would not have raised any objection. But unfortunately some of them are people worst suited for this purpose and there are really best [*sic*] quality men whom they seem not to allow seats in the Assembly. These members of the Parliamentary Board (Cuttack) being themselves a party, cannot be good judges. Further, problems are grave and there are only four seats. If these are not filled by qualified people, we are afraid there will be serious rift in the League itself. Neither myself nor my friends can ever aspire to a seat, for we are not of that line; but as Musalmans we are anxious that no injury is done purposely to the interest of the community.

I, therefore, most earnestly pray that your goodself will be kind enough to take some very effective steps to place right persons in the Orissa Assembly and this step may please be taken very promptly as they are said to be deciding this matter within this month.

Thanking you in anticipation of the above favour. Most humbly I conclude myself.

I beg to remain,
dear Sir,
Most obediently yours,
S. A. QUDDOOS

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Fazle Haq Piracha to M. A. Jinnah

F. 405/1-3

BHERA,
DISTRICT SHAHPUR, PUNJAB,
4 January 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been a member of the Central Legislative Assembly since 1930 and an active supporter of the Muslim League. I am now seeking election[1] to the Punjab Legislative Assembly from Bhalwal Tehsil of Shahpur District on the Muslim League ticket.

The Provincial Muslim League authorities must have already apprised you of the violent campaign which Government officials in the Punjab have started in favour of the Unionist Party and the open support which they are extending to the Unionist candidates in all possible forms. This official interference has exceeded all limits in the Shahpur District which is the home of the Punjab Premier. I give below a few instances in my own constituency which will show that there is absolutely no chance of having a free election at least in the Shahpur District:

i. Chaudhry Ram Singh, Superintendent of Police, went on tour in the *'illaqa* of Midh Ranjha Police Station. Makhdoom Mohammad Yar went to see him with his note book showing the record of his services to the administration. The Superintendent of Police after forming an impression that he was a supporter of the Unionist Party recorded a favourable opinion in the note book. Subsequently on being informed by somebody that Makhdoom Mohammad Yar was actually my supporter and I had put up with his family during my canvassing tours, [he] sent for the Makhdoom and after rebuking him asked him to produce his book of record of services. Being an old man he got frightened and sent his son Mohammad Aslam with the note book. Mohammad Aslam produced the note book before the S.P. and on being asked, frankly told him that he was a member of the Muslim League and was siding with me in the elections. The Superintendent of Police first began writing an adverse note under his previous note but then suddenly changed his mind and tore off the leaf containing his note and gave back the book to Mohammad Aslam.
ii. The same Superintendent of Police, in the presence of several zamindars, told Mian Sultan Mohammad Ranjha, *Zaildar,* who

was my staunch supporter and worker that there were several suspicions [*sic*] against him and unless he would produce Nawab Sir Allah Bakhsh Khan Tiwana (the right-hand man of the Punjab Premier) he would order the opening of his history sheet. Mian Ranjha told the S.P. that he could satisfy himself about him from the notables of the *'illaqa* but he insisted that unless the aforesaid Nawab would satisfy him, his history sheet will be started.

A protest regarding these two incidents was made to the Deputy Commissioner, Sargodha, but no heed was paid.

iii. Sheikh Manzur Ali, Revenue Assistant and District Election Officer, made an extensive tour during the Christmas holidays in the Bhalwal Tehsil and at each halting station he openly called *zaildars, sufaidposhs, lambardars* and other notables in the presence of subordinate revenue officials and threatened them that any one who would side [with] the Muslim League candidate would be summarily removed from *zaildari, sufaidposhi, lambardari,* etc. On coming to know of it, I saw Sh. Manzur Ali at Kot Momin and told him that it was not desirable for him to openly canvass for my opponent. This has caused great consternation among village notables who, though they have sympathies for the Muslim League, are hesitating to come forward openly to avoid harassment by the local officials.

iv. After Sh. Manzur Ali had finished his tour in Bhera Sub-Tehsil and Mian Mohammad Aslam, *Naib Tehsildar,* Bhera, returned to his headquarters, the *Naib Tehsildar* expressed his opinion in the presence of Sardar Jodh Singh, Pleader, Bhera, and a few others that as Government were determined to crush the Muslim League sympathisers there was absolutely no chance of my success in the elections and when he was told by those present that the general impression was that Muslim League was gaining great strength, the said *Naib Tehsildar* went to the length of saying that even in that case the marking would be in the hands of the officials and they would never let me succeed.

Similar instances are taking place in other constituencies of the District. I have addressed this letter to you in the hope that it may perhaps be possible for you to take some action in the matter as the District and Provincial Muslim League authorities have absolutely failed to get this unlawful official interference stopped.

Yours sincerely,
FAZLE HAQUE

[1]Elected MLA in 1946, and was imprisoned during the ML Civil Disobedience Movement in 1947.

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M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

F. 365/109-10

LARKANA, SIND,
4 January 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The condition of organization in this Province, as you know, is in a hopeless state at present, because of the sudden desertion of Mr. G. M. Sayed. It is therefore very essential, I would respectfully submit, that all attention should be diverted by the Central League organization towards our Province. In our Province, if we lose even six or seven seats, there will be a Congress Ministry established here in our Province which is a Muslim majority Province and here establishment of a League Ministry and bringing League organization into power is very important. There are no funds here and whatever was available or was collected was in the possession of Mr. G. M. Sayed, who would not surrender them at this critical time. I would therefore request with all emphasis at my command to give us substantial financial help, [say], about one lakh of rupees, immediately. I am afraid I shall not be able to come to Delhi as very few days are left in the election. There is very serious contest in the four constituencies of this District and the Shikarpur constituency. I have therefore no time to spare at all. Yusuf Haroon is however coming personally to explain the situation to you. We also need some top men like Nawabzada Liaquat Ali and Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman to come here immediately and organize and speak in favour of our League candidates. Sind is definitely more important and deserves more help than Assam. If Sind is neglected at this time, the Province will be lost to the League for a long time to come. Chaudhry and Nawabzada had personally promised me at Lahore to come to Sind in early January, but they have not come yet. I would also request you to come to Karachi for a few days. Yusuf Haroon will explain all these points personally.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

PS. I would further request that as time is very short, Yusuf may be authorised to spend money on propaganda. I shall keep general watch on the expenditure incurred. The accounts shall be rendered later.

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M. A. Jinnah to Shaukat Hyat Khan

SHC, Punjab III/53

4 January 1946

Dear Shaukat Hyat Khan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 27th December 1945,[1] which reached me here on my arrival, and I have noted all that you say. Punjab has made tremendous progress and I congratulate you all for hard work that you have put in. I am very anxious to get to [the] Punjab as soon as possible, and will try my best to get there as early as possible, but there are some important commitments that have made me to detain [*sic*] in Delhi and, therefore, I cannot fix any exact date. I know we have many difficulties to face, especially in the Punjab, and a great deal of hard work is necessary to overcome the organised opposition from various quarters, but I feel confident that with determination and as disciplined and organised people, the Muslims of the Punjab will rise to deliver their thumping verdict because our cause is an honest one and I can only say, let us work hard. God helps those who help themselves.

With very kind regards to both of you from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan Sahib,
98 Upper Mall,
Lahore

[1]No. 393.

415

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/100

PESHAWAR,
4 January 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Some people who had applied for the League tickets in Hazara have defied us by standing [*sic*]. But Hazara is with us. In most of these seats there are no Congress candidates. Even if one of them wins he will come to us.

In Amazai and the Peshawar landlord seats, two persons had stood up as independent candidates. They were backed by some of our own men. As a result of our joint efforts both these men have withdrawn. Now there will be straight fight between us and the Congress. God willing we will beat them in both now.

League propaganda is in full swing. We have opened one camp in Charsadda where Dr. Khan Sahib is standing, another in Navikalli where the Minister is opposing Yaqub, our candidate. These camps are useful centres for propaganda and are doing good work. I am wholeheartedly cooperating with Nishtar and will always do so for the League cause. But my entry in the League has upset him. He is working against me in the city. His agents [go] round telling everybody that I was sure to win and voters should cast both their votes in his favour.

Then his agents started telling people that I was in fact a Congress fifth-columnist and had joined the League to disrupt it. I am only taking such measures as are necessary to counteract this propaganda. He is a clever man and while outwardly pretending to be friendly, is secretly doing all he can to harm me. I am writing this so that you should know what is going on.

In spite of all this I will cooperate with him and everyone else for the success of the Muslim League. Of this you may rest assured.

I heard Mamdot is shortly coming over and Jawaharlal will come about the end of this month. Please arrange to send Hasrat Mohani, [Raja of] Mahmoodabad, Zafar Ali or Jamal Mian to go round this Province.

I understand you are coming to Lahore. In case you need me I can come over wherever you want me.

Wishing you the best of luck and good health,

I am,
Yours obediently,
ABDUL QAIYUM

416

M. B. Mirza to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (841)

UNIVERSITY ROAD,
ALIGARH,
4 January 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

This is to wish you and Miss Jinnah a very happy *'Id*. My wife also

sends her greetings to you both.

I beg to express my grateful thanks to you for giving me 45 minutes interview on 29th Oct. You were angry that I should lodge complaints with you but I find that you are the easiest approach for me. Even if you turn me out of your house, I will again and again try to have the pleasure of meeting you. Due to the presence of three other colleagues of mine I could not talk to you what I wanted to. I felt very small when my friends named me for the post of Vice-Chancellor. Believe me, Quaid-i-Azam, I do not entertain any such idea. My desire now is to go abroad—Russia, Turkey, America or any other part of the world—and serve you and thus my nation. I am confident you would not forget me when Muslim diplomats are sent abroad.

Dr. Ziauddin has sent me a word that he would not allow politics in our university and that he is against sending students to Sindh. I have also sent a word to him that he should pass orders in writing which he would never do. This is the reason why I had not approached you for the promised cheque of Rs 10,000 for the Sindh election campaign.

Praying for your long life, health and prosperity,

I remain,

Obediently yours,
M. B. MIRZA

417

D. V. Daran to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/121

3 SUNDARAM IYER ST.,
THYAGARAYANAGAR,
MADRAS,
5 January 1946

Sir,

Excuse me for writing this. Being the AIML President, you might be in a position to clear my genuine doubts about the following: I am not a Muslim; but I am a staunch supporter of the Muslim cause and the principles for which the M.L. stands. Therefore, would you allow me to become a member of the AIML.

My only qualification is that I have worked for the Muslim cause without coveting publicity or name and naturally my work is not recognised. So I would like to know whether you would be good

enough to give me the opportunity to enrol myself as a member of the AIML. I have also written to Liaquat Ali Khan about this point. Please excuse me for this intrusion but be good enough to clear the point at issue.

Yours sincerely,
D. V. DARAN
Captain
B.A., Ph.D., DIC. (London)

418

Hemandas R. Wadhwani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (844)

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

STRACHAN ROAD,
KARACHI,
6 January 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have to congratulate you most heartily in the way you tackled the Sind political problem by uniting the various groups in the League. I have always been preaching that if Hindus wish to live in peace in Sind they should encourage the unity of all Muslim groups. I had also said on the floor of the Assembly on several occasions that the Hindus should, under no circumstances, do anything directly or indirectly which might bring about disruption amongst the various Muslim groups. The Muslim unity was essential both for the Hindus as well as for the Province.

I hope you remember my efforts in bringing about rapprochement between Hindus and Muslims, through you and Mr. Savarkar, in 1943. Then I had clearly said in my detailed analysis that there would be no peace in India until the Congress gave up its false position of claiming to represent both Hindus and Muslims and not openly recognising the League as the representative of Muslims. What I had said in 1943 is correct to the word today. I did not contest on the last two occasions for obvious reasons, as I do not agree with the Congress ideology; and the Hindu masses are unfortunately Congress-minded.

When I was Minister from 1937-38 and from 1942-45, I had started several nation-building activities. The Dow Medical College is only one of the many schemes that are actually in action today. But still many more schemes for the good of the masses—like the Malaria Prevention Liaison Board, a research and analytical laboratory, on the lines of the Haffkin's Institute and other humanitarian problems [*sic*] for

the good of the masses, could not be completed by me for want of sufficient time. I am anxious to see that my uncompleted scheme may be put into action. With that object in view I request you if you could get me appointed as Honorary Adviser to the Govt. of Sind in the Public Health Department[1] I do not wish to charge the Govt. a single *pie*. I shall only prepare the schemes and place them before the Govt. for consideration. I need hardly assure you that I shall not meddle with politics; nor did I ever enter any political intrigues, even when I was an MLA and a Minister.

With kind regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
HEMANDAS R. WADHWANI
Ex-Minister, Sind

[1]Jinnah said in reply he had never liked interfering in Government business, much less seeking Government jobs for people. See *SHC* (845). Not printed.

419

Jamal Mian to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP VI/12

FARANGI MAHAL,
LUCKNOW,
6 January 1946

Bismillahir Rahmaanir Rahim

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I understand you have accepted the invitation of the U.P. Muslim League to tour the Province. As Lucknow is sure to be included in your programme I humbly request you kindly to find an occasion in your busy programme to visit Farangi Mahal[1] and inaugurate the Pakistan Club, which we propose to start to further the cause of Pakistan with healthy literature.

I shall also be obliged, deeply indeed, if you kindly take your lunch or dinner with me.

I am leaving for Sind tomorrow and may come back by the 15th.

With respects and *salaam*,

Yours sincerely,
JAMAL

[1]Jinnah replied he would not skip Farangi Mahal if he did visit Lucknow but that he was unable to fix his programme just then. See *SHC*, UP VI/13. Not printed.

420

Mohammad Abbas to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/94

PESHAWAR,
6 January 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I beg to forward to you for information and necessary action a copy of my letter to the Nawab Sahib of Mamdot.

I pray to God the Almighty that you should be spared long to serve the Indian Musalmans.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD ABBAS

Enclosure to No. 420

Mohammad Abbas to Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot

PESHAWAR,
6 January 1946

My dear Nawab Sahib,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I regret to tell you that the news conveyed in my first letter[1] to you do[es] not appear to hold good now. I must frankly admit that the League electioneering campaign in this Province is not run as we all wish it to. I have been impressing on the local leaders the extreme necessity of a coordinated campaign but to no avail. I do not consider it proper to write to you the detailed reasons for this lack of effort. Individual members are doubtless exerting themselves in their own constituencies, but the deputation to this Province of more *'ulama* and good orators from outside is the crying need of the hour. If this is not done the great message of League is not likely to reach or be appreciated by the Frontier Pathans to the extent it is desirable. The Aligarh youth are doing good service but it is not compatible with the situation. The southern districts of the Province, viz. Kohat, Bannu and D.I. Khan, particularly need greater attention which is at present lacking.

The members of the Provincial Election Board are also candidates for the Provincial Assembly and can ill-afford to devote more time to their brother candidates in other constituencies. Recently I suggested to the

leading gentlemen here that the election affairs should be entrusted to those who were not themselves candidates in the election. Such members could freely organise tours and look after the needs of the Province as a whole. Where greater concentration of energy was needed, this body would be in a much better position to look to it. Unfortunately this suggestion has been ignored with the resultant realization of due propaganda in areas where it is greatly needed. I have retuned from a tour of the Province and am convinced that if the situation is properly handled, we shall achieve the desired end even now, failing which I repeat that the picture will be gloomy.

I called on Qazi Mohammad Isa yesterday at his residence in Dean's [Hotel] but he had left. It seems essential that he should tour the Province. An appeal by Quaid-i-Azam to the intelligentsia and the Pathans of N.W.F.P. to support League candidates in the election will also greatly help. I am sending a copy of this letter to Quaid-i-Azam at Delhi.

I pray that League comes out successful in the great ordeal it has set before itself,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD ABBAS

[1]Not traceable.

421

S. M. Shah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/95

MOHALLA FAZAL-I-HAQ SAHIBZADA,
PESHAWAR,
7 January 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

As a lover of Islam, Pakistan, and the Muslim League it pains me a great deal to see the dangerous position that the voting campaign has taken for the two League seats in Peshawar City. There is no collaboration among [*sic*] the two candidates; while one of the former League Ministers, Aurangzeb Khan, who was not given a Muslim League ticket this time, is doing propaganda to the detriment of the League seats. All this would not have injured the League cause if the tendency between the two city candidates had been canvassing for one vote each. In spite of swearing on the holy *Qur'an* for cooperation, one of the candidates, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Khan's workers are pressing the voters to cast

both their votes in favour of him, while he himself in the election speeches leaves the issue very ambiguous. This is what he says in meetings and in friendly talks:"a vote is the cry of your conscience; you should exercise it in favour of the better man, in spite of your ideology of Pakistan and League."

The nefarious activities are bound to bring about the downfall of one, possibly both the League candidates, and it will be such a shame, because in the days when the League was not so popular, these two seats were never in danger from the Hindu Congress, but now when the League has come into its own, there is a great likelihood of losing at least one of the seats.

I hope, dear Quaid-i-Azam, that in the interest of our nation you will do something before it is too late to bring about [*sic*] these two candidates to their senses.

Yours fraternally,

S. M. SHAH

422

Salim E. Amin to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, CP & Berar II/48

SHANTINAGAR, NAGPUR CITY,

7 January 1946

Respected Sir,

As many months will pass till new constitutions are drafted and acted upon, so we must have a somewhat responsible government at the centre during the interval. To this end I humbly request you to consider the following suggestions:

In the new Central Legislative Assembly there are three main blocs—Muslim League; Congress; and Nominated-cum-European. So a Central Executive Council formed by [an] equal number of members from each of the three blocs will not only have the full support of the Legislature but will act as a national Government to tackle all post-war problems. Moreover, such an Executive Council will be accepted as a caretaker Government till final constitutions are drafted by the Constituent Assemblies.

Such a composite Executive Council, say of 15 Members (5 Leaguers, 5 Congressites and 5 from Nominated-cum-European bloc), will be able to run the government smoothly without creating any controversy and

the common man in the street [*sic*] will be relieved of much suffering created by the unrepresentative and irresponsible executive.

The main point to note in such a formation will be that each bloc will try to be of service to the masses as no single bloc will be able to dominate the other; instead they will have to work cooperatively within the Assembly and the Executive Council as they will be inter-dependent; for instance League party will hold the balance in the Assembly between the Congress and the Nominated bloc; while in the Executive Council, the balancing element between the Congress and the League will be Nominated bloc members.

It is needless to say that the Constituent Assemblies must be immediately formed as they will serve as battleground for the Hindus and Muslims. Thus the Central Assembly would be given a chance for constructive work and a chance to serve the electorate to whom they are responsible.

Will the Viceroy form such a government and agree to work always as Governor-General-in-(full-fledged) Council and not merely consult a member or two concerned? To safeguard the Muslim interests the Viceroy will only be required to give the undertaking that he will withhold his assent to any bill which is opposed by the Muslim League bloc.

Yours obediently,
SALIM E. AMIN

PS. Any proposal sent by four Premiers jointly shall be accepted and be binding on the Executive Council and the Viceroy.

423

M. A. Jinnah to Yusuf A. Haroon

F. 274/291-2

8 January 1946

Dear Mr. Yusuf Haroon,

As the Convener of the Sind Election Committee appointed by the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board, I wish to send you this message of mine, particularly as regards the Kothari-Sehwan Constituency and the candidature of Mr. Sayed, who, I am sorry to say, at the last and the most critical moment, stabbed the Muslim League organization in the back. He has been expelled from the Muslim League by the Committee of Action for reasons given by them and he no longer stands on the League ticket. It was, therefore, too late to put up a Muslim League official candidate in that constituency, as Mr. Sayed's

action was deliberately timed so as to prevent the League from putting up a candidate officially, but, fortunately, Mr. Shahmir Kachhi, who has been a Leaguer and was a member of the Provincial League Council, happened to have put in his nomination [papers] and is contesting this seat against Mr. Sayed. Although for technical reasons we have not been able to give him the official League ticket, but to all intents and purposes he is a Leaguer and I am assured that he will remain loyal to the League, and as such I appeal to the Muslims of Sind in general and those of this constituency and the voters in particular to support whole-heartedly Mr. Shahmir Kachhi and thus demonstrate their disapproval [of] and displeasure over the conduct and actions of Mr. Sayed, who as they know has already been expelled from the League organization.

You may use this message of mine in such manner as you may think proper and you are at liberty to give this to the press.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Yusuf A. Haroon,
786 Napier Road,
Karachi

424

A. R. Nishtar & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 580/140

OUTSIDE KABULI GATE,
PESHAWAR,
9 January 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We feel urgent need of financial help from the Centre. We have almost expended our funds. Please send at least Rs 50,000 immediately. The Committee of Action feels that for the present we may be able to pull on with this amount though we shall have to approach you for more funds later on.

Yours sincerely,
A. R. NISHTAR AND FOUR OTHERS

PS. The money should be sent telegraphically to the joint account of Qazi Mohammad Isa and Mian Ziauddin in the Imperial Bank of India, Peshawar Cant.

425

H. Abdus Sattar H. Ishaq Seth to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/110

TELLICHERRY,
9 January 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The Moplahs of Malabar are going to have a daily paper. The weekly *Chandrika* is going to be converted into a daily about the 20th of this month. You are no doubt aware of the splendid stand that the Moplahs took behind the Muslim League in the recent election to the Central Legislative Assembly. My rival had to forfeit his security.

Please send a message to the *Chandrika* daily appreciating the services of the Moplahs to the League.

Yours sincerely,
H. ABDUS SATTAR H. ISHAQ SETH
MLA (Central)

Enclosure to No. 425

SHC, Madras II/114

2 February 1946

Dear Sir,

I have learned with great pleasure that *Chandrika* is again coming out as a daily. In the past it has rendered appreciable services in guiding the Musalmans of Malabar and creating unity amongst the Musalmans under the banner of the Muslim League, proof of which was administered at the recent elections to the Central Legislative Assembly. I wish *Chandrika* success and prosperity and hope that it will always support the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League. I have, now for some time, been desirous of paying a visit to Malabar and meet[ing] the Musalmans in this part of this great sub-continent, and I do hope that I shall be able to realise this wish of mine in the near future.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Editor,
Chandrika,
Tellicherry

426

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/101

PESHAWAR,
9 January 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

League work is in full swing. The Committee of Action meets once a week and we try to meet demands from the different constituencies. We are all tied to our own constituencies and cannot move about as we wish to. Nishtar and I can, at best, attend meetings in the Peshawar and Mardan Districts. We keenly feel the absence of Qazi Isa. League work in Bannu and D.I. Khan is not up to the mark. I propose to go there for five days, but this is not enough. Will you please send Qazi Isa and direct him to spend ten days in D.I. Khan and Bannu? It will tone up our work there. Please treat this as urgent. We are all working smoothly in the Committee of Action. Samin is such a blessing.

Having said this, I have to repeat with regret that Nishtar is creating no end of trouble for me. There is a lot of opposition to him in the organization. Rather than admit his own mistakes, he is wrongly putting it [*sic*] down to me. We have broadcast a poster signed by both of us, appealing to every voter to cast one vote for him and one for me. But he is always scheming and plotting against me. He tried to turn the resentment which was aroused in some circles in the city, owing to the refusal of ticket to Aurangzeb, against me. He has been telling all and sundry that I was sure to win and that they should give both votes to him. His agents have been spreading the rumour that I am a Congress fifth-columnist in the League.

But in spite of it all, I am cooperating and working with him as I promised for the great cause. At the same time, it is my duty to inform you about what is happening here.

In case Jawaharlal or Hussain Ahmad comes here, I suggest that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali should follow immediately and tour the Province.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

427

Inayat-i-Kibrya to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/2

PESHAWAR CITY,
10 January 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have to inform you with very great regret that the position of the Muslim League in this Province is not so satisfactory as it is presumed to be. Unfortunately we could not avail ourselves of the very great enthusiasm created by your recent visit. Lack of cooperation and co-ordination, mutual jealousies, and power politics have taken much of the wind out of our sails.

Intensive propaganda is not being carried on, on a scientific basis, for any seat, but I would particularly draw your attention to the plural constituency of Peshawar. There is a very strong and powerful widespread movement to cast both the votes for Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, at the cost of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar. If this movement is not checked, we are sure to lose one seat. On account of his association with the last League Ministry, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar is not liked by some voters and they are thus creating a hostile atmosphere against him.

The situation can still be saved if you depute some person of all-India reputation to supervise the election work. Without meaning disrespect to Qazi Isa, I firmly believe that he cannot be of much help to us in this matter.

With due respects,

Yours sincerely,
INAYAT-I-KIBRYA
General Secretary,
Sarhad Muslim Students' Federation

428

K. N. Cariappa to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims II/120

6 ALBUQUERQUE ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
10 January 1946

My dear Jinnah,

It was indeed very kind of you to have spared your time the other evening to talk to me on the subject of India's defence forces of the future. I thank you very much for it.

Would you have any objection to my mentioning your views on the set-up of our armed forces as you envisage in a free India, during the course of general talks I may have with my fellow-officers and friends on this matter.

I thank you too for having so clearly put me in the picture in regard to the proposed division of India and on the advantages to the country as a whole in having such a division. Can I mention these ideas of yours, too, to my friends when discussing the political future of our country, in the course of conversation.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. N. CARIAPPA

429

Mohammad Sharif to M. A. Jinnah

F. 907/385

INDERKOTE,
AJMER,
11 January 1946

In compliance with the directions of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, all Muslims having sympathy with the Muslim League throughout India are today celebrating the cent per cent victory of the Muslim League in the Central Legislative Assembly, where laws will be enacted for the benefit of the Indians generally, and for the protection of the rights and privileges of the Muslims of India

particularly. The Anjuman Taraqqi Talim, Inderkote, together with all the *mohalladars* congratulate Quaid-i-Azam that in this advanced age he has set up the platform of the Muslim League against the platform of the Congress. Quaid-i-Azam has, after considerable experience and with great foresight, formed the opinion that the main cause of the backward condition of the Muslims and of the facility with which other communities crush Muslim rights, is lack of education among the majority of the Muslims. The aim of this Anjuman is the advancement of learning and spread of education, and the members of this Anjuman are making efforts to establish schools. Consequently, today, on this auspicious and happy occasion, this meeting, while offering hearty congratulations to Quaid-i-Azam, passes the following resolutions unanimously.

RESOLUTION NO. 1

a. In compliance with the directions of the holy Prophet [PBUH], it is the bounden duty of every Muslim, male and female, to acquire learning [*sic*] even though he may have to seek it in a distant place like China. All the Muslim graduates, learned men, politicians, and prominent *mohalladars* of Ajmer-Merwara should, after necessary discussion and interchange of ideas, establish a Muslim Board of Education in Ajmer-Merwara.
b. In this Board, such rules and regulations as may be conducive to the education of all the Muslims and may provide for compulsory and universal education among the Muslim population, should be framed.
c. Minor children should first acquire religious education in the mosques and the *maktabs* according to the same system as was prevalent in the early days of Islam.
d. On attaining the age of six or seven years, children should be admitted into the lower and upper primary schools.
e. Institutions should also be established for the education of illiterate adults.
f. In every ward of the Municipality of Ajmer a committee should be established and in every *mohalla* a sub-committee should be established.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

According to the instructions of the Muslim Board of Education, these committees and sub-committees should, in their sphere of action, provide for the education of the poor and needy scholars, male and female, and of the orphans, male and female, till the completion of their education.

RESOLUTION NO. 3

A copy of the proceedings of this meeting should be forwarded to Quaid-i-Azam, along with congratulations on his grand victory and with the request that he may kindly help the members of this Anjuman in the achievement of their aims and objects by means of his extremely valuable advice and support.

MOULANA MOHAMMAD SHARIF
Principal, Darul-Ulum Moinia Osmania Dargah Sharif

430

M. A. Jinnah to K. N. Cariappa

SHC, Non-Muslims II/121

11 January 1946

Dear Mr. Cariappa,

Many thanks for your letter dated yesterday.[1] My views, that I expressed to you in the course of our interview, are very well-known, and they have been expressed by me on many occasions. As regards Pakistan, there is nothing new in what I told you about it during the course of our talk, and in order that there should be no misunderstanding at any rate, I am sending you [transcripts of] two of my speeches delivered by me at the sessions of the All India Muslim League held at Delhi and Karachi.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Brig. K. N. Cariappa,
6 Albuquerque Road,
New Delhi

[1]*SHC*, Non-Muslims/120.
[2]Cariappa thanked Jinnah for the transcripts of his speeches. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims II/122. Not printed.

431

Honorary Secretary, Jinnah Youth League, to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/10

TITACHERY, SOUTH INDIA,
11 January 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to bring forward [*sic*] the following to your attention.

A meeting of the Jinnah Youth League was held on 11 January 1946, under the presidentship of K. M. A. Jabbar, to celebrate the Victory Day.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

i. This meeting welcomes the British Parliamentary Delegates' presence in India and expresses its high pleasure.
ii. This meeting wish[es] to point out to the British Parliamentary Delegates that the Muslim League is the sole representative and authoritative organisation of Muslim India, and that Pakistan is the only solution to end the Indian political deadlock.
iii. This meeting wish[es] to point out that the future Indian constitution must be based on Pakistan [*sic*]. Other form of constitution will be unacceptable to Muslim India.
iv. This meeting wish[es] to request Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Husain Ahmad Madni to join the All India Muslim League in this critical hour of the history of Muslim India, in consideration of its 100 per cent victory in the Central Assembly elections.

Awaiting your reply in order to encourage us,

I have the honour to be,

Quaid-i-Azam,

Your obedient servant,

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

Hony. Secretary

432

Mohammad Yusuf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP VI/24

YUSUF CASTLE,
NAWAB YUSUF ROAD,
JAUNPUR, U.P.,
14 January 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Allow me to congratulate you on the almost unanimous election of the Muslim League candidates in U.P. for the Assembly.

U.P. is the creation of the zamindars and no other community has played such an important role in the public life of the province. Neither the industrialists, the trading class, nor for that matter lawyers as distinct from the zamindar families, have played any important part in shaping the life of the Province till the present. In the Muslim nation, Muslim zamindars alone as agriculturists along with their tenantry have formed the backbone of the nation, as the trade and the industries of the nation have not developed so far sufficiently to bring prosperity to the nation. Lawyers have not played any important role in serving the Province until very recent past. There is hardly any Muslim capitalist here. Some people are struggling along to build industries and trade in these provinces. Therefore, it is a matter of supreme satisfaction to me that the Parliamentary Board of U.P. has selected such men who have worked for the League and also those who are struggling for industrial progress and further those young lawyers who are working for the League, apart from Muslim zamindars who have always been in the League and are doing yeoman service to the Muslim League with their money, influence and hard work. So far zamindars have dominated the U.P. Legislature but now the situation will change completely as in the larger interest of the League I had to agree to the replacement of a number of Muslim landholder candidates by industrialists, lawyers and those who could be regarded as independently serving the interest of the masses. Representation has been given to such sections of the people as Momins, Quraish and a very effective representation to Shias which I hope will make for the solidarity of the Muslim nation as a whole, according to the Islamic conception. We hope to sweep the polls, God willing.

The point that I should like to bring to your notice is that the Muslim zamindars have risen to the occasion in making room in an

adequate measure for the other elements in the nation, recognizing that any class or sectional struggle will be highly detrimental to the interest of the Muslims and Muslim League in India.

However, I and Muslim zamindars look up to you to protect our fundamental rights and save them [*sic*] from economic ruination or elimination in U.P. I further strongly hope that the minority community will be heartened by your latest statement that you stand for their fundamental rights while primarily looking to the interest of the masses on the basis of Islamic principles of *akhuwwat*, justice, fair play, tolerance and service.

I am happy to learn that you will be making a flying visit to U.P. on your way back from Bengal some time in February 1946. It will be a matter of great honour to us all if you will very kindly visit Allahabad also. I have spoken to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali about it also, who will help Nawab Ismail Khan and me in drawing up your programme in U.P.

With best respects,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD YUSUF
Nawab, Kt.

433

Amir Hamza Shami to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/104

35 THE MALL, AGRA,
14 January 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In complete submission to the decision of leaders (i.e., the members of the U.P. Muslim League Parliamentary Board), I have taken their rejection of my application for League ticket as final and as a token of fullest confidence in their decision I have definitely decided and openly announced that I am not availing myself of my right to appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board. But in spite of the fact that I now have no personal interest in the matter I cannot but think it my duty, as a well-wisher of the League, to bring to your notice the state of the public opinion here. I know that the Parliamentary Board must have been guided by important considerations in selecting Syed Zakir Ali as the League candidate. Nevertheless I must inform you of the feelings of the public of the constituency. There seems to be a general disappointment

and a wide-spread feeling of dissatisfaction that a suitable candidate has not been selected. I think that if the masses are, in certain respects, an immovable mass, they are, in other respects, an irresistible force. I think, therefore, that their feelings must either be taken into consideration or special precautions must be taken to mould their opinion. I am told that many candidates are filing their appeals against the selection of Syed Zakir Ali. I would make bold to suggest that a thorough consideration should be given to the question and local conditions should fully be studied and then a suitable selection be made. It was so unfortunate that the Parliamentary Board deputation could not come and were made to change their programme by manoeuvring of certain interested persons. Anyway the public would very much like to see a more suitable candidate adopted by the League. If, however, no more suitable person is spotted during the hearing of the appeals and the decision of the Provincial Parliamentary Board is upheld, then I would suggest that special precautions be taken to achieve the success of Syed Zakir Ali and special directions should be issued to the League officials here and, most important of all, sufficient funds should be sanctioned and provided for the campaign because it may entail a good deal of expenses to make the local workers and the public go in full swing. It is evident that the coming elections of local candidates, unlike the Central elections, will be affected, to a great extent, by the local party politics. It seems that on the one hand the local workers are unable, and indeed unwilling, to rise above local party politics and on the other hand, special, constant, and sincere efforts are required to infuse enthusiasm in the public to the required pitch to ensure success.

Assuring of my sincerest services in any case,

Yours sincerely,
SAHIBZADA AMIR HAMZA SHAMI
B.Sc.

434

Abdul Quddus to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP II/117

VILLAGE SHIKHPUR,
DISTRICT ALLAHABAD,
14 January 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We are under a deep debt ot gratitude to you for organising the

Muslims and raising their status and for your strenuous efforts in connection with the political advancement of the Muslims. There is however one thing which is our great concern. As you may be knowing, more than I do, there is a complaint against the Provincial Parliamentary Boards in many provinces and U.P. has reached the culminating point [*sic*]. It is being generally said, and we believe, that the members of the Board had only the interest of their friends at heart and did not care at all for the just claims of the candidates. If all the selected candidates succeed it would not mean that the selection was just. The atmosphere created in favour of Muslim League is such that everyone will succeed in the high name of the Muslim League, but the resentment will remain there. Its repercussions will have very adverse effect on the organization. Just as the Muslim League has suffered because of the corruption of the Muslim League Ministers, it is apprehended that the Muslim League will have a great setback because of the doings of the Parliamentary Boards.

For God's sake do something to put this right and take stringent steps against those who work in self-interest only and in whose hands justice is not safe.

Yours obediently,
ABDUL QUDDUS

435

Abdur Rashid Arshad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/36

BACHRA BUILDING,
TANDO VALI MOHAMMAD,
HYDERABAD, SIND,
14 January 1946

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am in due receipt of your esteemed letter[1] which I received on 6th instant from Delhi. Your previous letter has encouraged me a lot, and I assure you, Sir, that I was considering myself and still I think myself as the sepoy of the greatest Muslim organisation, Muslim League. How fortunate we are, Sir, in having you as our beloved and most kind leader who is a rock whenever the question of Pakistan and Muslims being a separate nation, creeps in. [Al]though I am a student, yet considering this as the critical time, I have devoted all my time to work for the Muslim League candidates throughout Sind.

Sir, as usual I am giving the Sind news, which is as follows:

1. Since the help of Pir Ahmad Shah of Ranipur in favour of League candidate, the position of K. B. Moula Bakhsh, the so-called nationalist, is becoming worse at Shikarpur.

2. In order to achieve and form a separate group in Sind Assembly, almost all the Talpurs, in order to get the help of Khaksars, have signed the Khaksar pledge, though they have already got the Muslim League ticket. What a pity! This is the reason why Mirs of Sind were deprived of their government before the British rule.

3. The position of the following persons who are against League seems to be quite strong, namely the traitor G. M. Sayed, Mohammad Ali Shah, PWD Minister, Syed Khair Shah and Pir Bakadar Shah of Hala. It is very essential and necessary [*sic*], Sir, to canvass strongly in the constituency of G. M. Sayed and K. B. Moula Bakhsh. Though some of the leaders of [the] Punjab and U.P. have arrived in Sind, they are devoting much time in Shikarpur and other places, whereas it is [their] first and foremost duty to destroy G. M. Sayed.

4. If G. M. Sayed comes in Sind, Sind will have no stable Ministry in future. I am going to G. M. Sayed's constituency along with some of the students tomorrow to work for Shahmir Kachhi.

5. In order to see [*sic*] his defeat, the Khaksar nominee, Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur, is deceiving the public here in Hyderabad, Sind, that he is a Leaguer, and if the voters will elect him, he will go as a Leaguer in the Assembly. What a non-sensical [*sic*] propaganda!

6. I have already dictated [*sic*] in my last letter that Sindhi Muslims can easily be swept [*sic*] by inspiring speeches, so the position of Mian Mohammad Shah is becoming stronger and stronger since the inspiring speeches of Moulana Abdul Qayum Cawnpuri.

7. Anyhow I assure you, Quaid-i-Azam, that Muslim League will certainly sweep the polls. Alas, if G. M. Sayed would have been with the League, Sind Muslim League would have secured cent per cent results.

8. Pandit Nehru, who has proved to be the worst orator in Sind, has abused Sindhi Muslims a lot and has openly given lakhs of rupees to the nationalist Muslims through Khan Abdul Samad [Achakzai] of Baluchistan.

9. I again request you, *Quaid-i-Islam*, to send best front-rank leaders in Sind, who must run and should perform a hurricane tour in Sind as the polling day is at hand. For God's sake wire the leaders to come over here as people are in the dark as to what is League and what it desires?

10. Beloved Quaid-i-Azam, I am requesting you humbly not to address me as Dear Sir as I consider myself as the lowest [*sic*] sepoy of

the League, whereas you are the greatest leader of Muslims. I shall be glad if you address me as Dear Rashid instead of Dear Sir.

11. In the end, I pray to the Almighty God that He may give you long life and ever increasing prosperity to serve the downtrodden Muslim nation. I am at your call, Sir, always. I have no words how [*sic*] can I show to God that God may bless you more and more.

With kindest of regards and respects,

Yours most obediently,
ABDUR RASHID ARSHAD MAKHDUM

[1]Jinnah thanked him for the information. See *SHC*, Sind VII/29. Not printed.

436

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Sadullah Khan[1]

SHC, NWFP II/7

MAMDOT VILLA,
DAVIS ROAD,
LAHORE,
14 January 1946

Dear Sadullah Khan,

I have had a talk with Nishtar and Qaiyum today in Lahore and I am glad that you have taken the final decision of the Central Parliamentary Board in the right spirit of a Leaguer. At this juncture, I think you will agree with me that it is the duty of every Muslim to support the League candidate, no matter how much he feels aggrieved. This is no time for us to be guided by any personal considerations. Success of the League candidate or candidates is the success of the Muslim nation. It enhances the prestige and the reputation of our national organization, the All India Muslim League, to which you have the honour to belong, and above all the paramount issue facing us is to secure the verdict of the electorate in favour of Pakistan, in the achievement of which lies the salvation of hundred million Muslims and the posterity to come. I am confident that you will play your part fully and will whole-heartedly support the League candidates.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

K. B. Mohammad Sadullah Khan,
Peshawar

[1]A similar letter was addressed by Jinnah to Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan, a ML leader of NWFP. See *SHC*, NWFP II/6. Not printed.

437

M. Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, (856A)

19 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
14 January 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I do not know whether you are aware that since 23 September 1945, I am in bed on account of [coronary] thrombosis (heart trouble). I am now almost recovered but am not yet in a position to walk about and the orders of the doctor are that I must remain indoors and not resume any activities until the 1st of March 46. I would have loved to offer you my homage and affection in person but I am helpless and am therefore taking this opportunity of conveying to you, by means of this letter, my respectful adoration. May you live long and may you see with your own eyes the realisation of that dream which you dreamt five years ago and which is today near fulfilment.

With my good wishes and all kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. BARKAT ALI

438

K. M. Meeran Moideen to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/12

KADAIYANALLUR,
DIST. TINNEVELLEY,
15 January 1946

Allaho Akbar, Muslim League *Zindabad,* Pakistan *Zindabad*

I, on behalf of myself and the Muslims of Kadayanallur Petai Jamath, convey to you our best *du'a* and *salaam*. May *Allah* bestow upon you and other leaders of the Muslim League under your control, sound health and long life.

2. You are the only undisputed leader of the ten crores of Indian Muslims and we heartily and sincerely consider you as a light house on the rock giving bright light to the steamers in their struggling voyage

in the vast black ocean surrounded by thick nights and we are accordingly being guided with true light to guide us in respect of our religion, culture, education and administrative capacities to get our goal—Pakistan, and we are also prepared to undergo all the difficulties that may fall upon us in our struggle for Pakistan.

3. In accordance with the proclamation dated 16 July 1945 of Quaid-i-Azam to collect funds for the election purposes, and as resolved by us, a golden map of Pakistan (four *tolas* in weight) is herewith sent to you, and we request that we may be kindly informed of its receipt.

4. We further beg to bring to your kind notice with joy that the candidates set up by our opponents against the Muslim League candidates have not only failed in their attempts but also have lost their [security] deposits in the Central Assembly elections and we earnestly and sincerely assure you that we are prepared to get a glorious success in respect of the Muslim League candidates with our zeal and enthusiasm to get success in the coming provincial elections, and we further assure you that there may be no anxiety in respect of this Presidency.

May *Allah* bestow upon us His grace and help to get success in our attempts. *Aameen*

The golden Pakistan map has been donated by the handloom weavers of Petai Jamath.

Yours sincerely,
K. M. MEERAN MOIDEEN

439

Mohammad Aminul Hasanat to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/11-4
[*Original in Urdu*]

MANKI SHARIF,
16 January 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

As by achieving Pakistan, we shall save the Indian Muslims from political death, I consider it imperative to draw your attention to a very important matter concerning the coming election battle in the NWFP. You may not be unaware that in this Province, Congress has been an organised party among the Muslims for the last one and a quarter century and the Red Shirts organisation is spread all over the Province

and are influencing the ignorant people to come into their fold. The Muslim League has to compete with the organised bodies while it has not yet set up any committees nor has it got any devoted workers or an elected provincial president. Knowing that we have to win the election battle to establish Pakistan, we were expecting that All India Muslim League will give us full support and guidance. At the same time we were expecting that the League workers of this Province and their leadership would begin work throughout the Province in right earnest. But alas, none of these things have happened so far. The present position is alarming and the Frontier Muslim League has not appraised you of the real position. The *'ulama-i-kiram* and *mashaikh-i-'uzzam* of our Jami'at-i-Asfia are working in real earnestly but we should not be content as the whole province is not under our influence. We have a fortnight at our disposal to make unrelenting effort for winning over people to our side. Qazi Isa, whom you made responsible for the Frontier affairs, just made a whirlwind tour, appointed a Committee of Action and left. The members of this Committee are themselves candidates and are generally busy with their own campaigns. No other responsible man is available for party work. Consequently, if a candidate has some problem, he, after waiting for days goes away disappointed. If any suggestion is given to the Committee it is not given prompt consideration. Hence it is imperative that you should pay personal attention to this Province. I am giving some suggestions separately. Khan Sahib Fateh Mohammad will also brief you verbally.

Hope you are enjoying sound health. May we be successful in attaining Pakistan,

Wassalaam

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMED AMINUL HASANAT
Sajjada Nashin, Manki Sharif

PS. After you left, I drew the attention of the Frontier Muslim League several times in strong words towards lack of League's publicity but no heed was paid to my suggestion. On the 2nd of January 1946, in the presence of about 15 to 20 candidates I put up a proposal before the members of the Committee of Action that they should dispatch a lorry fitted with a loud-speaker to each district with a team of group going with the lorry should include 15 National Guards and 5 speakers consisting of *'ulama* and two *na'at khwans*. This group should work in each district from 10 January to 14 February 1946. But the Committee of Action did not give any importance to this suggestion and it was not implemented, maybe due to paucity of funds. Now I am writing to

you. First of all it is most necessary that you should send a group of three or four of your confidants supervise the election work in this province. Secondly sufficient funds be given for the work by the All India Muslim League and a proper account of the expenditure be kept. They may consult us while incurring any expenditure.

There are certain people in this province who are old Muslim Leaguers but somehow they are not happy with the present provincial leadership; if advisable, the delegation may consult these people also and form joint committees with these gentlemen. These committees should have branches in each district. The present Committee of Action is just useless. It should have no say in the election work. You are yourself wise enough. The following members of the Committee of Action should not be associated with the proposed election work.

1. Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan Khalil,
   President, Afghan Jirga, Frontier Province
2. Khan Bahadur Sadullah Khan Umarzai
3. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, ex-Minister [Chief Minister]

Wassalaam

Your sincere friend,
MOHAMMED AMINUL HASANAT

440

Wasee Ullah Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/108

BAREILLY,
16 January 1946

In the name of *Allah*, the Beneficient, the Merciful

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I beg to put before you the following two things for your kind consideration, which, if thought fit, may be put up in the [Central] Assembly on the very first day or soon thereafter:

i. Muslims are the only big nation in India which observes Friday as a fixed day for holiday since the very advent of Islam and they actually pass the day in devotion, prayers and rejoicing [*sic*]. The Government

of India may, therefore in future, observe Friday as a weekly holiday instead of Sunday. No other nation in India needs any fixed day as their holiday. The Christians which form a nominal percentage in India of course pray on Sunday but no particular hour is fixed for it and so they can do it at any time of the day.

ii. Muslim universities are closed on Friday. All the Muslim States observe Friday as a holiday. All the universities, in spite of Hindu influence, observe Sunday as holiday and even the Benares Hindu University observes Sunday as holiday. Thus the Hindus do not need any particular day as holiday. I request that you may please get documentary evidence in hand of the Hindus observing holiday in Benares University and in Hindu States on Sunday so that they may not create trouble afterwards.

iii. Most probably the resolution will go through the Assembly. The Congressites will either support this or will keep silence [*sic*]. If they oppose they will be thoroughly exposed to nationalist Muslims at least.

iv. The Government of India should reserve one-third of its services for Muslims and this ratio should always be maintained whether the appointments are made directly or by promotion to the higher grade.

2. In 1934, Sir Fazle Husain of revered memory got a resolution passed by the Govt. of India in Home Department for reservation of 25% posts for Muslims. At that time even this ratio was considered enough but now we cannot agree to a ratio less than we have in the Assembly so long as we achieve Pakistan. Although we are not getting even that ratio fixed in 1934, but [*sic*] that is a thing to be taken up separately. It is certain that the Congressites will oppose this too, but that too will be a thing in our interest.

3. These humble proposals are only for your kind consideration and such action as you deem fit.

4. In the end I request you very humbly to send me your autograph.

Your devotee,
WASEE ULLAH SIDDIQUI
B. Sc. (final)

441

M. Fakhruddin to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (861A)

BALRAMPUR,
17 January 1946

RESOLUTIONS

1. Unanimously resolved that as in the Balrampur Town there is no Muslim institution to safeguard the culture and civilization of the Muslims of Balrampur, therefore, an English high school in the name of Jinnah High School and another high school for girls in the name of Fatima Jinnah High School should be established in the Balrampur Town.

2. Unanimously passed [*sic*] to very humbly request the Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah that as the Muslims of Balrampur Town are very much economically backward, the Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah may very kindly issue appeals to the nation for financial help so as to make this sacred as well as the philanthropic scheme a success.

M. FAKHRUDDIN
President,
Balrampur Muslim League

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M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Aminul Hasnat

SHC, NWFP II/13

MAMDOT VILLA,
DAVIS ROAD,
LAHORE,
17 January 1946

Dear Faqir Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th January[1] that was delivered to me by Mr. Fateh Mohammad Khan here today. I have discussed the matter fully with him and I am very grateful to you for all the information and suggestions that you have made, some of which have already been carried out while others are receiving my attention. At the present moment it is not possible to make any new changes in our organization. However, your suggestions may prove useful. There are now only

four or five weeks left and we must make the best use of what has already been set up, and the only way to make it work successfully is that every individual—personally in groups and collectively—should make his or her full contribution to secure the verdict for Pakistan, by sweeping the polls. This is the most paramount issue and where there is a will there is a way. Perfect machinery and constitution may not work if there is no real will, harmony and unity amongst us. Our present machinery is set up and is the result of only a few years of our efforts and it may not be as efficient and as satisfactory as some of us may desire. But the people, if [*sic*] they have the will and the spirit of unity and comradeship and feel confident that they can make wonderful success of the present machinery. I, therefore, appeal to you and every Muslim to do your bit, make your contribution whole-heartedly and I am confident that victory is in the hollow of our hands in the North-West Frontier Province.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

S. Mohammad Aminul Hasnat,
Sajjada Nashin of Manki Sharif,
Nowshera

[1]No. 439.

443

Shokut Husain to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/98

GURGAON DIST. MUSLIM LEAGUE
ELECTION AND INFORMATION OFFICE,
DISTRICT GURGAON,
17 January 1946

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to draw your personal attention to the case of North-West Gurgaon Muslim rural constituency of the Punjab. The official League candidate for this constituency is Moulvi Ahmad Jan. He is opposed by two others; one of them belongs to the Unionist Party and the other to Jami'yyat al-Ulama.

The chances of success of Moulvi Ahmad Jan are very good. But he

has no money and can in no way compete with the Congress capitalists and Unionist Election Fund.

If Moulvi Ahmad Jan is only supplied with coupons of 500 gallons of petrol and fifteen motor buses to bring the voters to the polls, he wins, God willing.

[*Two paras omitted*]

I would, therefore, request you to very kindly help this League candidate who might lose the seat for want of a few lorries and coupons of petrol.

I have, etc.,
SHOKUT HUSAIN

444

Sadullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/17

UMARZAI,
CHARSADDA,
PESHAWAR DIST.,
18 January 1946

My dear Sir,

Kindly allow me to express my heartful [*sic*] thanks to you for your kind letter dated 14th[1] instant delivered to me by Nishtar Sahib the other day at Peshawar and am so much obliged to you for your kind feelings towards me.

It will not be out of place to mention here that I was the first person in the Frontier Province when I started the Muslim League organization in spite of the strong Congress opposition in the year 1937 after the death of the late Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum Khan and worked zealously and honestly in implementing the cause of the League organization, so much so that I spent thousands of rupees from my own pocket in the propaganda work of this sacred cause of Islam.

In the beginning in those days the task was so much risky that I had to take with me an armed guard of my own servants wherever I used to go for the propaganda work in by-elections and in the League meetings. The Red Shirts were throwing filth and dung on us and on some occasion they have actually thrown snakes in our meetings simply to disturb us, but all this we tolerated with great patience and forbearance. In short, under your guidance we worked in the Frontier Province so successfully that the League organization flourished from day to day, a fact which your goodself

recently has seen with your own eyes during your trip to the Frontier. This is really a great satisfaction to all of us and now I have made up my mind to try my level best for the success of our League candidates in the election and hope that under your guidance we will maintain the prestige and the reputation of our national organization, the All India Muslim League, to which we belong, and thus to secure the verdict of the electorate in favour of Pakistan. Rest assured that I will not leave a single stone unturned for the success of this sacred cause.

With sincerest wishes for your long life and sound health,

Yours sincerely,
SADULLAH KHAN
Al-haj, Khan Bahadur,
Ex-Minister, NWFP

[1]No. 436.

445

Ismail Ghaznavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/103

DISTRICT MUSLIM LEAGUE,
AMRITSAR,
18 January 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to make the following submissions for your kind consideration and will not prolong the interruption by an apology which your transcendent personality makes needless:

I must, at the outset, take the liberty of introducing myself to you in order to account for my intrusion on your valuable time.

I was an active worker during the Home Rule Movement[1] and Willingdon Agitation[2] since and following the year 1917, and I have been an active member of Muslim League since 1919. At present I am the President of the District Muslim League , Amritsar.

The psychological climate of the Province in general and of Amritsar in particular is such that the masses seem quite ready and prepared to join the Muslim League and this could be done without much bother if an organized and sustained effort is made by those responsible for its working.

I take the liberty to point out that the introduction and enforcement

of discipline in the present Muslim League organization is at present labouring under certain handicaps of a grave character which, if not redressed forthwith, might lead to distress and disaster for the community in the very ugly shape of a defeat at the polls. At this juncture of our life and death struggle I may be permitted to lay before you the difficulties and limitations which beset the District Muslim League in the due discharge of its duties and responsibilities. The District Muslim League cannot ignore these grievous conditions and yield to their force if the situation is not kept under control.

These are as follows:

i. The Unionist candidate for Tehsil Taran Taran is a sitting member of the Assembly and wields great influence in his constituency. To oppose him the Muslim League Board has ignored the very important factor of personal popularity and influence and has given the League ticket to a man who is an unknown entity in the constituency. I have made a very extensive tour of the Amritsar District, established personal contacts, delivered speeches and sent many workers for propaganda work but in spite of our best efforts we cannot hope to get more than 50% votes. The League candidate for the Amritsar Tehsil is a sincere man and a good Leaguer but he is not financially competent to defray his election expenses. The Provincial Muslim League has advanced him a sum of rupees five thousand as election expenses without my endorsement and recommendation. His application was recommended by the President of the City Muslim League although he was not directly concerned with the District League, Amritsar, and I was the proper person to be consulted.

iii. To crown it all, I was not duly consulted by the Provincial Selection Board while giving M.L. tickets to candidates for Amritsar. My experience would have been of some use to the Board as I had established fairly close association with the men and workers of the Amritsar District and had taken stock of the situation .

iv. I have sent many letters to the effect that the District League Amritsar was not provided with adequate funds and I had therefore to incur expenses from my own pocket to the extent of rupees eight hundred. For propaganda work in the district, we required the following articles:

   a. A car for one and a half months
   b. One hundred gallons of petrol
   c. Two thousand rupees for propaganda work. I regret to say that not one of the requirements was met; on the contrary I

was not even graced with a reply .

v. I gave the Provincial League authorities to understand that all payments to League workers in the Amritsar District should be made through me so as to enable me to take solid work from them. My instructions/suggestions in particular were ignored and, very naturally, this procedure has not proved conducive to efficiency and discipline.

vi. In the city of Amritsar the Muslim League was enjoying great prestige and was going from strength to strength but on account of the uncalled-for constitution of a Selection Board for League candidates for the Municipality and their consequent nomination of favourites, the League has suffered a very serious set-back. This was done in spite of the fact that I had given timely warning to the Provincial League authorities and made submissions personally in that connection but my submissions were completely disregarded. My letter must be on file in the League office in Lahore. Out of nine Muslim League candidates no less [*sic*] than four have suffered defeat.

It has produced a very unfavourable reaction on the position of the M.L. candidate for the Assembly and I should go even so far as to say that it is in the danger zone.

The management of the Provincial M.L. is far from satisfactory. If the present state of affairs continues we may not find our positions very happy in the end. We might even be overtaken by disaster and in that event it would require a tremendous effort to retrieve our position or stage a comeback.

I would have made all these submissions to you in person but in view of the great importance and multiplicity of affairs in which your exalted office engages you, I have decided not to intrude on your valuable time any more than what is absolutely necessary.

This letter, I believe, will respectfully convey the views from my side and for the rest I trust that facts will speak for themselves.

I may add that I joined the M.L. as a volunteer only and have always tried to do my humble bit for the cause which I hold so dear. I would most respectfully beg to ask for your gracious permission to resign from the presidentship of the District M.L. Amritsar so that I may not in the end have to shoulder complete responsibility for the result towards which I have made no contribution, for no man can be held answerable for losses which he has no power to prevent and for

indiscipline which he has no authority to restrain.

With best respects,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
ISMAIL GHAZNAVI

[1]The growing divide between extremists and moderates within the Indian National Congress led to Annie Besant, an Irishwoman, and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, founding the Home Rule League in 1916 to launch a movement for the speedy attainment of home rule, or full responsible government, in India. See O.P. Ralhan, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Political Parties*, Vol.IX, New Delhi, 1996, 1-16.

[2]At the war conference held in Bombay on 10 June 1918, Jinnah had crossed swords with Governor Willingdon over the recruiting campaign launched in India to intensify the war effort, demanding that Indians be treated on a par with Britons and that royal commissions be given to Indians as well. Jinnah's public conflict with Willingdon had embittered their relationship, and when the Governor's tenure was due to end, Jinnah learned of a plan to host a public function on 11 December 1918 to honour him. Jinnah opposed the plan and his supporters all but disrupted the function. As a sequel, he came to be adored by the people of Bombay who built a monument to his intrepid leadership and unflinching fight for upholding democratic values. The monument was named People's Jinnah Memorial Hall. See Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1989, 53-60.

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Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/102

DERA ISMAIL KHAN,
18 January 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am touring the southern districts ever since my return. I have addressed a number of meetings, i.e. [*sic*] one in Tank was a great success. Three hundred Muslim National Guards—organized by the Nawab of Tank—led a huge procession. Yesterday, a big meeting was held. Today I am addressing a meeting in Kulachi at 2.00 p.m. and in D. I. Khan town in the evening; after speaking in Bannu I hope to return to Peshawar on 20-1-1946.

There are twelve seats in these three districts. I am trying to spot the weak constituencies and find out the causes of our weakness. I will report to the Committee of Action when they meet on 23-1-1946.

Please try to send Jamal Mian and [illegible] to tour the Province.

This is absolutely necessary.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

447

Shanker Das Mehra to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims-I/123

WACHOUWALI, LAHORE,
19 January 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The attached letter[1] was the one sent by me to your lieutenant and guest (Nawab of Mamdot) [*sic*] about two months back. His significant silence makes me presume that probably he is not so keen for the establishment of Pakistan as you are, otherwise how could he have failed to reply to such an important letter especially when it comes from the intelligentsia of the minority community.

Since the Pakistan issue has appeared on the political horizon of India, the mind of the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab has been agitated. They are apprehensive about their future position and doubt the good intentions of the communal majority for having made such a communal move. Unless and until the Pakistan is precisely defined, especially in relation to the position of the minorities therein, the confidence of the minorities cannot be won. You have to show certain palpable advantages to the minorities for accepting the Pakistan creed. In what way they would be gainer therein than in a united India.

Unless the minorities are assured and their doubts removed the Pakistan would remain a dream. It would be more of *gulamistan* (slave country) than Pakistan. If 20% of the Muslims can halt the march of India's independence then surely Pakistan can never come into existence when 40% of the minorities therein are opposed to it. Therefore, I beg of you to clear the mist.[2] It is no use converting Mahatma Gandhi or any body else in private. Take the public into confidence. If your arguments are weighty, coupled as they should be with substantial concessions for the minorities in your Pakistan, I see no reason why

the minorities would not hail it.

Hope you understand the point.

Yours sincerely,
DR. SHANKER DAS MEHRA
B. Sc., M.B.B.S.

[1]Mehra's letter to Mamdot had inquired as to how the Punjab would stand to gain by forming part of Pakistan and what concessions would be offered to non-Muslims to win their confidence. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims I/124. Not printed.

[2]In a press interview on 18 November 1945, Jinnah had stated that the Hindus and non-Muslims in Pakistan zones as a minority "can only accept safeguards and protections whatever is just as Muslims in Hindu majority provinces will be similarly placed". See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 312.

448

Zahid Jeffery to M.A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/65

BHOPAL,
19 January 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

First let me, please, extend my best wishes for the New Year and a year of [*sic*] your birthday.

May I take the liberty of asking you two questions, which I am bewildered to understand?

I could not pick out the trend of the policy of the *Dawn*—a paper founded by you—it has adopted towards the Indian Muslim States. The editor never publishes my letters bearing constructive criticism on the maladministration of these States but those on other topics or in favour and to [*sic*] the interest of the States. Is this the policy of the Muslim League not to bring before the masses and critics for constructive criticism some grave wrongs featured in their administrative policies? To my mind, constructive criticism may remove, to a great extent the sufferings of the poor masses. Moreover, if this criticism and liberty of expression of opinion are denied, the prestige of the press, as an organ of people's voice, cannot remain undamaged. Democratically speaking, it ceases to function in its true sense as such. There can exist no liberty of the press when it functions under state influence, and dislikes independent views.

The *Dawn* has not yet ceased publishing the advertisements of

De Luxe Tenor or Carlton Cigarettes—the Jewish productions—which, as I am given to understand, have been boycotted by you. Does not the publication of the advertisement lead the *Dawn* readers astray?

I am sure my beloved Quaid-i-Azam will favour me with a reply.

I owe my beloved Quaid-i-Azam an apology as these lines and their reply will waste his crowded minutes of glorious life.

Yours sincerely,
ZAHID JEFFERY
Journalist

449

M. A. H. Ispahani to M.A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/117

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
19 January 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter of the 11th instant[1] only yesterday and I thank you for it.

I shall advise Nazim and Shaheed, on their return from tour, [of] the contents of the letter.

Reports from Assam are encouraging and according to Liaquat, if we are not unlucky, we should not lose a single seat. There is only one seat which appeared to him to be doubtful, but every effort was being made to win it for the League.

I do hope the position in Sind has established itself. I cannot find words strong enough to condemn G. M. Sayed. His eleventh-hour treachery is something more than I expected of him.

We are receiving very encouraging news from the Punjab and I am thankful to Providence for His mercy and assistance to us in our life-and-death struggle.

Praying for your long life and good health, and hoping to have the great pleasure of welcoming you,

I am ,
Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Jinnah had written to Hassan Ispahani that he could not, for the time being fix a date for his visit to Bengal. See *SHC*, Bengal III/116. Not printed.

450

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Chaiwala

F. 68/10

20 January 1946

Dear Mr. Chaiwala,

I have already written a letter, dated 16 January 1946, to the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, Fort, Bombay, by registered post, a copy of which is enclosed herewith. On further consideration, I thought that I should take further measures and avoid any technical complications that may arise and, therefore, as it was not possible for me to leave Delhi, I am sending Mr. Khurshid Hasan, my Secretary, along with the form of declaration of high denomination bank notes, duly filled in by me, and with the keys of the steel cupboard in my dressing room. You can go along with him and he will show you the cupboard and in that cupboard there is a small black cash box, which contains notes of denomination of rupees one thousand, speaking from my memory. I think there are about thirty thousand rupees in the cash box.

Would you please be good enough to present the notes to either the Imperial Bank of India or the Reserve Bank and obtain in exchange notes of small denominations and see that the money is credited to my current account No. 2 with the Imperial Bank of India, Bombay. Kindly send me the bank slip or receipt along with Mr. Khurshid.

I am sorry to give you this trouble, but it is the result of the unexpected development that has taken place and I am unable to leave Delhi.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

M.A. Chaiwala, Esq.,
15 Military Square Lane, Fort,
Bombay

Enclosure to No. 450
M. A. Jinnah to the Governor, Reserve Bank of India

F. 68/28-9

REGISTERED

MAMDOT VILLA,
DAVIS ROAD,
LAHORE,
16 January 1946

Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you that I am on my tour in connection with the electioneering campaign that is going on, as the President of the All India Muslim League . I had received donations to the Muslim League Fund from various people just before my departure from Bombay, which were sent to me in currency notes by insured registered parcels or presented to me personally. In that lot there are notes of the value of rupees thirty thousand or thereabouts of denominations of Rs. 500 and above. I had no time before my departure to send them to bank with the result that they are now lying in my safe in Bombay and I intended to send them to my bank on my return. But since the publication of the Ordinance by the Government of India, it is not possible for me to fill in the regular prescribed forms and papers and hand over the money to the Reserve Bank of India or any other scheduled bank, as I am on tour at present and, further, it will not be possible for me to return to Bombay in the near future as, besides my tour, there is the matter of the Central Assembly session to be held at Delhi commencing from the 21st January 1946, and lasting till the end of March. In these circumstances, I wish you to please note my inability to comply with the requirements of the Ordinance within the time limit fixed and, I hope, therefore, you will be good enough to note that I will not be in a position to hand over the money to the Reserve Bank or any other scheduled bank , in a formal manner, as required under the Ordinance, till I return to Bombay.

Yours faithfully,
M.A. JINNAH

The Governor,
The Reserve Bank of India,
Fort,
Bombay

451

A. Haye to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/104

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH,
ISLAMIA COLLEGE,
LAHORE,
20 January 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I sent a letter to you on December 12,[1] at your Bombay address, bearing upon a subject of utmost importance in so far as the present provincial election is concerned. But I regret very much to say that I have so far heard nothing whatever from you. Nonetheless, I expect you would kindly let me know your considered views in due course.

2. I have in response to your appeal sent by a separate money order, my humble mite for the Muslim League Fund. Apart from that, I should very much like to offer myself to do some more useful and constructive work for the Muslim League for which I am qualified by virtue of my high academic qualifications, best experience in educational, journalistic, administrative and political affairs and wide and first-hand knowledge of various provinces and places of India and abroad. In this connection, I would love to dedicate my entire life, mind, heart and soul to you and to the Muslim League and would be delighted to come to you at New Delhi to serve you as your Secretary or as organizing Secretary of the Muslim League.[2] You will, I trust, accept my services. I shall give a new impetus to the election campaign throughout India inasmuch as I have already organized students' tours in various parts of this Province.

With the deepest regards , believe me to remain,

Yours most affectionately,
A. HAYE
M.A.

[1]*SHC,* Punjab I/75. Not printed.

[2]Jinnah advised him to do his bit for the success of ML candidates in the Punjab elections and that his future could be considered later. See *SHC,* Punjab I/105.

452

Viqarun-Nisa Noon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/26

65 FALETTI'S HOTEL,
LAHORE,
21 January 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Firoz wants me to let you know that under Section 171C 2(b), IPC, the Punjab Govt. have authorized District Magistrates to launch prosecutions against Muslim Leaguers for undue religious influence in elections. Cutting[1] from the *Tribune* enclosed. But [171] C 2(a) has been excluded because it covers undue influence by public servants who are escaping a year's rigorous imprisonment because the Unionist Govt. will never give that sanction.

Would you like to consider the advisability of approaching the Viceroy on this subject because under Section 196, Criminal Procedure Code, the Governor-General-in-Council cannot authorise the District Magistrate or some [other] judicial officer because the former may be dishonest to sanction prosecutions of Govt. servants.

Firoz has sent a telegram[2] to the Viceroy which will no doubt be reprinted in the *Dawn*. Zakir of the Muslim League office has the original.

We have seen that you intend to move a vote of censure against the Glancy regime here. People from Jhang, Lyallpur [now Faisalabad] and Shahpur could come to Delhi to coach [*sic*] Muslim League speakers. While censuring the Govt. of the Punjab, could you not ask for an enquiry into their criminal offences under Section 171, I.P.C.?

Firoz dictated all these law points while still in bed and now he has already left for Lyallpur. I was hoping that he would go to Rawalpindi because they want him there too but deputation after deputation arrived when they heard that he intended to [defer] his Lyallpur tour and now he just had to go. I hope all will be well in Rawalpindi. I think so. We are having a big women's meeting there on the 26th, arranged by Lahore ladies like Fatima Begum, [Salma] Tassaduq and a number of others. This will be my introduction to my husband's lady voters. I shall stay there and see that women in Rawalpindi will help at the polling stations.

Gosh, I wish those elections were over. It was lovely seeing you.

Kindest regards from Firoz to Miss Jinnah and you,
With all the best,

Yours sincerely,
VICKY NOON

[1]See *SHC*, Punjab IV/28. Not printed.
[2]Annex.

Annex to No. 452
Firoz Khan Noon to Archibald Wavell

Telegram, SHC, Punjab IV/29

LAHORE,
21 January 1946

Punjab Government has empowered District Magistrates to sanction prosecutions of persons for inducing voters under threats of divine displeasure to vote for Muslim League under Section 171C 2(b), Indian Penal Code, but omitted similar Section 171C 2(a) under which public servants and others can be punished for undue influence. Under Section 196, Original Procedure Code, District Magistrates can only be delegated this power by the Governor-General-in-Council. If Governor-General-in-Council has empowered Punjab District Magistrates in this matter I pray Governor-General-in-Council to similarly empower Punjab District Magistrates under the whole section and not only one portion which is expected to help one political party who are guilty of unprecedented lawlessness in election matters. In case Governor-General-in-Council has not empowered Punjab District Magistrates, but it is only Provincial Government which has given this power under adaptations of Indian Laws Order 1937, then this action of Provincial Government is illegal as the order deals only with rrmal [*sic* for formal] adaptations and modifications and cannot override the pre-existing law as held in *All India Reports* 1941, Lahore, [page] 182, Full Bench *Indian Law Reports*, 1943, Lahore, page 461, upheld by Federal Court judgement. Further power to sanction prosecutions must lodge in Commissioners and not District Magistrates who are open partisans of Unionist Party.

FIROZ KHAN NOON

453

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind VII/43

KARACHI,
21 January 1946

You took action against those who worked against League candidate. Yusuf, Khuhro and his friends worked against me openly. I have ample evidence to that effect. I have kept you informed from time to time. You also know of his attitude. He is ruining whole League for his personal ends.

GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

454

Husain Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/107

MIAN CHANNU, MULTAN,
21 January 1946

Dear Sir,

I am much pleased to say that there has been a wonderful awakening among the people of the Punjab on account of the recent propaganda of the Muslim League workers, and there were sure signs of the success of the League candidates in the election too in the far-off *'ilaqas* like Mian Channu, even populated by the most backward zamindars but I am extremely sorry to say that much harm has been done to the prospects of success of the League candidates by the inadvertence [*sic*] and short-sightedness of some of the members of the Parliamentary Board as is explained at length in the editorial of the *Zamindar* of the 20th January dealing with the Amritsar Municipality elections. Here in Khanewal Tehsil, District Multan, Budhan Shah, the League candidate had, according to the agreement with Maher Chiragh Din Dullu, written on the first page of the holy *Qur'an* promising not to contest the elections in favour [*sic*] of Maher Chirag Din, but later on in spite of his remonstrances against his (Budhan Shah's) selection by the

Parliamentary Board, because of the said agreement, he was very unwisely selected for the purpose on the ground that he and Maher Chiragh Din had no right to decide the issue between them. The result of this sacrilegious act of the Board is that the Muslims are at a loss to understand as to whether or not, they should support Budhan Shah who by his agreeing to the selection has backed out and given a right cause for resentment to the people who say that they care more for the agreement on the *Qur'an* than for anybody else in the world.

Would you kindly help us out of the difficulty by your guidance in the matter? An early reply will highly oblige the undersigned.

Yours truly,
HUSAIN BAKHSH
Propaganda Secretary, Anjuman Islah-ul-Muslimeen

455

K. N. Cariappa to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims II/120

6 ALBUQUERQUE ROAD, NEW DELHI,
21 January 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It would give me very great pleasure if you will dine with me on Friday, 25th January, at 8:15 p.m.

I would very much like to talk to you again, on the subject we discussed the other evening at your house—if I may—when you come to dine with me.[1]

With very best regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. N. CARIAPPA

[1]Jinnah expressed his inability to accept the invitation because of pressure of work. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims II/124. Not printed.

456

Abdul Bari to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/32

LYALLPUR [FAISALABAD],
23 January 1946

Dear Sir,

I take the liberty of sending herewith a few glaring instances of official interference in elections. These pertain only to the District of Lyallpur. A detailed account of what has been going on in this District was compiled to be presented to the members of the Parliamentary Delegation and this forms Annexure B.[1] I would earnestly request you to carefully peruse the subject matter of the annexures and do all that is constitutionally possible to help us. Our immediate objective is that the officers who are the worst offenders in this connection should not be appointed as presiding or polling officers as this is likely to prejudice us extremely at the polling booths. I may also incidentally mention that criminal complaints are also going to be filed against the offending officials.

Hoping to be favoured with a reply,

Yours truly,
ABDUL BARI
President, District Muslim League

[1]Not traceable.

457

A. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind VII/44

TANDO MOHAMMAD KHAN,
23 January 1946

G. M. Sayed brought Sheikh Abdul Majid, Moula Baksh, Nihchaldas [to] work against Mir Hussain Baksh Talpur.[1] G. M. Sayed using entire League machinery. He is in open revolt against you and the [ML] organization.

DOCTOR KHAN
President, City League, Karachi

[1]Yusuf Haroon informed Jinnah on 24 January 1946 that he had arrived with friends in Tando Mohammad Khan to provide support to ML candidate Mir Hussain Bakhsh Talpur in the face of G. M. Sayed's opposition. See *SHC*, Sind VII/47. Not printed.

458

Abdur Rashid Arshad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/49

BACHRA BUILDING,
TANDO WALI MOHAMMAD,
HYDERABAD, SIND,
26 January 1946

Long Live Our Beloved Quaid-i-Azam!

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

It is very kind of you, my dear Sir, that you replied to me a few days back. I would have replied earlier, but due to Sind Assembly elections I could not reply to your honour. What a pity, Sir! Kindly see the foolishness of Shahmir Kachhi, who withdrew in favour of the traitor G. M. Sayed.

Dear Sir, I pray to God that He may be kind enough to give mental equilibrium to Sindhi Muslims who don't realise the critical condition of the present times.

The unity of the Hindus can be seen by the incident of the election of Mavalankar, and unity cannot be achieved among Muslims except for the vast propaganda of the League.

The Sindh elections are over, and the results will be announced shortly on 28th. We can't say what will happen, but in Hindu circles the Congress Ministry is a certainty. In my opinion, official League will secure 30 seats. If G. M. Sayed would have been with the League, it was crystal clear [*sic*] to secure cent per cent success.

Though the result of Sir Ghulam Hussain is out, and G. M. Sayed's nominee, Mr. G. R. Bhurgri, forfeits his deposit, and it is a good omen, but, Sir, it is a rumour here that if K. B. Moula Bakhsh wins, the serious blot [*sic*] of Congress Ministry on the face of Sindhi Muslims seems clear.

Now the major questions are the following: as K. B. Khuhro, Yusuf Haroon and some other Leaguers have worked against Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Hindus of Sind are trying their best to form a Congress Ministry under Sir Ghulam Hussain. There was a question asked from you, Sir, in the paper *Sind Observer* of today and it is only to divide the foolish Sindhi Muslims more and more.

The question was to let us see what the Quaid-i-Azam does against K. B. Khuhro, who has plainly canvassed against Sir Ghulam Hussain.

Hindu papers are inciting Sir Sahib to come out of the League and help them in forming the Congress *Raj* in Sindh.

Respected Sir, this is a critical time now; I shall request you to very kindly send a big leader of Muslim League in Sind, at the time of the formation of a Ministry, so that we people may be saved. God bless Sindhi Muslims. I hope you will certainly do the needful and oblige.

Moreover, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru came here in Sindh, he stressed that humanly [*sic*] treatment should be meted out to the Hurs, and he favoured [*sic*] so much that we Muslims wondered at the changing mentality and now the other Sindhi Congress leaders are following [suit].

Sir, this is also a very far-reaching scheme, and these Hindus are trying their best to get the sympathy of the Hurs for the Congress. So, Sir, I must inform and request you most humbly to kindly look into the matter, and kindly try to favour the poor and downtrodden Hurs so that they may not be inclined to the other party, Congress. Hurs were no more criminal than these so-called Indian National Army people, who are released, and the Government is favouring them. It is a pity that Hurs are Muslims. So kindly keep in view this fact and programme also.

Today it was Independence Day in Hyderabad, Sind, which shows of greater show [*sic*] but less substance. We gazed [*sic*] only six *moulvis* in the procession, wearing Congress badges and *khadi* dresses, and the procession was the combination of half of the girls, and these girls were raising tiny slogans to proceed to Delhi and achieve independence of India [*sic*].

I earnestly hope you will be kind enough in giving me suitable advice and guidance for the advancement of the League, and desire and wish that I should serve you Sir, which is my earnest desire, but beloved Quaid-i-Azam, serving the community means serving you.

I earnestly pray to God that He may grant you long life and ever-increasing prosperity to serve the downtrodden Muslim nation to lead them to their birthright, Pakistan.

With best respects and regards,

Yours most obediently,
MAKHDUM ABDUR RASHID ARSHAD

PS. Punjabis are more decent people than Sindhis. Kindly help the Punjab League in winning elections and throwing Malik Khizar Hayat Khan.
I had dropped your honour a letter on 15th at Lahore, but no reply to that yet, Sir! Sardar Patel is coming here in Sind for misguiding Muslim MLAs.

459

I. I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P II/116

ABID HOUSE, LAMINGTON ROAD,
BOMBAY,
26 January 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

There is an urgent need of an English weekly in this Province to carry on the Muslim League point of view and to carry on its propaganda among the English knowing public. Various schemes were considered from time to time for starting an English weekly or daily from Bombay. Of the several schemes placed before you, you were good enough to give your name as a founder to an English weekly which may be looked after by a committee consisting of Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Mr. Abdul Kader Shaikh and Mr. Thariani. Some time later, a suggestion was made to include Mr. Sadik also in this committee and you accepted that suggestion. We formed a committee of these four persons to start an English weekly from Bombay. All the four members agreed to join the committee before you left. After your departure, I tried to get in touch with them. After great difficulty, I could get Mr. Thariani and Mr. Sadik at my place and both of them ultimately expressed their unwillingness to go ahead with the scheme. My first reaction was that Mr. Thariani was probably unwilling to go ahead with Mr. Sadik on the committee. When Mr. Sadik also declined to remain on the committee I got in touch with Mr. Thariani again and requested him to continue, now that Mr. Sadik had already declined to remain on the committee. Even then, Mr. Thariani did not agree. It appears that he wanted to start the paper as a business and did not like the clause empowering you to take over the paper whenever you chose. The position then was that only myself and Mr. Abdul Kader Shaikh were willing to go ahead. It may be mentioned that Mr. Thariani had at an earlier stage agreed to all the details of the enterprise. He agreed to engage Mr. Matlub H. Sayed as the Editor on Rs. 400 per month. He agreed to get the paper printed at the British India Press at the rates quoted by them with such reduction as we could secure through some channels. He had agreed to take up an office which was available. He suggested the name of a furniture merchant from whom he could purchase the requisite articles. The plans having proceeded so far and Mr. Matlub having been already engaged and authority having been

given to Mr. Matlub to engage the staff to assist him, we find ourselves in a very serious predicament. All the necessary staff is engaged by now.

The British India Press is one of the largest printing presses in Bombay and it has been purchased by the Mullaji Saheb and it appears that there are some partners in that concern. Mr. Yusuf Faizullabhai is one of them and is appointed the Managing Director of the Press. We have decided to take up Mr. Faizullabhai as a third member of the committee subject to your approval.

We have already started work and have incurred an expenditure of more than Rs. 2000. Mr. Matlub has been engaged as an Editor and the other staff has been engaged and even the material for the first issue.

I enclose herewith another letter on the lines suggested by you at Bombay and I hope to receive from you a reply on the lines mentioned by you.

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR

Enclosure to No. 459
I. I. Chundrigar & Abdul Kader Shaikh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P & P II/117

ABID HOUSE, LAMINGTON ROAD,
BOMBAY,
26 January 1946

Sir,

The Muslim League organization suffers a very great handicap for want of an English medium through which it can carry its message to both the English reading public and Government quarters. With a view to overcoming this handicap, we have decided to start an English weekly from Bombay.

We were aware that you intend to start an English daily from Bombay in the near future and we also feel that the starting of this weekly will clear the ground for the starting of an English daily. We have, therefore, decided to start it on the following conditions which were discussed with you by Mr. Chundrigar:

i. That we the undersigned will contribute in equal shares whatever capital is necessary for starting this English weekly, which will be named the *Star*.
ii. With a view to facilitating your plans for the starting of an English daily from Bombay and with a view that this weekly *Star* may be conveniently developed into an English daily in near future, it is

agreed that you will be the sole proprietor of the *Star* and that it will be open to you at any time to take over this weekly from us.

iii. During the period that we run the paper, we shall be responsible for any loss that may be occasioned by the running of this paper and we shall take whatever profit is made during that period.

iv. It is, however, distinctly agreed that should this weekly prove a profitable venue [*sic* for venture], we will not charge you any goodwill, but will accept from you the value of the assets on the date of your taking over at cost price.

v. That you will please give your name as the founder of this paper.

We have taken up an office for this newspaper at 16-18 Old Customs House Road, and have engaged the Editor and other necessary staff and have also made arrangements for printing this newspaper at the British India Press. We are now merely awaiting your benedictions to bring out the first issue and we request you to send us your inspiring message for starting this weekly.

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR
ABDUL KADER SHAIKH

460

N.M. Abdul Samad Marikar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 588/216

TRINCOMALEE,
27 January 1946

Our most revered leader,

I have great honour in bringing to your honour's notice that the mass meeting convened by the Trincomalee Jinnah's Birthday Celebration Committee to celebrate your 70th birthday on 25-12-1945, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

i. That this mass meeting of the Trincomalee Muslims resolves that All India Muslim League is the only representative of all Indian Muslims.

ii. That this meeting resolves that Pakistan is the goal of the Muslims of India.

iii. That this mass meeting resolves that the Muslims of India have full confidence in the leadership of *Janab* Mohammad Ali Jinnah and in his declared policy to create a Muslim India—Pakistan.

iv. That this mass meeting resolves to raise subscriptions among the

Muslims of Trincomalee for forwarding to the leader of Muslims of India, a humble contribution of the Muslims of Trincomalee towards the All India Muslim League expenses.

v. That this mass meeting of Muslims prays to Almighty *Allah* to shower on *Janab* Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the uncrowned king of Muslims of all India, His choicest blessings to bless him with long life and happiness and help him to realize his ambition of life —Pakistan.

I beg further to enclosed herewith draft for Rs. 400 as the contribution raised.

I am, Sir,

Your humble brother in Islam,
N. M. ABDUL SAMAD MARIKAR
President,
Jinnah Birthday Committee

461

Mian Amiruddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 224/7-8

PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE,
MACLEOD ROAD,
LAHORE,

28 January 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The amount given by you has been spent as I told you on the phone. Kindly send a further sum of rupees one lakh by cheque in the name of Financial Secretary, Punjab Provincial Muslim League, per bearer.

In some constituencies official and police pressure is becoming too much but let us [hope] that, by the grace of God Almighty the public will rise to the occasion.

I hope Dr. Sir Ziauddin has arranged for the release of Punjabi students of the Aligarh Engineering College.

We are now concentrating on Nawab of Mamdot's constituency by way of propaganda. Let us hope for the better. A group of *'ulama* have [*sic*] been despatched this evening.

With the best of wishes,

Yours to command,
AMIRUDDIN

462

A. H. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 959/12

SIND MUSLIM COLLEGE,
KARACHI,
28 January 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am very sorry I could not request you earlier than this for a message[1] from you for our college magazine as I had been very busy in connection with provincial election work. I shall feel very much obliged if you kindly send us your message at your earliest convenience. The magazine will be out by early next month.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. H. SIDDIQI
Principal

[1]See Annex.

Annex to No. 462
Message by M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/13

I am very glad to know that the Sind Muslim College Magazine is making its first appearance shortly. In a national institution like the Sind Muslim College, which aims chiefly at moulding the younger Muslim generation according to the traditions of Islam and giving them a training conforming to the heritage that we Muslims are proud of, the Magazine has, no doubt, to play an important role. It has undertaken to shoulder a responsibility, which is both immense and delicate. It has to wend its way through difficult channels and hostile surroundings, but I have no doubt that this task the Magazine will carry to a successful finish and look upon itself proudly for doing its bit in the reshaping the Sind Muslim youth, who are destined to play an important part in the Muslim national renaissance in India.

I wish the venture of the Sind Muslim College in bringing out the Magazine all success.

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Syed Wajid Ali to President Orissa ML Parliamentary Board
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Bihar I/107

CUTTACK,
ORISSA,
28 January 1946

Dear Sir,

As it was with great difficulty and sacrifice that I could organise the Muslim League and the Muslim League Defence Committee in Orissa after spending several hundreds of rupees from my pocket and touring over a major part of the province during peace time and not in the Assembly election period, it pains me much to find the present disruptive move among the Muslims in Orissa over the ensuing election.

If the present Board wants to maintain the unity of the Muslims in Orissa and serve the Muslim League properly, I, a Leaguer from its very inception, would like to tender my humble advice to the Parliamentary Board not to ignore any constituency and to allow League ticket to one candidate resident in each constituency and in the case of two districts or two sub-divisions forming one constituency, allow League ticket to one candidate resident in each district or sub-division alternatively.

I think if League tickets are allowed on the above basis, it will remove all suspicion and heart-burning and there will be no disruption in the Muslim camp.

The candidate's chief qualification should be sincerity of purpose for the Muslim community, *qaumparasti* and his ability to move and protect Muslim cause in the Assembly and command respect from its members and others.

Yours sincerely,
SYED WAJID ALI
Ex-Chairman,
Orissa Muslim League Defence Committee

464

M. A. Jinnah to Mian Amiruddin

F. 224/4

29 January 1946

Dear Mr. Amiruddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of 28th January,[1] delivered to me by

Mr. Abdul Latif, Assistant Office Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. Having regard to the claims of other provinces, I have to be careful in giving financial help to the province of the Punjab from the Central Fund, but, since you have pressed me and realizing the urgency— although I feel that the Punjab Provincial League ought to have taken steps long ago to raise sufficient funds to meet the requirements of your province—I am sending you a cheque for rupees fifty thousand as a loan to the Punjab Provincial Muslim League to be paid back as soon as possible.

Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

K. B. Mian Amiruddin,
Punjab Provincial Muslim League,
Lahore

[1]No. 461.

465

Muhammad A. Memon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VII/51

WADHAN-JO-PIR,
HYDERABAD, SIND,
30 January 1946

My dear Jinnah,

I do not know how you would take this humble view of mine of the Sind politics. I am personally giving vent to my pent-up emotions and spirited sentiments, which are diffused [*sic*] with the League's awakening, in this humble letter of mine.

I being an advocate and acquainted with the masses and the politics of Sind, feel and strong [ly] feel that your respected self and Liaquat Ali Khan are absolutely misguided by K. B. Khuhro, who according to me is a very ambitious, vain and uncompromising [*sic*]. I have toured through the whole of Sind in connection with Sind Assembly elections and have come in contact with the Muslim masses, while carrying on the Muslim League propaganda. Believe [me] when I

write that I am personally so much disappointed in the results of the Assembly elections that hardly can we expect the Muslim League Ministry. It is, no doubt, a disgrace and a matter of shame for the Muslims of Sind not to have returned the official Muslim League candidates in spite of our hard and vehement propaganda.

The official candidates who are again returned have a slippery element and we will further be desperate if they give a go-back to the Muslim League for the sake of some inducements [*sic*]. I would not hesitate in saying that the sole cause of this disruption is K. B. Khuhro.

In the present circumstances I would humbly suggest that if Liaquat Ali Khan comes over to Karachi to patch up all the differences of the warring elements in the League, the League Ministry will once again be in its bloom.

We, all educated and respectable men, will do our utmost to reconcile all and make them stand on one platform. It may look an uphill task, but then nothing is impossible and difficult in Sind.

I know that you are being handicapped in your schemes by the so-called Muslim Leaguers and who are only time servers.

I don't want to waste your precious time but in the end would appeal to your sense of patriotism to come to our rescue and guide us along this thorny path.

Praying for your long life and success to your schemes and programmes,

I remain,
Sincerely yours,
MUHAMMAD A. MEMON
Advocate

466

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 458/43-4
[*Extract*]

3 WELLESLEY, 1ST LANE,
CALCUTTA,
31 January 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Bengal is overjoyed to learn of your expected visit to us about the

17th of February and we are receiving enquiries from all over asking us for details. I have received your orders not to make any arrangements until you arrive, not even in Calcutta. The news however of your arrival has thrilled Bengal to such an extent that the possibility that you may not visit even a few of the principal cities has caused deep dejection. The Nawabzada got some indication of the fervour which the Muslim League and your personality have aroused in the minds of the people and he probably will be able to tell you how anxious the people here are to express their devotion and loyalty to you. In order to spare you as much inconvenience as possible I had made the following suggestions to him.

[*Part of the para omitted*]

....There are some big cities that you could be pleased to visit such as Dacca, officially second capital of Bengal, Mymensingh (the principal seat of the biggest Muslim district), Comilla which is set in the heart of a Muslim area, Chittagong otherwise known as the Islamabad and nearer Calcutta, Khulna and Barisal. The tour could be so arranged as also to give you a river trip which is very bracing and for this we could arrange to charter a special launch and pleasure boat. The enthusiasm however is so great that it is expected that there will be a concourse of anything between 6 to 10 lakhs of people at each of the places that you may visit....

[*Rest of the para omitted*]

The tour will be quite leisurely so as to put on you as little strain as possible. It is not our purpose that you should visit Bengal or its cities as an electioneering programme. It will be a tour only to give the people a chance to see you which they are most anxious to do....

[*Rest of the para omitted*]

I have explained the matter also to Mr. Syed Hossain Imam and to Sir Hassan Suhrawardy who is flying back to Delhi with this letter.

With feelings of utmost devotion and loyalty.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY

Secretary, Bengal Provincial Muslim League

Parliamentary Board

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Khaliquzzaman & Amir Haider Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/65

LUCKNOW,
1 February 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You will kindly remember that one of us, namely Ch. Khaliquzzaman, had requested you some time ago to help us in setting up a machinery to fight against the activities of the Shia Political Conference, and to help Shia candidates set up on League ticket and you had very kindly expressed your agreement with the idea. Now the time has come for that help, for Mr. Ali Zaheer is going to contest the election from Lucknow with the sole idea of helping the Congress, which is supporting a Sunni Board candidate against the League. This is not going to affect the local election but in a measure all the Shia candidates set up by the Muslim League in the province. The Provincial League Parliamentary Board is financially helping some Shia candidates, but further assistance is required in view of the serious emergency. We shall be obliged if you will kindly send us Rs. 15,000 in all for the work. We shall spend the amount after our joint consultation and submit an account to you.

Yours sincerely,
KHALIQUZZAMAN
M. AMIR HAIDER KHAN

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M. A. Khuhro & Yusuf Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1133/12

KARACHI,
1 February 1946

Yusuf arrived; received telegram; have summoned party meeting sixth February. Ghulam Hussain contemplates forming ministry earlier without getting party decision. Kindly wire Ghulam Hussain desist [from] doing so; must act constitutionally, and please issue statement directing Ghulam Hussain, Khuhro convene party meeting sixth to

elect office bearers and ministry formation, also prohibiting League members taking any steps before party decision. Wire reply.

M. A. KHUHRO
YUSUF HAROON

469

M. A. Jinnah to Khaliquzzaman & Amir Haider Khan

SHC, UP IV/66

2 February 1946

Dear Mr. Khaliquzzaman,

I have received your letter[1] signed jointly by you and M. Amir Haider Khan, and I beg to inform you that I have already only yesterday given a cheque for rupees fifty thousand to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan on behalf of the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board, to be utilized mainly for your Province, particularly in the matter of supplying lorries. You can very well understand that it is not possible for me to deal with one or two constituencies and dole out money and keep accounts in that way. If you need any more help, I suggest that you should really approach the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board, who are working jointly, and you must remember that there are other provinces and other demands and claims, which are pouring in for help from the Central Fund, and, therefore, I hope that you will appreciate that rupees fifty thousand already given from the Central Fund is not a small sum for U.P.

Hoping you are both well and wish you all luck, and I am confident that you will win notwithstanding all the difficulties that are facing us.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman Sahib
Mr. Amir Haider Khan
Lucknow

[1]No. 467.

470

M. A. Jinnah to I. I. Chundrigar & Abdul Kader Shaikh

SHC, P&P II/119

2 February 1946

Dear Mr. Chundrigar,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th January,[1] and the offer made by Mr. Abdul Kader Shaikh and yourself, and the undertaking embodied therein which is enclosed with your letter. On these terms, I have no objection to your using my name as a founder of the English weekly *Star*, which you propose to establish, but I shall not be responsible in any other way for the management, control and administration of this venture.

I am also enclosing a message for *Star* on a separate sheet.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mr. I. I. Chundrigar
Mr. Abdul Kader Shaikh
Bombay

[1]No. 459.

Enclosure to No. 470
Message by M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P II/120

The inauguration of the *Star* at this critical juncture, when Muslim India has unequivocally registered its emphatic and unflinching support to the creed, policy and programme of the All India Muslim League, is a welcome step forward inasmuch as you assure me that the *Star* will stand for the organisation and guidance of the Muslim opinion and will support the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League. The appearance of the *Star* as a weekly may constitute a step in the direction of founding a first-class English daily from the Province of Bombay in the very near future, and I do hope that the *Star* will voice the sentiments of Muslim India faithfully, sincerely and fearlessly. I wish your venture every success.

471

Habib to K. H. Khurshid

F. 784/170-1

LAHORE,
3 February 1946

My dear Khurshid,

Many thanks for your kind letter.[1]

I am grateful for the sentiments you have expressed in your letter and I hope you will always be so nice and kind to me.

I returned on the 31st evening from Mamdot's constituency. Myself, Minhas and Khurshid had a whirlwind tour of the whole constituency for one week. I am sure that Nawab Sahib will be elected. It is as contesting as Kazmi-Nawabzada election. One thing which we have particularly noticed is that the message of the League has reached even the remotest villages. We saw people who knew Pakistan, League and Quaid-i-Azam. They think that the League wants to establish a Muslim State, and about Quaid-i-Azam they think that he is some big *Moulvi* who has a long beard and is very religious. Villagers are very anxious to see him. They don't know his name but remember him as Quaid-i-Azam. The most touching scene we noticed was in a village where we went with a green flag; the villagers followed us and then an old man of eighty years came forward and kissed the flag and burst into tears. He told us that he is offering prayers daily for the success of the League and Quaid-i-Azam. He told us that he was threatened by the *zaildar* to vote for the Unionists, but he bluntly refused him on the plea that if he voted against League his *eiman* would be in danger. Religion is very strong in villages and we exploited the latest order of Punjab Govt. of "divine threat" and it has helped us much. At certain places young villagers questioned us when *jihad* would be declared. They were anxious to make sacrifices. I feel that the League should take some steps after elections, otherwise it would have terrible effect on the masses who were awakened now. One thing is certain that the League message has reached the innocent villagers. The flag also attracts them. I will again be going tomorrow for a few days to Nawab Sahib's constituency. More in my next [letter].

With love,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB

[1]Not traceable.

472

Amiruddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 224/5-6

BAROODKHANA STREET,
LAHORE,
4 February 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thanks for the cheque for rupees fifty thousand. I am keeping it in reserve. Our prospects in Punjab are quite bright. Today the Election Commissioner, Mr. Macdonald, told me that the Muslim League is sure to capture sixty seats.[1] Of course we are expecting more by the grace of God. In some of the constituencies the prospects are quite unexpectedly hopeful. Our only anxiety is about Nawab of Mamdot, but we are trying our best about it and let us hope for the better. There is more religious zeal throughout rural Punjab and the Muslim masses are defying official pressure and repression which are proving a blessing in disguise.

Trusting this will find you in the best of health and hoping to be excused for not writing you earlier on account of pressure of work.

I remain,
Yours to command,
AMIRUDDIN

[1]The Muslim League captured 74 seats. One Muslim returned as independent who later joined M.L. raising the number to 75. See Enclosure to No. 544, para 3, *TP*, VI, 1231.

473

T. S. Abdur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (887)

ALLEPPEY,
4 February 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Excuse me if [*sic*] I take the liberty of encroaching on your valuable time.

In South India there are lakhs of Musalmans whose mother language [*sic* for tongue] is Tamil. I regret much to point out that there is not a

single Tamil Muslim daily to represent our cause while the Hindu Congress capitalists have a large number of dailies, besides weeklies and monthlies. You will fully realise the importance of a daily for us, and so I do not wish to write anything about it.

What a great pity that our cause is not only misrepresented but also mocked at. The Congress, Mahasabhaite and Communist propagandists try their level best to destroy the solidarity of our people. More quislings are being created. Here Muslims are downtrodden in every sphere, especially in the field of journalism.

In this Province, we Muslims have only a few weeklies and monthlies which are not worth [the] name. Financially they are not well-established.

In the Congress press Muslim news is completely shut out or misrepresented. The All India Muslim League is abused of being a stone in the way of Indian freedom. In spite of all these [*sic*] malicious, mischievous and dishonest propaganda of the Congress, the entire Muslim population is behind the All India Muslim League. All efforts are carried on by the Hindus in the name of nationalism to destroy the solidarity of Muslim masses. In the name of freedom, they do immense harm to our masses. They do not fail to use even the most dishonest way to misrepresent the Muslim League. Money bags are freely opened [*sic*] to purchase quislings and not a single column is given for the League news in their press. Everything against the Muslim League captures the first page. Especially, the mis[leading] propaganda of the Congress at this time of elections has reached the height of falsehood. In short, we South Indian Muslims need a Tamil daily of our own.

Due to the mis[leading] propaganda of the enemies, rivalry and selfishness have spread in many branches of the All India Muslim League, which must be completely shut out [*sic*]. Besides the Congressmen, the quislings who are employed by the Congress are doing the worst harm to our nation. To clean[se] our organisation of rivalry and selfishness, to abolish [*sic*] the quislings from our nation and to defeat the Hindu Congress propaganda, we must have a daily [newspaper].

I do not forget [*sic*] the difficulties in bringing out a daily, especially now-a-days. But necessary steps must be taken by the Presidency Leaguers, who are the best judge of the affairs of Muslims in this Province. Your word will work miracles among the masses.

So I earnestly request you to advise the Presidency League leaders to take necessary steps in this matter.

This is my painful voice, as of lakhs of Tamil-speaking Muslims of this Province, which I hope will receive your sympathetic attention.

Yours sincerely,
T. S. ABDUR RAHMAN

474

Abdul Aziz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab II/12

61 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
5 February 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The judgment in Captain Rashid's case[1] is a big surprise for the Muslims of India. Capt. Shah Nawaz was found guilty of abetment of murder and waging war. He was only cashiered.

The sentence passed on Capt. Rashid has created an impression that the Commander-in-Chief showed preferential treatment to Shah Nawaz and others on account of the pressure of Congress agitation. This impression should be removed, if possible. The matter now rests with you. I am sure you will do whatever you can. Capt. Rashid deserves full sympathy.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL AZIZ KHAN
Advocate

[1]Captain Abdul Rashid was an officer of the so-called Indian National Army. He was tried by a court-martial for offences against the military law and sentenced by the Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army, to rigorous imprisonment for seven years.

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J. P. Srivastava to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/29

1 HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
6 February 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you have agreed to my request to associate the Muslim League with the proposed Food Delegation to London and Washington. I shall be very grateful, in that case, if you will kindly send me the name of the gentleman whom you are nominating.[1]

I wanted to see you personally, but I am unfortunately indisposed and confined to my room.

I shall be grateful for an early reply.

Yours sincerely,
J. P. SRIVASTAVA
Member, Viceroy's Executive Council

[1]See No. 480.

476

M. Imam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 588/332

ABUL AAS LANE,
BANKIPUR, PATNA,
6 February 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The sentence of imprisonment passed on Capt. Abdul Rashid has a lesson for us. The first batch of the I.N.A. men was set free because the Govt. feared unpleasant consequences. Capt. Abdul Rashid has been sentenced to imprisonment because the Govt. feels it can thus save the prestige it lost on previous occasion without fear of unpleasant consequences. I remember how seventeen years ago Musalmans held meetings and demonstrations all over the country to have separate electorate and they got it. Before that the Hindus got the partition of Bengal annulled. A settled fact was unsettled by their indomitable will to resist. These should serve as fingerposts to us. Let us not be content with expressing our will unmistakably through the ballot-box. With the ballot-box ends our fight against the Congress war of disruption. We now face the British. Before their Govt. makes any definite declaration next April, let us agitate on a scale we have not done before. Let them feel the weight of our opinion now. Our agitation can take the form of demonstrations, processions and meetings. Let us take out everyday in every town and in every village processions in small batches declaring with one voice our determination to achieve Pakistan. Slogans, such as, Pakistan *ley key rahaingey*, etc., would help to steel our will to resist any imposition by the British Govt. We should begin to whip up public opinion from now. Let us take no rest till we have achieved Pakistan. It is true we may have to face bullets if we do so. But loss of a few lives would not be too high a price. It would certainly be incomparably

smaller than the price we shall have to pay if we were to resort to direct action as a result of the British Govt. rejecting our demand of Pakistan. It is easier to settle an unsettled fact than to unsettle a settled fact.

Quaid-i-Azam, the time to act is now. Every moment is precious. The *millat* waits for your word of command.

Yours truly,

M. IMAM

PS. Kindly accept the humble sum of rupees ten being sent herewith through a cheque.

477

M. A. Jinnah to H. S. Suhrawardy

F. 458/46-7

7 February 1946

Dear Mr. Suhrawardy,

Your letter of the 31st January[1] was delivered to me personally by Sir Hassan Suhrawardy and I thank you for it. I have already sent you a wire on the 5th February as follows:

> Your letter delivered Sir Hassan. Regret unable commit any programme till I reach Calcutta. Will explain difficulties.

I would like to avoid any procession in Calcutta, but I shall be glad to address a public meeting, which you may arrange not the same day when I arrive but the next day.

As regards my going to some big cities, I am very sorry I cannot commit myself to any programme. But after my arrival at Calcutta, I shall consider what to do in the matter. I am sure you understand how much anxious I am to see our people as much as I can. But there are many reasons why I cannot go through this terrific strain of touring different parts of Bengal. Believe me, I have been far from well for some considerable time, but still I am carrying on and doing my bit and unreservedly placing myself where my presence is most essential. However, on my arrival there, I shall see how much I can do to satisfy our people consistently with my indifferent health and without discriminating by going to certain places and refusing to go to others. I quite understand that you don't want me to undertake a whirlwind tour of Bengal in connection with the electioneering campaign nor will my programme be fixed for that purpose. In any case I shall be in

Calcutta for a sufficiently long time to consider the various suggestions that you have made and see what we can do in the matter. Mr. Hossain Imam and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan both discussed this matter with me, but you know I am not far wrong, having regard to my past experience, that such programmes are entirely upset by our people and they do not work. I have experience of people making the programme by themselves when they find me in their midst, and there have been numerous instances where I have been dangerously mobbed, no doubt, out of regard and affection for me.

However, this matter will be discussed at Calcutta when I am there. Thanking you again, and please let me know definitely when you do want me at Calcutta. I shall be ready to leave Delhi during the next week, six or seven days hence, say about the 13th or 14th of February.

Hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 466.

478

M. H. Ron to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/125

10 NAZARBAGH, LUCKNOW,
8 February 1946

Dear Sir,

I do realise that it would be almost impossible for you to spare a single minute but as you are the only ardent champion of freedom for minorities, I beg leave to apprise you of the conditions prevailing in the United Provinces regarding the Indian Christian elections to the U.P. legislature, in the hope that you would guide the community at such a critical juncture of Indian history so that it may not fall into the trap of the Congress.

There are four candidates standing for the legislature, Messrs Dharam Dass and Simon are standing on the Congress tickets and Messrs Phillips and David on Independent tickets.

The Congress has started its usual blackmailing and political bribery and men like Pandit Jawaharlal have started open interference by

issuing statements in support of those adopted sons of the Congress. I enclose a copy of Pandit Nehru's statement for ready reference.[1]

It is therefore my fervent appeal to you to kindly advise the Indian Christians and save them from the political degradation which is the lot of so many who have slipped into the shoes of the Congress. The community will hear you.

With best wishes,

Yours obediently,
M. H. RON

[1]Not traceable.

479

Ali M. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 939/14

167 MIDDLEMARCH ROAD,
COVENTRY,
ENGLAND,
8 February 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I thank you for your kind letter dated 14th December, 1945.[1]

I note that you have not received *Pakistan* although it was dispatched by air. In future I will send you everything [by] registered [post].

Unfortunately I fell very ill and so I could not do what I wanted to do; still I continued the League work in the state of illness.

The affiliation papers have been dispatched, by air, to you. Kindly let me know by air if anything else this branch has to supply to you in connection with the affiliation.

Both copies of *Pakistan* have been dispatched to you along with the affiliation papers.

The election results of Assam and Sind[2] are disturbing. I pray to *Allah* to help you to lead us successfully through this storm of *Kufr*.

With prayers for your long life,

I remain,

Yours respectfully,
ALI M. KHAN

PS. I am forwarding herewith[3] an important decision of the Working Committee of this Branch and beg to ask you if it could amend sub-rule (a) of the constitution. I think it could, if it was given the status of a Provincial League.

[1]No. 351.
[2]In Assam, the Muslim League captured 31 out of 34 Muslim seats and in Sind 28 out of 33 Muslim and 2 special interest seats. See No. 527, *TP*, VI, 1192-4.
[3]See F. 939/15, *QAP*. Not printed.

480

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 310/40

CONFIDENTIAL

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
8 February 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Yesterday, late in the evening at 6:30, I had a telephone call from Mr. Somerset Butler of the Food Department, Delhi, telling me that you had kindly suggested my name for the Food Delegation that is leaving Karachi on Friday the 15th instant. I asked Mr. Butler to name the members of the Delegation to which he replied that the Muslim League will have two representatives, namely myself and Mr. Habib Rahimtoola, and the Government will be represented by Sir J. P. Srivastava as leader, Sir Theodore Gregory, Sir Robert Hutchins, Sir Goarwalla from Bombay, Sir Ramamurti from Madras and one from Mysore. The Congress was non-cooperative. The Government of India wanted to give a popular colour to their deputation by asking the popular parties to join the deputation.

You have decided that the Muslim League shall join the deputation probably on humanitarian grounds—to ask for more food from outside India. I feel differently because the Government of India's representatives and the Provincial representatives have been my bitterest enemies ever since I undertook the task of procuring food for starving Bengal during the days of her trial in 1943. Bengal is still not out of the woods—will be short of food again this year. For purely political reasons a certain strong Hindu element is doing its best to curtail the procurement programme of this Province so that the next Government of the people, which they apprehend will be a League Government,

may have to face the same awkward and irretrievable food position that the League Government had to handle when it assumed office in April 1943, when the famine was no longer a conjecture but an establish[ed] fact. The food shortage that is apprehended in India today is due to failure of rains but the food shortage in Bengal in 1943, was man-made—man was responsible for the terrible cyclone that devastated Midnapore and half of 24-Parganas and as a result of which 2.5 million tons of food were lost! Mr. Gandhi has the impudence to again issue a statement and not laying the slightest stress on the act of God stated above, and has stressed on the feeble point that it was due to maladministration. If the Bengal famine was solely due to bad administration the shortage of food in Bombay, Madras, Cochin, Travancore and Mysore, etc. etc., should also be put down largely as a result of [*sic*] maladministration. If there was some excuse for maladministration in Bengal in 1943, there should be none today for the other provinces have had two and a half years to set right their defects and the defects that showed themselves in Bengal during the period of crisis. The Central Food Department at New Delhi too is much better organised and efficient than it used to be. Therefore, there is no excuse whatsoever for such an emergency having arisen just as, according to the anti-Muslim elements, there was no need for a famine in Bengal in 1943. When Bengal, in the hour of her agony, to save thousands of lives from starving to death, sent her representatives to buy foodgrains in the neighbouring provinces during the very brief period of free trade in the eastern region, the *banias* shot up their prices and at the point of the pistol, Bengal had to pay very high prices or go without food. It was then agitated by the press, governments and politicians that the Bengal agents were upsetting the price levels of the provinces and were bringing about a state of chaos as a result of rocketing prices. Bengal was cursed and abused and scores of awful lies were told and repeated so often that many decent persons also began to take cognizance of them. However, we came in for a flood of abuse and the vilest and lowest charges were indirectly levelled against us behind our back or in privileged places.

Anyway, I have narrated above "price rocketing" only to ask the question as to what has happened in Bihar and other provinces today that the price has shot up from Rs. 11 to Rs. 25 per mound. The talk of expected food shortage has brought the Hindu *bania* into his own again. He controls the foodgrains business. He wants his full pound of flesh. It does not matter if millions go without food so long as he can hide it and black-market it and make fabulous profits out of it. What does he care if millions die so long as he can make a fortune and

donate the old cows to Pinjrapole to expiate his sins? What reply have the Government of India to give to this sudden shooting up of prices? Why were they so uncharitable to the Government of Bengal and her agents when these very same *banias* put up their prices overnight, in Bihar and Orissa among other places, in 1943. However, reverting to the proposed delegation I would like to put my views before you for consideration and I shall also see Mr. Casey who has been particularly kind and good to me and to the Ispahani organisation during his stay here. I spoke to the Food Commissioner here. He does not want me to go as Bengal too has her problems of procurement. He suggested that Hassan should go. Hassan does not appear keen. Nazimuddin said that he did not mind going but apprehended that if he made public utterances abroad, the Congress, who are non-cooperating, would start a campaign to the effect that he was a man at the helm of affairs when famine's full fury was cast on Bengal.

We are all waiting anxiously to have you in our midst. There have been several bad nominations by the Provincial Parliamentary Board which has generated much heat and resentment. It is indeed most unfortunate.

I shall be obliged if you will hand your reply to this letter to Raza, the bearer, who will send it to me by air through my I.N. Airways friends.

I am most anxious to have your views after the consideration of my submissions in regard to the proposed Food Deputation to the U.K. and U.S.A.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self from us all,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. ISPAHANI

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Khadim Husain & Joynal Abedin Ahamed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 988/33-5

P.O. & VILLAGE SHARIKAL,
DISTRICT BARISAL,
8 February 1946

Most revered Sir,

We, on behalf of the Musalmans of the Sharikal Union League, carrying the views of the Leaguers of the Sadar North-West, Bakarganj, beg most respectfully to approach you with a vehement objection and condemnation of the inconsiderate nomination of the candidate to the

ensuing Bengal Legislative Assembly by the League Parliamentary Board. You are the Quaid-i-Azam, and therefore the future fate of the Muslim India completely depends upon your foreseeing [*sic*] judgement.

On the 5th January 1946, some members of the League Parliamentary Board were pleased to come down to Barisal to have a popular view of the constituencies and we were invited by the League office there. We accordingly produced our individual opinions about the candidates concerned. But sorry to say that we were unfortunate to know the result of the election [*sic*]. On the other hand, Mr. Abul Hashem, Secretary, Provincial Muslim League, Bengal, in his lecture, to our utter surprise and disappointment, advised the Muslims to blindly vote for a tree nominated by the League Parliamentary Board, even if they made a mistake in selection. Of course, he was seriously met with hot protests on the very spot.

Now, the daily *Azad* of the 4th February 1946 declared the name of Mr. Mohammad Hussain Chowdhry as the nominee for this constituency who we knew was not the right candidate as he was not even acquainted with this constituency. It can boldly be said that, if not more, 90% of the votes went in favour of Khan Bahadur Abdul Wahab Khan who is the only popular figure amongst us.

Now, we are at a loss to make out what has persuaded and influenced the League Parliamentary Board to make such a fun in the matter of selection of the candidates, completely ignoring the popular view. May we have the liberty to know why the public opinion was asked for? Has it got no substantial value? Do we not form a part of the Muslim League? Does your belief that the popular view will have the upper hand in all matters of selection hold good! Then the Parliamentary Board is not supposed to play with us just like dolls. We, being the staunch supporters of League, cannot but think of the future consequences of the coming election when the fate of the Muslim India will be finally decided, in the face of most critical position of the Muslims, supporting League against the strong party of Mr. Fazlul Haq (ex-Premier, Bengal), the best friend of Bengal and more precisely of Barisal of recent years. Such a mistake, in the version [*sic*] of Mr. Abul Hashem, should not take place. He and the members of the Parliamentary Board at large, who by their selfish motives have been proved as most inconsiderate, ought to have known that one mistake at this time may ruin the interest of the Muslim India, the reference to which may be obtained from the year 1757. The unique success of the Muslim [words illegible] Assembly has planted in us undaunted courage but *Allah* forbid, if League loses even a [single] seat in the provincial election, that will surely be due to the inconsiderate selection of the League Parliamentary Board.

In conclusion, we beg to draw your best attention to timely take up [*sic*] the matter, considering our tight situation from all sides. We are in the League to-day and we will be in it till death, and therefore can claim some amount of importance in ourselves when called for. We will be following the creed of the League but shall not be bound to obey the mere whims of some self-seeking leaders.

We are anxiously waiting for your sharp reply so that we may choose a path to be followed.

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMAD KHADIM HUSAIN
B.A.
Member, District Muslim League
JOYNAL ABEDIN AHAMED
Member, Sub-Divisional Muslim League

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M. A. Jinnah to Stafford Cripps

F. 490/16-7

9 February 1946

My dear Stafford Cripps,

I have received your letter dated 19th December 1945,[1] and I thank you for it. Yes, I have had free and frank talks with the Members of Parliament who visited India, and I have left no doubt in their minds as to the position of Muslim India and the Muslim League. I agree with what you said in your statement,[2] which you made immediately after the breakdown of the Simla Conference, given to the press on the 15th of July, that the major issue, i.e. Pakistan, must be immediately dealt with. The Government should, without any further delay, make a clear declaration of its policy accepting Pakistan as the only solution of India's constitutional problem and I am hopeful that once the principle has been accepted the details can be adjusted.

There is no reason or ground for talking about interim arrangements now that the war is over. Besides, it goes against the fundamental principle, which we have repeatedly declared, that we cannot agree to any arrangement which postulates an all-India government, whether interim or permanent. Our position was solemnly accepted by the British Government in Parliament, by its declaration made in August 1940,[3] and we were repeatedly assured by the pronouncements made

by the Secretary of State for India and other responsible leaders of Great Britain from time to time. The only exception that we were prepared to make was the exigency of the war and its prosecution successfully as in that case the entire attention would have been riveted to the war effort and all domestic controversies and differences would have been, by common consent, kept in abeyance. A caretaker Government already exists under the framework of the present Constitution, viz. the Governor-General's Executive Council, and there is no need to tinker with it under the new phraseology of "Political Executive Council." Equally, the idea of a single constitution-making body is fundamentally opposed to the basic principles that the Muslim League has declared times out of [*sic*] number. It will be perfectly futile to force such a measure upon Muslim India as it must result in disaster, not to say that it will be a breach of the solemn declaration of August 1940, and the repeated assurances of His Majesty's Government to that effect, given from time to time.[4]

I am enclosing herewith a copy of my statement[5] that I issued after the pronouncement made by Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, with regard to the visit of the Members of Parliament to India together with a copy of the address[6] of the Viceroy to the Central Assembly on 28th January and my reaction[7] to it.

I hope you are keeping well and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Stafford Cripps,
3 Whitehall Court,
London S.W.1

[1]No. 364.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]See Appendix I, *TP*, I, 877-9.
[4]Cripps expressed the hope that they would meet before long and discuss these matters fully. See F. 490/21, *QAP*. Not printed.
[5]See F. 1022/75-6, *QAP*. Not printed.
[6]See F. 810/93-5, *QAP*. Not printed.
[7]See F. 810/96-7, *QAP*. Not printed.

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A. Rahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1117/150-2

BAKER HOSTEL,
CALCUTTA,
9 February 1946

Allaho Akbar

Pakistan *Zindabad*! Muslim League *Zindabad!*

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I write you this note in the fervent hope that our beloved League would give the correct lead to the country and thereby win the sympathy and cooperation of all other political parties. I most humbly beg to suggest the following for favour of your careful consideration and for giving immediate effect, if you and the Working Committee approve them.

2. In view of the growing gambling tendency of the people, especially among my Muslim brethren, I am afraid if timely check is not made then the whole nation may turn into gamblers.Gambling and speculation in the share market should be stopped at once and to this end the following measures may be taken:

i. Compulsory delivery of shares within a week of transaction should be ensured.
ii. Compulsory registration of shares should be made by the buyers.
iii. Dividends should be limited between 6 to 10 per cent of the face value.
iv. Shares must not be allowed to 3 or 4 times the premium, of the face value.
v. Some portion of the amount, after paying the dividends as above, may be distributed among the labour concerned, and the balance utilized for reduction of price on articles produced on nation-building [*sic*].
vi. *Fatka* or speculation in bullion, jute, cotton and other such markets should be banned.
vii. Racing must be banned.
viii. Effective measures should be taken against food shortage
ix. Export of food from India should be totally stopped.
x. All foreign war prisoners, migrants and refugees should be withdrawn from India.
xi. Mass cultivation, and production of poultry, fish and cattle-breeding should be encouraged.
xii. Slaughter of cows, buffaloes and their calves should be stopped,

for economic reasons. Their slaughter may be allowed only on the occasion of holy festival like *'Id al-Azha*. This will be a great step to win over the Hindus.

xiii. Number of labourers in factories, mines, railway or other large-scale employment of labour should be restricted so that sufficient number of men were available for cultivation. In no case industrial concerns or employers of labour be allowed to employ more than what they used to hire during 1938.

xiv. Free distribution of manure, fertiliser, implements necessary for cultivation should be made by the government. Also interest-free loans or advances to buy cattle; seeds, etc., be given to the cultivators.

xv. Cottage industry and collective and co-operative farming by the educated youth should be encouraged. Education should not produce job-seekers only. At least a considerable portion of such educated youth should be employed for this purpose.

xvi. Currency inflation must be stopped and cost of both civil and military administration be reduced to a considerable extent and in no case be allowed more than 60% of the total revenue. To achieve this all departments created within a decade and specially during war, must be closed forthwith and salaries be reduced by 50% of officials drawing up to Rs. 2500 per month and for officers drawing pay up to Rs. 1500 by 35%, down to Rs. 750 per month by 25% and to Rs. 250 by 10%. There is no sense in paying so much salaries to officers who are serving starving millions and the poorest country in the world. Officers who would not be agreeable to this must vacate and make room for new and efficient blood.

xvii. Corruption, bribery, inefficiency among the public servants must be stamped out. Public servants must be made to realise that they are the servants of Indians and their pay, emoluments, etc., are paid by the Indians and from the Indian revenues and not by the Britishers from the British treasury, and as such they must not do anything contrary to the interest of the country and the people.

xviii. All taxes on food, sales and agricultural income should be abolished forthwith.

xix. Price control to continue till prices come down to normal conditions but government control on food, coal, textiles must go and all departments and posts created for the purpose must not exist from the next financial year.

3. This is neither exhaustive nor complete but I appeal to you that you should take the lead and circulate it among the members of the Assembly

to achieve the end though I know much opposition would come from the Govt. side and the European bloc, whose interest is quite different from that of the Indians but I am confident you will surmount them.

Yours obediently,
A. RAHIM
Member, Muslim Students League

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Resolution Passed by Dehra Dun District Muslim Students Federation (Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1105/32-3

DEHRA DUN,
9 February 1946

Under the auspices of the Muslim Students' Federation, the Muslim students of various institutions today observed Captain Abdul Rashid Day. The students led a procession through the streets of the city shouting the slogans, free Capt. Rashid, Muslim League *Zindabad*, Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad*, Pakistan *Zindabad*, down with the British rule, ending it with a meeting at the Pakistan Grounds with Haji Istiaq Ahmad, Acting President of the City Muslim League in the chair, and passed the following resolutions:

i. This meeting of the District Muslim Students' Federation most strongly condemns the attitude of the Government and protests against the scandalous finding given in the case of Captain Abdul Rashid by the Commander-in-Chief. It further conveys to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief its great feeling of resentment and requests him to give it a fair and just reconsideration, and failure to ameliorate the just and legitimate grievances will give great outburst of feelings of resentment.
ii. This meeting of the District Muslim Students' Federation shows its great concern and abhorrence over the irresponsible attitude and behaviour of Mr. G. M. Sayed in playing into the hands of the enemies of Islam at this juncture, when the fate of Muslims in India is hanging in balance. This meeting further requests Mr. G. M. Sayed to reconsider his attitude and not to make himself a laughing stock in the eyes of the world.
iii. This meeting of the District Muslim Students' Federation assures

Quaid-i-Azam of its full confidence and wholehearted support in his fight for the cause of Islam and the Musalmans of India in particular, and pray for his long life and success for the campaign he has so boldly taken under his command. *Aameen*

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Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 99/2

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
10 February 1946

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I have just returned from a tour of inspection of the drought-affected areas in southern India. The situation there is undoubtedly serious and I have decided that I should discuss the food situation with you and with Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi is at Wardha and, I understand, is rather unwell and unable to make the journey. So I am sending my Private Secretary to Wardha to see him.

I should be grateful if I could have a talk with you as soon as possible, and as you will be busy in the House during much of the day, I suggest 6 p.m. tomorrow. If that is not convenient, please let my Deputy Secretary know and we will arrange some other time.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

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Syed Allah Bux to M. A. Jinnah

F. 319/57

1336 C (1) BEGUM BAZAR,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
11 February 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

My last letter was written in the light of the information gathered

from Jaipur and Delhi. I enclose a copy[1] of my letter to Sir Mirza Ismail. In a way, I have tried to bring Sir Mirza on his knees before you and leave it entirely to you either to embrace him or neglect him. A couple of lines by you appreciating the present views of Sir Mirza with reference to my letter to you would be virtually a commitment on the part of Sir Mirza.

Ever since the death of Bahadur Yar Jung, which I am sure today than ever before was due to poisoning, I was unable to understand the attitude of Mr. Abul Hassan Syed Ali. At last he suddenly opened with some startling revelations characteristic to Hyderabad, the home of intrigues. He will soon seek an interview with you and place the whole facts before you. It is not possible for any public worker to persevere in his aspirations for the real progress of this doomed land. If, unfortunately, he is bold enough to take a stand, he is either driven mad and dies in an asylum or is conveniently removed out of the picture as Nawab Bahadur was and many more before him. The huge blunders committed, as you believe, by Nawab Bahadur were merely the games of the foolish child [*sic*], the responsibility of which Nawab Bahadur's shoulders were strong enough to bear ungrudgingly. And what was the reward? Now again, what was the reward of the signal achievement of Mr. Abul Hassan Syed Ali made in pursuance of the entreaties and appeals of this ungrateful child? He was removed from the presidentship with the help of Government funds and propaganda including the broadcasting station under royal patronage as dictated by the Residency which in turn was instructed by the British Revenue Minister, Mr. Griggson.

Nawab Salar Jung has apparently withdrawn and is supporting Sir Mirza who will probably be thrust upon us, unless you have someone in view and will push him in. For your information, I may add that Mr. Abid Hosain, who had accompanied me and who seems to have had another interview with you later, had told Sir Mirza that you had expressly had your hand in withholding him from his chance.

We have now in the new President of the Majlis, a non-descript who knows neither English nor is conversant with current politics and who is at best a *wa'iz*/padre. You cannot say that the time for taking decisions is very far off. They are going to enforce the reforms, in a mutilated and unacceptable form. A wrong step taken at this moment may become a perpetual disadvantage. The Hindus have taken a firm stand against Hindu-Muslim parity in the legislature and after the revocation of the compromise between Mr. Abul Hassan and the Hindus for his resignation is in effect a revocation of the compromise, they have reverted to their old position of complete responsible government.

If at all Hyderabad should be saved for Muslims, you must take increasing interest in its affairs or the old child will make a mess of the whole thing for himself and for the Muslims here. You cannot afford to say "No".

With respects,

Yours obediently,
S. A. BUX

[1]Not traceable.

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S. Hamid Husain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/65-6

ANJUMANE HYDERIA,
SANJOVLI, SIMLA HILLS,
11 February 1946

Bismillahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I humbly beg to be excused for encroaching on your valuable time knowing all right that you remain busy with things relating to the welfare of the Muslim nation, things of great importance to you and to the nation, and that your time as a whole is reserved for this sacred purpose.

I bother you, but for the sake of the nation, whom you are trying to bring on one platform, united and assembled under the same emblem of peace and austerity.

A personal reference from an ordinary man from the public may not perhaps please my Quaid but I find no other way to get things, I am trying to bring to the kind notice of Quaid-i-Azam, squared.

I do not say that you are absolutely unaware of the unhappy affairs of Ambala City where Shias have not been allowed to celebrate *Moharram* during the last two years. Dispute arose between Shias and Sunnis of that place on a mosque where Shias used to place their *ta'zias* but in the year 1945 Sunnis resented it and Shias withdrew. Later on, as far as I could gather, some agreement had been reached between the two parties, but as usual a third party unlike [word illegible] excited both of them and created enmity. This I dare deem is a thing unremediable to anybody [*sic*]. Many have tried but failed.

Whenever the parties try to come to some agreement or compromise, this third party intrudes and makes them diverge [*sic*] with anger. I am but definite that nobody from public can tackle this problem and bring it to a wholesome conclusion.

Simply due to this unnecessary intervention of the third party, the matter has reached the court of law where it is hanging on for a decision ever since.

Therefore, Quaid-i-Azam, I most humbly and respectfully beg you to very kindly intervene in the matter at your earliest convenience and settle it lest those who desire a division in the Muslims would mock and laugh at their success. I am sure a word from the sacred lips of Quaid-i-Azam will be more than enough to fetch the scattered pearls into a string.

I am afraid my letter is becoming lengthy and may not tire my lord whom I love so fervently and respect so [word illegible] that I see these boundless [*sic*] within and about me. I close but with a prayer again that my lord kindly do intervene and settle the matter early.

I would be fortunate to receive a chit from my Quaid, saying 'Yes' or 'No'. If Quaid-i-Azam kindly cares to do what he can and visit that place, I would be there to provide comfort and pay respects to Quaid-i-Azam.

With bows of respect,

Obedient follower,
S. HAMID HUSAIN

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Khurshid Hasan to the Editor Dawn
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1105/63-4

ALIGARH,
11 February 1946

Dear Sir,

Today the *Dawn* contained a lengthy statement by Qazi Mohammed Isa on the I.N.A., but only yesterday you published the news of an 'at-home' given by Qazi Isa and amongst the guests mentioned was Brigadier Cariappa, who is the president of a court-martial trying the members of the I.N.A. The students here are bitterly criticising the action of Qazi Isa. Even if one were to justify his fraternising with Brigadier Cariappa on grounds of personal friendship we see no reason

why you should think it necessary to publish this kind of news.

Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan is one of those who have recently come into prominence as an enthusiastic Leaguer. Whatever his past career might have been it was expected of him that at least now that he has entered political life, he will cease to think it an honour to be patronised by the British Government. The news of his knighthood was, therefore, a very unpleasant surprise. But what surprised us most was your publishing the news of an 'at-home' given in his honour on the auspicious occasion of his knighthood.

We think it necessary to warn you of the very bad impression that such news, published in the Muslim League's official organ, creates in the mind of the public, considering that our leaders have again and again to defend themselves against the charge that the Muslim League is dominated by Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs. Moreover, such news is, in any case, not important enough to find place in any political paper.

Yours sincerely,
KHURSHID HASAN
Honorary Secretary,
Muslim University Union

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M. A. Jinnah to Manzar-i-Alam

SHC, UP III/146

12 February 1946

Dear Mr. Manzar-i-Alam,

I have received your letter of the 7th February 1946.[1]

As regards the work in U.P. and other provinces, the matter stands on a somewhat different basis. Those provinces have already received or have been promised help as an emergency from the Central Fund, and, therefore, they should make direct arrangements with you for their requirements. I think you can well understand [that] I cannot attend to the details of supplying lorries or loud speakers and so on. The proper course for these provinces is to get in touch with the President of the Committee of Action or the Chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board, who can deal with this matter as it lies in their sphere.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Manzar-i-Alam, Esq.,
Aligarh, UP

[1]See *SHC*, UP III/145. Not printed.

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Imdad Ali to Khurshid Hasan

F. 784/164-7

LAWRENCE ROAD,
KARACHI,
12 February 1946

My dear Khurshid,

I hope this letter will find you in the best of health. I wanted to write to you early, but due to election work I could not. Though I am troubling you, because I know you are the busiest man now-a-days, but still I cannot help dropping a few lines. I am introducing myself to you, that I was introduced to you by Saeed Haroon; I am a close friend of his. I had also an opportunity to talk to you in the Persian Restaurant, Saddar, where I was simply delighted by your talk[ing] manners and above all your magnetic personality.

You will be glad to know that by the grace of *Allah,* Muslim students of Sind are well organised and have rendered yeoman service during the election which can be seen by the result that we have won 28 seats out of 35 seats.[1] You know better the politics of Sind. The Sind situation is hopeless and are [*sic* for is] so topsy-turvy that the best man at high command cannot think what to do with the Sind political leaders excluding of course Haroon family which is only sincere family for League cause. By the grace of *Allah* we have formed League Ministry. The other day there was a public meeting at *'Idgah maidan,* under the auspices of Muslim students of course, and it was a record gathering of 50,000 which even the Hindu press admitted. Nawabzada gave an illuminating speech and dwelt at length about the Sind politics. We Muslim students have sacrificed everything for the cause of Muslim League and Pakistan and are ready to shed our blood at the command of our beloved Quaid.

There is growing interest of the Muslim masses of Sind about League and Pakistan and we have decided to work, as the Muslim students of Punjab, to carry the message of League to the remotest corner of Sind. I have taken your enough time, only I was too eager to correspond with the beloved Secretary of a beloved leader. I pray to *Allah* to give you more strength, vigour and courage to serve our Quaid and nation selflessly and endlessly till we achieve our goal—Pakistan. Rest assured that Musalmans of Sind are not lacking [*sic* for lagging] behind to the call of our Quaid and are ready to serve for the cause which is so dear to every Muslim.

In the end I would most humbly request you to kindly send me yours as

well as Quaid-i-Azam's photo and I hope to be excused for the trouble.

I am also sorry that I could not take you round the city of Karachi and was no service [*sic*] to you, but if you come to Karachi next time, I hope to serve you well.

I request you that if you want any service from me, I am at your service. Please give me latest Muslim League information. What is your future programme? Don't forget about the photos.

In the end I am closing this long chapter, hoping to hear from you soon.

Pakistan *Zindabad!*

Cheerio,
Yours,
IMDAD ALI

[1]Comprising 33 Muslim and 2 special interest seats.

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Mulla M. S. Shariff to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/94

RAJAHMUNDRY,
EAST GODAVARI,
12 February 1946

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

The Primary Muslim League of Rajahmundry resolved at a public meeting held on 25 December 1945 to celebrate your 70th birthday, by presenting you with 70 "silver bullets," and holding 70 meetings all over the district to propagate the ideal of Pakistan.

In pursuance of those resolutions I am respectfully sending you by insured parcel the 70 "silver bullets." Meetings are being held in different places.

During the last Central Assembly elections, out of 107 votes polled in this town, only one was polled for the anti-League candidate.

We shall try our best in the provincial elections to see that no votes are polled by our opponents.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
MULLA M. S. SHARIFF
Honorary Secretary,
The Primary Muslim League

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Sh. Abdur Rasheed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/82

29-A TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
12 February 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly accept my sincerest congratulations on the first issue of the *Star* weekly.

Allow me to humbly point out [that] the crying necessity of the Punjab is a Muslim daily in English. Mr. Pothan Joseph may prove to be the ablest editor if roped in for the purpose now. *Dawn's* limited copies in Lahore cannot meet the ever increasing demand. Kindly do the needful at the earliest.

Long live our beloved Quaid-i-Azam! *Aameen*

Yours very sincerely,
SH. ABDUR RASHEED

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Saudur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/77-81

CORNWALLIS ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
12 February 1946

Dear leader,

I take the liberty of writing to you in order to draw your attention to affairs in Bengal. I claim to have some knowledge of happenings in my province, as I was seeking the League's nomination for the Hooghly District seat. I have not been given the nomination, and I have not appealed against the decision. So you will understand, this letter is not written with a view to furthering my own ends, but merely to make you interested in the sorry state of Bengal politics.

It seems that Bengal does not interest the League high command very much, since neither you nor Nawabzada have paid a visit to the province at this important time. The surmise that the League in Bengal

will capture nearly all the Muslim seats[1] may have led to complacency. For the immediate future such complacency is justifiable. The League shall form a majority party in the Assembly (as the electors have accepted your directive to vote even for a lamp post with the League ticket), and the League shall also form a Ministry with Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy as the Chief Minister.

What I ask you to pause and consider is whether the Ministry will be an able and stable one, and whether Mr. Suhrawardy is competent to guide the destinies of the province.

Mr. Suhrawardy is a man of outstanding ability, no doubt, but I question his competence because he is lacking in the qualities necessary for leadership. His tongue is wild, his manners shocking, his temper autocratic, his sincerity and honesty questionable. He is the epitome of power politics. In my humble opinion he has not the cohesive influence and tact to hold a party together for any length of time. He suffers from the delusion that people rally round him in spite of his contemptuous treatment of them, because they love and admire his personality and ability. The fact is nobody loves or admires him. People are merely afraid that Mr. Suhrawardy, being in power, may harm their interests or deny them favour, if they do not pay "homage" to him.

There are strong rumours current that money has been demanded from applicants as the price of the League nomination. Rumour also has it that those who were asked and have paid have been selected; those who refused, rejected. Be that as it may, this much can be ascertained by enquiry that men, with lesser influence and ability, have been selected in preference to better men.

The other person in power in the Bengal League is Mr. Abul Hashim. The less said about him the better. He is a blind left-wing Muslim Leaguer. He too has some faults, but his many shortcomings nullify his merits. You should see him to understand what I mean.

The rest of the members of the party in power, in the Parliamentary Board, are non-entities—unqualified and absolute [*sic*]. One of them, Mr. Raghib Ahsan, a *Momin bhai* of Bihar, is serving as an Asst. Education Officer in the Calcutta Corporation; and has yet been chosen a member of the Parliamentary Board. One wonders why and how?

Another point that cannot be ignored is the encouragement given by Mr. Suhrawardy to certain Bihari Muslims, without a reputation for honesty and without even a domicile in Bengal. This is resented by Bengali Muslims, and justly too, because these people do not have any sympathy with the people of Bengal, and are absorbed only in furthering their own interests and those of their provincial fraternity. For these people Bengal is only a fertile field for exploitation.

I will also relate to you an incident, in connection with the elections to the Central Assembly, to show you how the game is being played by our leaders in Bengal. The League nominee for the Presidency Division seat in Bengal being Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, a meeting was called at the League office in Calcutta, at which all applicants for the League tickets for provincial seats in the Presidency Division were asked to come with their workers. I too was among those called. We were asked by Mr. Suhrawardy to work for Sir Hassan, and each of us was given the responsibility for one sub-division. We were also told that on the results of polling in each area would depend our chances of getting the League ticket. As to expenses, he said he was sure there would not be any great expenditure, considering the awakening among Muslim masses. But if there were any—we were all men of means!

This extraordinary scheme was devised by Mr. Suhrawardy to get his uncle elected at public expense, so to say. If the same had been done for any other candidate, the propriety of the scheme could have been condoned. Mr. A. R. Siddiqi from the neighbouring seat got no such assistance from the "leader" nor did any one else. Such unclean methods are not likely to generate confidence.

Bengal, Sir, shall be an important unit in the Pakistan scheme. Do not lose it by neglect. There is no dearth of sincere, honest and talented men in the province, but they have been kept down successively by all the persons who have been in power since 1937. The latter have encouraged able but unscrupulous men who have brought both their patrons and the Muslim community into disrepute. The Bengal League needs to be purged of undesirables, so that the better men may come forward. I haven't the brains to suggest an effective method of re-shaping and expurgating, but you have. If you spend a month in Bengal, after the elections; you can remould the politics of the province and earn the gratitude of the people.

Yours very sincerely,
SAUDUR RAHMAN
Advocate
Councillor, Calcutta Corporation

[1]The League captured 114 seats out of 117 Muslim seats in Bengal. See Appendix XIII. 8&9, Vol. I, Part II, 616-20.

494

Khawja Akhtar Abbas to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/47

SHAH WILAYAT,
SAHARANPUR,
13 February 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Today Muslim League is composed of all sorts of elements. A great number of the leaders are title-holders. In plain words many of them are toadies. That is they can lead the Muslims in the fight against the non-Muslims. But when the time comes to fight the British imperialism, these people either lead astray or stab in the back.

This apprehension is troubling the mind of the Muslim youth.

So many of the candidates selected for the Central and Provincial legislatures are title-holders and are not patriots. So many candidates selected from Bombay are toady like [*sic*] and worked against the basic interests of the masses. Many good workers have been rejected in Bombay and elsewhere.

Muslim youth is with you with full confidence and it is only for this that these title-holders and toadies are tolerated. Pakistan *Zindabad*!

Yours obediently,
AKHTAR
M.A.

495

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 99/3

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
13 February 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am grateful for your promise of cooperation in dealing with the food crisis[1] and for the helpful press note.[2]

I will ask Food Department to send you detailed suggestions for the sort of line that Muslim League speakers might take. Their influence will assist us appreciably in meeting the situation. The main point is to ask all members of the League at the Centre and in the Provinces to lay off the

food situation as a subject for political agitation. Capital should not be made out of any cut in rations that it may be necessary to announce. Such cuts are made in the interests of India and with the object of preventing starvation. I am sure your people will help after the lead you have given them.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Jinnah replied that he would get in touch with him and the Food Department. See F 99/4, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.

496

A. Waheed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 466/1

365 CIRCULAR ROAD,
LAHORE,
13 February 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Since discussing with you at Peshawar the question of bringing out the Lahore edition of the *Dawn* and subsequent[ly] handing the enclosed estimate of costs to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, we are now in a position to state that as our monotype machine has just reached India, the arrangements for the newspaper's up-to-date production are quite complete.

I thought that I would apprise you of this so that you could consider the entire matter of bringing out the paper in the light of our present technical equipment.[1]

Yours sincerely,
DR. A. WAHEED

[1]Jinnah wrote saying he would be pleased to see him in New Delhi and agreed that the publication of an English daily from Lahore was imperative. See F. 466/2, *QAP*. Not printed.

497

Khan of Kalat to M. A. Jinnah

F. 34/4-5

9 RATENDON ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
13 February 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullah

I must say that I had a nice time in Delhi this year and am grateful to you for your kindness and I am sure you will remember me and Kalat whenever you get a chance to help as I consider it your own affair.

Last night's dinner party and the talks were really so much interesting that I never remembered to ask you for the file of the oil. May I have it as I am going to take it with me and I will keep it in future with myself and I will have a few copies of it in hand, in case it may be required. And I shall be pleased if your Secretary will bring it personally and give it to myself.

I am sure you will remember to give me the pleasure of your visit to Baluchistan this year.

With all best wishes and regards,

Yours very sincerely,
AHMAD YAR KHAN

498

Habibur Rahman to H. S. Suhrawardy
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 568/166-7

RANCHI,
14 February 1946

My dear Shaheed Sahib,

You know we are here in Ranchi fighting Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Ansari against heavy odds; we are short of funds but *Insha Allah* by our *eiman* and *jihad* spirit we hope to win and defeat Ansari who has pledged to break Muslim solidarity.

Lt. Col. Jaipal Singh, the President of the Adibasi Mahasabha, came

to see me and Mr. Raghib Ahsan and we had a long talk. You have seen the *Adibasis* are supporting Pakistan and the League and are holding joint meetings with Leaguers and even raising League cries of Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad,* Pakistan *Zindabad* and Jharkhand *Zindabad*. The *Adibasi* alliance is of vital importance for East Pakistan because in Assam the *Adibasi* tribals are about twenty-five per cent of the population, and in Bengal they are more than three per cent, and in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas they are [in] overwhelming majority. Economically they and their country occupy very important position for our Pakistan economy. Ranchi is the Headquarter[s] of the Eastern Command and the most important line of defence between Bay of Bengal and Delhi.

The Adibasi Mahasabha and the League are sailing in the same political boat as they both demand separation from Hindustan and freedom from Hindu capitalism and fascism. They are both separatist. The Adibasi Sabha is contesting all general seats in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas and expect to capture thirty-one or thirty seats. They will work with the League. In Bengal they are contesting thirteen seats (General).

But they are a poor, [if] brave people. They are fighting the Congress of Birlas whose offers they have all spurned. Birla himself has been offering all sorts of help provided they join Congress. But they have rejected all their offers and are fighting the Congress shoulder to shoulder with the League for identity of objects and unity of ideal.

The Adibasi Sabha stand in urgent need of funds. We are doing what we can but may I take the liberty of requesting you to kindly grant them a special subsidy of rupees five thousand from the Bengal League Election Fund?

It is not a big sum but it is bound to win you the gratitude and co-operation and alliance of a brave fighting race who occupy a vital strategic position both within the bounds of the East Pakistan Zone as well as on the North and West flanks and boundaries of the Pakistan State of Bengal and Assam.

I do request you to kindly consider their request and help them as far as you can. Your sincere and spirited advocacy of their cause in your Presidential speech at the Ranchi Pakistan Conference on 30th December 1945 has much heartened them and they hope they will surely get your support.

Hoping to soon hear from you,

I remain your sincerely,
HABIBUR RAHMAN
MLA (Central)
President, Ranchi Muslim League

499

A. M. S. Hamid Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 860/1-2

CAMP 5 BOLAI DUTT STREET,
CALCUTTA,
15 February 1946

Knowledge is Power[1]

Our honoured Quaid-i-Azam,

I humbly request your honour to accept this humble donation of mine towards the League Fund. I am sure it will fetch a considerably large number of "silver bullets" at any auction sale.

As per your honour's appeal through an issue of the *Dawn* to establish free reading rooms and libraries in every village to propagate the aims and objects of our organisation, I , with the cooperation of my friends, have opened the Jam'e Masjid free reading room in Kilakarai. In pursuance of the old tradition of our holy Prophet's [PBUH] time, all matters pertaining to politics, religion, social, etc., were decided in the holy *K'aba*. We have opened our institution within the compound of the Jam'e Masjid, built about three hundred years ago during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir, the Mughal Emperor, by the greatest philanthropist of the south of that time, Mr. Sayed Abdul Cader Maraikayer, popularly known as Seetha Kathi Vallal, who was once appointed as the Governor of Bengal by the said Emperor in recognition of his broad outlook in political matters.

The said reading room consists of a small library too. It is functioning well to propagate the aims and objects of our organisation, the All India Muslim League. I am glad to tell your honour that it has undertaken to publish the issues of the *Pakistan* series in Tamil to enable the Tamil knowing Muslims to understand our cherished goal of Pakistan. All that I want from you, our honoured Quaid-i-Azam, is a word of encouragement which is the highly potential energy to set the situation towards the path of free Islam in free India.

May I be assured that your honour will condescend to pen a few words of encouragement and send it to me, the President of the said institution.

Yours,
A.M.S. HAMID IBRAHIM

[1]Quote from Francis Bacon's *De Haeresibus*.

500

Riaz Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 959/35-6

RIAZ MANZIL, RIAZ STREET,
BEADON ROAD,
LAHORE,
15 February 1946

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

After having been disappointed from all sides, I am turning to you to draw your attention to an economic question.

My real aim is to get business training. I am a young man of twenty-two and a graduate from the Punjab University. I am a law student but I am always thinking of doing some business. Most of my relatives are in government service, with no enterprising spirit at all.

I want to get into business, but I have neither capital nor experience. I wrote to many firms such as Ispahani Tea Co. and Fazal Bhoy & Co. but received flat refusals. Where can I get training from?

A Hindu who studies in a college gets training from his family business as well. What can we Muslims do? There are hundreds of other Muslim young men like me, but they are helpless.

A Hindu friend of mine told me that he was getting training in business from a Hindu firm and was also getting rupees one hundred and fifty as his stipend or pocket money. Are there no such business magnates who can impart training to young Muslim?

I request you to give this question your kind consideration. In Lahore only there are scores of free hospitals built by Hindu businessmen, but not a single free hospital built by a Muslim.

I hope to be honoured with a reply.

Obediently yours,
RIAZ AHMAD

501

M. A. Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 773/156

ERODE,
15 February 1946

Allaho Akbar! Muslim League *Zindabad*!

Dear Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I wish to bring to your kind attention that the Madras Provincial Government had issued orders to stop my *Pakistan,* Tamil weekly, the only Muslim League Party paper of Tamil Nad, without stating any cause.

I am herewith enclosing the necessary copies of letters and orders[1] for your kind perusal. So I request you to kindly take immediate and necessary steps in this matter and make arrangements for the publication of the same.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. RAHMAN
Editor, *Pakistan*

[1]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 501
M. A. Rahman to District Magistrate, Coimbatore

F. 773/154-5

ERODE,
15 February 1946

Allaho Akbar! Muslim League *Zindabad*!

Sir,

Ref: Your E. Dis. 817.M.46 dated 11.2.1946

I am in receipt of your above-mentioned reference issued to me in reference to the Government Memo. 45885 N/45-10 dated 2.2.1946, and as per instructions I had stopped publication of the *Pakistan,* Tamil weekly.

In this connection I wish to add that the sudden order for stopping the *Pakistan* journal, the only journal of the Muslims in the South, and especially at the time of the Assembly elections, is a great shock to me.

Further, the reason for this order is also not stated.

This Tamil weekly, *Pakistan*, is running for the past four years under the order of the government abiding by the regulations and rules in force for conducting a journal. Since some three months back I was accorded paper quota by the Provincial Paper Controller, Madras, after his long consideration and judgement about this journal. So I am not in a position to understand on what grounds this sudden order was issued to a journal which is running as per the orders of the Government without the least fault.

Further, the order is not only causing me very [*sic*] financial loss but also preventing the growth of the Muslim League Party in the South.

So I request your Hon'ble goodself to kindly reconsider the order and issue early orders for the cancellation of the Government memorandum as I am conducting the same only in a correct manner by obtaining the necessary permissions from the Government.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. RAHMAN
Editor, *Pakistan*

502

S. M. Yaseen to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/26-9

141 RANGOON INSEIN ROAD,
DIST. INSEIN,
BURMA,
16 February 1946

Dear Sir,

I hope you will pardon me for the liberty I have taken in writing you this letter and sincerely hope you will give your kind attention to it at your leisure, not because it is less important but because you remain too busy for the elections.

You, as leader of the Muslim masses of India and of Islam, [are] known to me for the last 15-20 years. And as for me, I am a Burman Muslim with a very limited education and a commoner. I hope, therefore, you will kindly forgive me if I fail to express my views correctly to your satisfaction.

For some time past, and most painfully ever since the non-Muslims'

aggression over the Muslim States, especially Russian towards [*sic*] Persia and Turkey, I had been trying to find out a very strong and effective solution to this problem and at last I have come to the conclusion that there is absolutely only one solution and that is the unification of the Muslims all the world over. This at first seemed impossible to me but when I thought of you (because we daily discuss about you and the League) and the Arab League, I found it quite workable. You are to start [*sic*] the ball rolling by inviting the Arab League to form a World Muslim League. The leaders of all the Muslim States, independent or dependent, [are] to be invited by the Arab League to form a World Muslim League. I may mention here that the Turks may not like to become members of the Arab League but may consider for [*sic*] the membership of the W.M.L. Once the W.M.L. is formed the Arab League will be amalgamated with W.M.L. All the big and small cities throughout the world will have strong and effective branches. The entire Muslim world to become members at the respective centres. Each State to select some delegates to represent as permanent members at the H.Q. of the W.M.L. These members to select office-bearers etc.

The most essential point to consider is the power of this League. This League should have inherent powers over all the Muslim States; of course it will not interfere with their internal administration. But it shall have powers to attach legal advisers to all the States. It will protect the Muslim States from all aggression through diplomatic channels, failing which through *jihad*. It may sound [to] you [as] rubbish but that day will come. We Muslims are not scared of atom bombs but in fact we have a more powerful weapon than atom bombs—our blood. We Muslims should be taught to become the Muslims of the past.

The first duty of the League is to teach all the Muslims the true meaning of Islam. It can only be done through teaching of the holy *Qur'an* with meanings. It is no use reciting the verses like a parrot. It does no good. One must try to follow the beauty of *Qur'an* and of Islam, by understanding them. The correct past Islamic history will be a great help to create the old Islamic spirit in the Muslims. All the W.M.L. branches to help to realize this goal. Of course it will take some time but it must be done to save Islam and its followers. The leaders of the Muslim world are responsible for this. *Moulvis* and *moulanas* must be made to realize the critical situation of Islam. Each and every Muslim must be made to realise that they are heading straight towards catastrophe through the neglect of Islam.

The H.Q. must be financially very strong and so [must] be its branches. Each and every Muslim must be made to become its member, in his or her respective centre. There should be at least three sessions

annually at various centres of the world. This will help ignorant and spiritless Muslims to become true Muslims. Once the old Islamic spirit comes into the Muslims of today, we know the consequences. The past glory will be at our feet.

I know *Hazrat Moulana* Ubaidulla Sindhi and *Hazrat* Jamaluddin Afghani for what they have done for the cause of Islam. I can assure you that their dream must come true. The time then was not ripe for such a unity. But the time has come now and who knows it may be performed [*sic*], by God's blessings, through your hands.

I do not wish to waste much of your precious time as you must be too pre-occupied with the elections. I and my friends are keenly following the results of the elections but, to be honest, we are not at ease at heart. A few foolish and selfish Muslims are letting you down realizing little their folly and the dangers ahead. May God help them and the League.

At first I thought of sending an article based on this to leading papers of India but I thought it unwise to do so without consulting you. I prefer working quietly and secretly.

I hope I have explained to you fully my views and hope you will help the distressed and selfish Muslims to find the straight path. May God help our cause. *Aameen*

With my very best wishes and compliments to you, Sir,

Yours very sincerely,
S. M. YASEEN

503

B. M. Saleem Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad I/87

SALEEM MANZIL,
OSMAN SHAHI,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
16 February 1946

Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to remind you of the interview which you kindly gave to me on 26th December 1945 when you had promised to try to come to Hyderabad, Deccan, as soon as the provincial elections are over. This message has stirred joy in Hyderabad Muslims. It has been decided to

weigh you in silver and to celebrate your birthday. Elaborate arrangements are already ahead. A programme has been set and the committee of the birthday celebrations has authorised me to communicate this programme to you for your approval. If these dates are not convenient to you kindly fix some other date of your arrival here, so that arrangements may be made accordingly.[1]

Thanking you,

Yours truly,
B. M. SALEEM SIDDIQUI
Secretary,
Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday Celebration Committee

[1]Jinnah wrote saying he could not commit himself to visiting Hyderabad for the time being in view of the forthcoming visit of the Cabinet Mission to India. See *SHC*, Hyderabad I/87. Not printed.

504

Azizuddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 566/36

PAKISTAN HOUSE,
BARISAL,
17 February 1946

Janab Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg your permission to write to you on a very important matter vitally affecting the interest of the Muslims of Bengal in general and those of the District of Bakarganj in particular.

Hazrat Moulana Nesaruddin Ahmed Sahib, known as the *Pir Sahib* of Sharshina, Pirojpur, Bakarganj, is held in very high esteem by the Muslims of Bengal and has a large following in the Districts of Bakarganj, Noakhali, Tippera and Faridpur. He tells me that he has already sent a telegram requesting you to take Mr. Fazlul Huq back into the League in the interest of the Muslims of Bengal. Sir Nazimuddin's retirement from Bengal politics is being utilized by anti-League workers as detrimental to the cause of the League in Bengal.

Pir Sahib of Sharshina's request should be given due consideration. Silence to his telegram will be misconstrued. I, therefore, earnestly request you to consider his request and give him a reply so that

the position of the League in this District may not be misunderstood.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
AZIZUDDIN AHMAD
President,
Bakarganj District Muslim League

505

M. A. Chaiwala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 168/2

15 MILITARY SQUARE LANE,
FORT, BOMBAY,
18 February 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter of the 13th instant[1] this morning enclosing a cheque for Rs.2001 and a letter from Messrs F. M. Chinoy & Co., Ltd. I have forwarded the same to the treasurer to realise the same and put it in the banking account of the Press Fund and asked him to send the receipt to Messrs F. M. Chinoy & Co. Ltd., therefor.

With regard to the sum of Rs.30,000 provisionally deposited in the Reserve Bank of India, I received all papers from you on Tuesday, the 5th February instant [*sic*], and I immediately attended to the matter and I have written to you my letter on 8th February reporting that the sum of Rs.30,000 has been credited to your account No.2 with the Imperial Bank of India. A copy of my said letter is enclosed herewith.[2] I also send you herewith a copy of the letter[3] received by me from the Imperial Bank dated 12th instant, advising me that the sum of Rs.30,000 has been credited to your account No.2 on 8-2-1946, and they have advised you also in the matter.

With best compliments,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. CHAIWALA

[1]Not traceable.
[2&3]See F. 168/3 & 4, *QAP*. Not printed.

506

B. M. Saleem Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah

F. 976/86
[*Original in Urdu*]

SALEEM MANZIL,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
18 February 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Tasleem

Wish you the best of health. You might recall that I had sent you, about three weeks ago, a registered letter,[1] regarding disruption in Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, to which a reply is still awaited. Fakhrul Hasan who is proceeding to America for higher studies on a State scholarship will be reaching Calcutta shortly. I understand that you have also arrived in Calcutta and I am therefore, sending you through Fakhrul Hasan some press cuttings which reflect the Hindu mentality. They do not consider Hyderabad to be a Muslim State asserting that it came under Muslim suzerainty only thirty years ago, and demand installation of a responsible government there. I hope that you will spare some of your precious time for looking into this matter.

I heartily congratulate you on the formation of Muslim League Ministry in Sind and on winning majority of Muslim seats by Muslim League candidates in Assam, Punjab and NWFP [*sic*]. Your speech in the Central Assembly about the release of Capt. Abdul Rashid must have made the common man aware of your views on the subject.

God may grant you perfect health and happiness for the sake of Muslims of India and Hyderabad. *Aameen*

[*Remaining portion omitted*]

Your loyal and old servant,
B. M. SALEEM SIDDIQUI

[1]Not traceable.

507

Kala Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 860/4

MURREE ROAD,
RAWALPINDI,
18 February 1946

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have remitted today, by money order, a sum of Rs.100. This sum was presented to me by the voters of village Pithli in Murree Hills, when they came to cast their votes in favour of League. This shows, how the League has captivated the hearts of all Muslims living in remote quarters of this country.

Counting of votes in this constituency will take place on 23 February 1946.

With best wishes and praying for your long life,

Yours faithfully,
KALA KHAN
Candidate, Rawalpindi East

508

J. B. Brace to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1107/30-2

8-D LADY JAMSHIDJEE ROAD.,
MAHIM, BOMBAY 16,
19 February 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Heaven's benediction be on you for trying to save India from the clutches of the capitalist—the Hindu Congress, and I pray that you will succeed.

There was recently a prize offered for the best essay on the solution of the communal problem, for which I entered. The result of this competition is not yet out though almost three months have passed. I am sending you herewith a copy of the essay,[1] hoping that it might interest you; along with it I am also sending a copy of Mr. Gandhi's "*Hind swaraj* or Indian Home Rule" in case you have not already read

it. In it you will find all that you need to make your case for Pakistan stronger. It should be enough of an eye-opener to any British delegation that comes over here to take stock of the political situation in this, our country. If Mr. Gandhi must be taken as the personification of the Congress, that book above should reveal how absurd is his claim to represent India or Indian opinion, because what he advocates therein is what not even a stupid man would endorse—the abolishing of railways, doctors, lawyers and hospitals and also of the printing press. I often wonder why neither he, Mr. Nehru, nor the other self-elected leaders have the courage to stand for elections. That is what the British Delegation should have looked askance at. I hope one day to write a book exposing the Congress, its methods and its motives. I only wish I get the prize in the essay competition so that I can purchase a typewriter to start my attack and exposition. (Unfortunately I haven't the means to make ends meet, much less purchase a typewriter. If you have an old one going cheap I'll buy it of you). I have a lot to say that will discredit the Congress claim to represent India. Some day when I am better placed in life I will do so; I only hope it will not be too late. Another, more unfortunate thing is that even if one has something to say against the Congress, there is not a journal that will accept it either for fear of losing its clientele or because every one of them is financed and controlled by capitalists who are bent on shaping the destiny of the country to serve their own vested interests. How I wish there was an English paper financed by the Muslim League to counteract the unhealthy propaganda against the League! Mr. Nehru, when the Hindus lost in the elections, referred to the League as an electioneering body. If the truth must needs be told, the Congress takes first place as an electioneering body. I am heart and soul for Pakistan, though I am not a Muslim myself. I am for the Muslims. May you live long enough to see your ambition realized and enjoy the fruits of your labour in the satisfaction it must afford.

With my best respects,

Yours sincerely,
J. B. BRACE

PS. You may keep the book, but please return the copy of the essay.

[1]See F. 1107/34-46, *QAP*. Not printed.

509

Hossain Imam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 296/49

HUSNAIN MANZIL,
GAYA,
19 February 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I regret that I could not see you at Calcutta as I had to leave on an urgent call from Patna. It pains me to inform you that in my absence the provincial organisation did nothing to make the elections a success. I found everything at a standstill; those in charge of elections were not at their post up to 12th instant; the candidates were expecting the district organisation to take up the work, while the district executives were treating the elections as the private affair of the candidates. In short, there was no work anywhere worth the name, and the loss of valuable time has done irreparable harm to our cause. I am afraid we have lost four seats for certain and in five others our chances are not bright. Of the rest, twenty-five are certainties and in four there are even chances. We are working hard and hope to avert defeat.

If you visit Patna, I would request you to come after the 4th March as the 2nd and 4th are polling days and your visit would draw the workers to Patna from their constituencies.

With best wishes and respects,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
HOSSAIN IMAM
President,
Bihar Provincial Muslim League

510

M. A. Jamal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/38

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
20 February 1946

Dear Sir,

In response to your call for cooperation in solving the food crisis of

our country, I am enclosing a copy of my note on the subject, addressed to H.E. the Viceroy, for your kind information.

Yours truly,
M. A. JAMAL

Enclosure to No. 510

Mohammad Alauddin Jamal to Archibald Wavell

F. 883/47-8

QURASHI STORES, MOTI MARKET,
ESAMIYAN BAZAR, HYDERABAD,
20 February 1946

May it please Your Excellency,

I listened to your recent broadcast speech from the Delhi Station of A.I.R. on the food position in India and the appeal has gone to my heart. After pondering over the matter for nights and days I have arrived at the conclusion that the threatened famine in the Deccan area, specially Mysore, Madras and Bombay Provinces, can be averted considerably by resorting to my following suggestion.

The affected areas abound in groundnut production and their average total annual yield amounts to 2.5 million tons. From the given statistics it is apparent that approximately one million tons of groundnut cake can be made available.

Madras	12,08,000	tons	4,02,666	tons cake
Bombay	6,45,000	"	2,25,000	"
Hyderabad	6,19,000	"	2,06,333	"
Mysore	50,000	"	16,666	"

The groundnut cake is used in part as manure and cattle food and the bulk of it is exported out of India for lack of finding out any better local use. Chemical analysis has proved that groundnut cake contains nearly 48 per cent proteins, 28 per cent digestible carbohydrates, 6 per cent fat, 2 per cent crude fibre, 8 per cent ash and the rest moisture, and is rich in vitamins. It generally retains 7% un-expelled oil which renders it unfit for human consumption. If the residue oil which is very difficult to be separated from the cake by ordinary mechanical or physical means is extracted by suitable chemical solvents and excess of oil acidity is neutralized, the groundnut cake can be made edible. It can be deodorised and flavoured with vanilla or similar pleasant smelling essences and made palatable. It can be mixed with wheat flour, jawar or maize or *bajra* (millet) flour and made tasty meal by adding jaggery.

In this way it can be made fit for human use in the shape of bread, *puran chapatis* and biscuits, etc. I have full confidence that it can become wholesome nutritious food of the peasants provided it is prepared on the suggested lines. Groundnut by itself is a food storing seed which suffices to help the developing embryo grow into plant.

I therefore request Your Excellency to take early effective measures in this direction. If the groundnut cake problem is tackled promptly in proper manner then there will be no need to import soya beans for the purpose from Vladivostok or rush with begging bowl to U.N.O. to solve the local dietary problem. If the costly mistakes of tragic Bengal famine are not to be repeated, lives of millions of famine-stricken people of the affected area can be saved by adopting the above measures in time.

I hope that Your Excellency will leave no stone unturned in taking steps to make the best use of groundnut cake in hand to solve the ersatz food problem to tide over the period till new *rabi* crop is harvested.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. A. JAMAL
B.Sc.

511

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/338

TASLIM MAHAL,
RANCHI,
20 February 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing copy of a letter[1] to Mr. Suhrawardy. I am here in Ranchi to fight Abdul Qaiyum Ansari. We are fighting against heavy odds. The Hindus have cornered motor cars, taxies, lorries and transport. Hindus are financing Ansari and spending money like water. We are short of funds. Congress plan is to make Abdul Qaiyum Ansari a minister, in fact a minister for mass contact. Ranchi contest is, therefore, of all-India importance.

2. The Second Pakistan Conference of Chotanagpur was held on 17th and 18th February 1946 at Lohardaga under presidentship of

Maulana Abdus Sattar. Thousands of *Adibasis* (Aborigines) attended with their volunteers, ladies and leaders. Mr. Paul Deyal, B.L., and Rai Sahib Bandi Ram, *Adibasi* leaders, in their speeches supported Pakistan and appealed to Muslims to convey League message to every home and hamlet of the jungles of Chotanagpur. Mr. Paul Deyal himself three times raised slogans of Muslim [League] *Zindabad,* Pakistan *Zindabad,* Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad* and urged audience to join him in raising these slogans. This was a sight to see for angels.

3. The *Adibasis* have definitely aligned themselves on the side of Muslim League. Rajendar Prasad himself is touring to divide and defeat *Adibasis* and Muslims. The *Adibasis* are working and canvassing for League in jungles and hills of Chotanagpur.

4. The *Adibasis* required at least rupees five thousand for their Election Fund. This is for your information and necessary action.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
Member, Council All India Muslim League,
Member, Working Committee and Parliamentary Board, Bengal M.L.

[1]Not traceable.

512

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/339

20 February 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

May I dare to appeal to you to request Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to remit by wire from Central Fund at least rupees five thousand to Khan Bahadur Habibur Rahman, MLA (Central), President, Ranchi District Muslim League, Taslim Mahal, Ranchi, for the *Adibasi* Election Fund. It is of the highest, primary and vital importance for the League that we should befriend *Adibasi* tribals in Assam, Bengal, Bihar and C.P.As allies of Pakistan and of the League, they can help us a great deal.

Secondly, for heaven's sake consider the danger of civil war. The *Adibasi* tribals of C.P., Bihar, Bengal and Assam are armed with deadly bows and arrows and are very brave and organised. They can mobilize in a day whole Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas and can help Muslims in Bengal, Bihar, C.P. and even in Bombay and Hyderabad, for the belt of their population runs right through Central India from Assam to Bombay and from Santhal Parganas to Bastar, Kamkar, Koraput,

Ganjam Hills Agency through Orissa up to the Warangal and Karimnagar Districts of the Dominion [*sic*] of Hyderabad.

For heaven's sake seize this God-sent help of the *Adibasis* tribals. The League must take to offensive politics and organize anti-Congress, anti-Hindu peoples as their leaders. Defensive politics will not pay. The Hindu Congress is attacking Muslims in their home and dividing and disintegrating Muslims. We are simply on the defensive. But offence is the only right defence.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

513

M. N. Awan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/49-52

PESHAWAR,
21 February 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

May I seek your apology [*sic*], if I should give vent to my long suppressed feelings.

Now the Frontier Provincial Election is over. It's now clear that the result is far below our expectations. We should blame none for the ugly [*sic*] result but the bad luck of the Pathans of the doomed land.

The Congress which was seemingly a flat failure has after all succeeded. It can fairly well realise the hardship [*sic*] which it will suffer through an organised League in the near future. The Congress knowing the seriousness of the situation has chalked out a regular and organised programme against the zealous and sincere workers of the League. The conspirators will try to get these workers defamed and if possible knocked out of the League. They will send Congress deserters in various batches like Qaiyum, the present dictator of the Frontier Province. These deserters will try to degrade in your eyes those people who are a lurking danger for the Congress, thus to cement its path for a longer time.

I request you Quaid-i-Azam that do not encourage deserters. It is not your movement but of all the Muslims of India. Anybody who is a Musalman may join the League because it is for us to make it a success. But if anyone before joining the League seeks your audience, it means he does not join it with the idea of serving the bewildered Musalmans but to magnify in some way, without any kind of sacrifice, his own self.

These are ambitious people. They are fifth-columnists of the Congress. Their idea is to weaken, not to strengthen the League. They should work and then you and we will know what their real identity is.

We are experiencing the bitter results of Abdul Qaiyum's dictatorship and now for the future please save us from such people. Qaiyum will now make some representation to you for making him in-charge of the League organisation in our Province. If his present ambition is fulfilled it may cause further loss to the movement. An insignificant sincere worker is far better than a renowned untrue wire-puller.

If I am a bit frank and daring, I may kindly be excused because it comes from the very core of my heart.

Yours devotedly,
M. N. AWAN

514

B. R. Sen to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Misc. I/26

DEPARTMENT OF FOOD,
JAMNAGAR HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
22 February 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It has been very heartening to us in the Government of India to see the bold lead you have given to the country in facing the food shortage which confronts it this year.

You have said that you will consult the Food Department about the ways you and your people can give the most effective help. I know you are very busy and you may not have the time to read long letters till you return to Delhi, but I feel that I should lose no time in placing certain suggestions before you in case you can find the time to think about them and discuss them with your local party leaders.

Briefly, the position, as we see it, is like this:

The total deficit this year of both *kharif* and *rabi* crops is roughly estimated to be about 6 million tons. The total production of foodgrains in India is about 60 million tons. The deficit, therefore, is 10% of the production. If it were possible to distribute this deficit in such a way that everyone shared equally in it, there should have been no fear of starvation this year in India. If, again, it were possible to distribute the

available supply at a price not in excess of the statutory maxima or ceilings now in force, one of the main contributory causes to famine among the poorer sections of the population will have been removed. Neither of these two desiderata, however, are likely to be achieved. Out of a total population of 400 million we have now about 53 million under controlled distribution, either statutory rationing, or informal rationing or provisioning. Out of these 53 million, over 10 million must be producers, who are expected to yield up their surplus calculated on a scale specially designed for them. It is, however, not possible to enforce this scale on producers so effectively as to secure their entire surplus. Roughly speaking, we may say that we now control distribution effectively to about 40 million people. The rest of the population, namely 360 million, are at present under partial, little or no control.

How are we to distribute equitably the shortfall over these 360 million people when there is a shortage and prices must tend to rise? While this tendency to rise in prices is consistent with the law of supply and demand, in conditions such as occurred in 1943 and such as are likely to be experienced in 1946, it is likely to be accentuated by two special factors:

a. greed of traders and producers who will start hoarding in anticipation of higher prices;
b. panic among the non-producers and inadequate producers who will buy up all that they can and hoard, thus still further increasing the scarcity.

The Government and the political leaders must make their plans to deal with the 1946 emergency against this background. The policy which the Government of India have adopted and are determined to enforce is on the following lines:

i. Procurement must be tightened up where there is scope of doing so. The measures now being pressed are the introduction of a levy on the bigger producers, so as to give the Provincial Government control over a substantial quantity of foodgrains at the beginning of the crop season, to be supplemented by monopoly procurement suited to the conditions of particular areas. The basic principle of this policy is that the producers should be made to yield up their surplus calculated on a defined scale of rations, to the fullest possible extent. The more procurement is tightened up on these lines, the more successful in effect will be our policy of distributing the shortfall all over the country.
ii. Statutory rationing should be extended to the fullest possible extent that an administration is capable of. In Madras, Bombay and Mysore, the three areas most affected, the administration has

taken this matter in hand, but it is not enough that only deficit areas should adopt this policy. This must be done also in other areas, whether surplus or deficit.

iii. Price control must be rigidly adhered to. There is a powerful section in the country representing the interests of the producers, who want a rise in prices. The present prices are nearly three times the pre-War prices. The policy of the Government of India is to ensure prices which are fair to the producer as well as to the consumer. The present prices are not uneconomic for the producers according to the Government of India. They, therefore, must take a firm stand against these movements.

This policy can only be successful if the Governments at the Centre as well as in the Provinces have the fullest co-operation from the political parties in the country. This they can give in the following ways:

1. use their influence to encourage producers to part with grains in accordance with Government schemes of procurement;

2. use their influence to get people reconciled to reduction in rations which the Government are compelled to impose in order to distribute the shortfall;

3. use their influence in the direction of austerity measures;

4. use their influence to prevent selfish provincialism in the supply of surplus grains for deficit areas;

5. use their influence to discourage traders and producers from hoarding;

6. take a firm stand against the demand for raising prices so long as the present emergency lasts;

7. keep food out of political controversies and give assistance to local Governments and local officers individually and as parties; and

8. create and maintain public confidence in the Administration.

The question arises how best the political leaders can implement this programme, if they accept it. I should be very grateful if you would give me an opportunity to discuss these maters with you when you return to Delhi.[1]

Yours sincerely,
B. R. SEN
[*Secretary*]

[1]Jinnah replied that he would like to meet him to discuss the food situation to which he attached great importance, at a mutually suitable time. See *SHC*, Misc. I/27. Not printed.

515

Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah

F. 498/17

INDIA OFFICE,
WHITEHALL,
22 February 1946

Dear Jinnah,

I was pleased to find from your letter that you had enjoyed your talks with the members of the Parliamentary Delegation. I saw them directly after their return and they had a most interesting story to tell and several of them have told me how much they appreciated the conversations with yourself.

Since then we have made our announcement that Cripps, Alexander and myself are starting out for India towards the end of March. I shall, therefore, hope to have the opportunity of seeing you again and having several talks with you. So I will postpone discussion of the points made in your letter and in your enclosures until then.

With all good wishes,

I remain,

Sincerely yours,
PETHICK-LAWRENCE

516

Ahmed E. H. Jaffer to Liaquat Ali Khan & Others
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 313/4A

50 WESTERN COURT,
NEW DELHI,
22 February 1946

Dear Sirs,

I left Delhi by air on the 14th February on a week's tour to my constituency in connection with the provincial elections, because several people sought my advice about contesting elections independently, some of them being those whose appeals were rejected by your Board. I am glad to say that I was successful in dissuading about ten of them

from contesting elections independently. Out of those who were rejected by your Board, I succeeded in inducing Mr. Hasham Jamadar, Secretary, Belgaum District Muslim League, to withdraw his nomination against Mr. Gheewalla. In Bijapur District I succeeded in inducing Syed Mustafa Hussain Peerzada from [*sic*] withdrawing his candidature against League candidates. Similarly, Khan Bahadur Sahebji Saheb Peerzada of Bijapur, whose appeal was rejected by your Board, wanted to contest the election as an independent candidate for the Bombay Legislative Council from the Southern Division, and I wired him not to contest the election. I am glad to say that he did so with the result that the League candidate Mr. Kazi has been returned unopposed.

Mr. Abdul Razzak Moulvi Abdul Majeed, President, Maleegaon Municipality, is opposing the League candidate in Nasik district and has been writing to me for my help. I have refused him my help and have asked him to withdraw. The rejected candidate, Khan Saheb Ali Mahomed Kassam of Karad, desired to oppose the League candidate and I have advised him not to do so, and I am glad to say that not only he is not contesting the election, but he is helping the League candidate.

The above is a report of my brief visit to my province last week in connection with the Provincial elections. I am confident that we shall have great success in the Bombay Provincial legislature elections.

Yours sincerely,
AHMED E. H. JAFFER

517

C. A. Gomes to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/15

11 WELLINGTON SQUARE,
CALCUTTA,
22 February 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

On behalf of the signatories to the attached statement,[1] I am to request you very kindly to use your great influence with your people to spread a spirit of goodwill and comradeship between Anglo-Indians and the Muslims, a community with whom we have been on the best of terms for generations. We feel sure that you realise how important Muslim goodwill is for us, one of the Indian minorities, and that you

will in your public utterances in the city and elsewhere not fail to mention the matter.

Yours truly,
C.A. GOMES

[1]Not traceable.

518

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

Telegram, F. 505/39

22 February 1946

H. E. the Viceroy, New Delhi

I fervently appeal to you to intervene, abandon further trials of Indian National Army men and remit Rashid's sentence. Commander-in-Chief's explanation in his speech in Council of State unconvincing, untenable in eyes of any thinking man. Discrimination plea based on brutality cannot be maintained in law or on facts disclosed in the case before bar of public opinion.

M. A. JINNAH

519

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 831/31

RANCHI,
23 February 1946

Jaipal Singh *Adibasi* leader meeting us twenty fourth for subsidy. *Adibasis* aboriginals fighting Congress, supporting League in Bihar, Bengal. Kindly wire five thousand for *Adibasi* Election Fund either personal or Bengal and Central Funds. Letter sent. Save League prestige, honour [and] win goodwill support of brave, honest, fighting race, which occupies vital position in Assam, Bengal, Orissa, Chotanagpur, C.P., Bombay economy. This [*sic*] are supporting League in elections crying League *Zindabad*, Pakistan *Zindabad*. Wire money care Khan Bahadur Habibur Rahman, Member, Central Legislative Assembly, and President, District Muslim League, Ranchi.

RAGHIB AHSAN

520

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 286/11

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
23 February 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Sayed Miran Mohammad Shah, in connection with the nomination to the post of Speaker of the Sind Assembly, and a copy of the press notice on the same subject.

Kindly advise me how I should act, and what I should do in the matter, as the matter is of great importance.

As the Assembly has been called for the 12th March, this is a matter of extreme urgency, and I shall, therefore, be grateful for your kind advice in the matter as early as possible.

Hoping you are doing well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

Enclosure to No. 520
Miran Mohammad Shah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

F. 286/9

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
22 February 1946

My dear Sir Ghulam Hussain,

I wish to draw your attention to the statement[1] made by Mr. M. H. Gazdar, *MLA* and published in the *Daily Gazette* in the issue of yesterday, dated 21st instant, in the last part of which he has announced his candidature for the post of Speaker of the Sind Legislative Assembly. In his statement, he further discloses that he has written to the leaders of the Muslim League, the Coalition and the European Groups to support his candidature for Speakership. He further denies that there had ever been a party decision with regard to the candidature for this post. He also believes that even if there were such a party decision, his announcement of candidature in no way infringed it.

You are fully aware of the decision which was arrived at by the Party which met at Mr. Yusuf Haroon's place. By a unanimous agreement

among the members of the Muslim League Assembly Party, it was decided that the Chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board, namely Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, was to ascertain opinions of individual members privately and then announce the names of the ministers who were to be the members of your Cabinet, and also the name of the candidate of the Party for the post of Speaker. In accordance with that procedure, the names of your colleagues were announced, and they were subsequently sworn in. At the same time, my name was announced by him through you to be the candidate for the Speaker's post. In spite of these facts known to Mr. Gazdar, he has announced his candidature for the post of Speaker, and also states that he is canvassing for his candidature. I think this is breach of discipline of the Party, and I request you to kindly apprise Mr. Gazdar of the real situation and obtain his explanation with regard to it. If he is really serious in contesting for this post in spite of the Party decision, then I think in the interests of the Party discipline, action is called for. Such action would be taken either by you as the Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party or by the Chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board. Whatever the procedure, I think it is absolutely necessary that immediate steps be taken to avoid any breach in the Party discipline, the reaction whereof [*sic*] might affect the strength of the Party subsequently. A political party in a legislature will not be worth its existence if it cannot enforce discipline on its members.

Awaiting your reply, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
MIRAN MOHAMMAD SHAH

[1]See Annexure.

Annexure to Enclosure to No. 520

F. 286/10

ABOLITION OF WEIGHTAGES[1]

Gazdar Supports Khuhro's Proposal

Karachi, February 20: Supporting the stand taken by Khan Bahadur Khuhro for the abolition of weightages to the minorities in the Indian legislatures, Mr. M. H. Gazdar, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, told the *Daily Gazette* today that it was a move in the right direction. He said that weightages had done more harm than good to the Muslims.

Explaining further, he said that Muslims were 57 per cent in Bengal, but they had only 42 per cent representation there. Similarly, in the

Punjab, the majority community had been converted into a minority in the legislature. As regards the Muslim minority provinces, Mr. Gazdar said that he had consulted the representatives of the Muslim minority provinces in this matter, and they did not oppose the move.

Mr. Gazdar also disclosed what he had written to the leaders of the three groups, the Muslim League, the Coalition and the Europeans, to support his candidature for the Speakership of the Sind Legislative Assembly.

Asked how he could oppose Syed Miran Mohammad Shah who had been nominated by the Muslim League Assembly Party for the Speakership, Mr. Gazdar said that it was never a party decision. However, he said that it in no way infringed Party discipline or strength.

[1]The *Daily Gazette*, 21 February 1946.

521

Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah

F. 419/8-11

CLARIDGE'S,
BROOK STREET, W.1,
LONDON,
23 February 1946

Dear Mr Jinnah,

We have had an opportunity of discussing the food problem with the leading members of the government here and have succeeded in getting an assurance from the Prime Minister that the U.K. Govt. will support our claim strongly with the Combined Food Board at Washington. The London Food Council—which comprises representatives of the whole Empire—is also supporting our claim to a million tons for 1946. If we succeed even to [*sic*] 75% we shall be able to save deaths in India due to starvation.

I have been pushing Sir Nazimuddin forward in speech-making on the ground of his being a Muslim Leaguer and to emphasize, as I have said, your generous act in supporting this Delegation unconditionally. I pray to God we have some measure of success to justify your confidence in us.

At the lunches and dinners and by personal contact I have stressed the unity and solidarity of Muslims in India under your leadership.

I had an opportunity of a discussion with Henderson, the Deputy Secretary of State for India—and in fact the actual Secretary of State—, and these are some of the points he has raised which I am stating to

show you how their minds are working, what will happen to, and how are they to leave, forty million Hindus in Pakistan.

Is it possible to have an independent state considering the geography of India? My answers were naturally guarded and I perplexed them by saying that you will, I was positive, convince them when they went to India—the obvious replies which I gave were of course that we had actually proved that we never ill-treated the minorities, like the Congress had, during the working of provincial autonomy and, secondly, that there would be a large number of Muslims in the Hindu Provinces which they were forgetting—the answer to the other query was the Indian States which had worked satisfactorily in spite of being independent of British Indian administration and in spite of being in the same geographical limits.

The general impression here is that the mission of Cabinet Ministers is going to India to definitely give something if not everything and I hope and pray our dream of Pakistan is realised.

I do hope you are keeping well. If I have done anything to give a wrong impression, do write to me so that I can correct it on my return.

I am contacting the two parties here in the League and am confident of bringing them together under the slogan I have given them of undivided loyalty to you and the League.

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

522

Haji Ibrahim Haji Ishak to M. A. Jinnah

F. 154/259-60

P.O. BOX 276,
MOMBASA,
23 February 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am very grateful for your favour of the 14th December[1] last which you had written despite your multifarious activities and immense public calls on your precious time.

The local Jinnah Purse Committee duly remitted you by T.T. rupees five thousand through its Chairman, Mr. Aziz Esmail, on 15.12.45 about which, I am given to understand, no acknowledgment has yet been received from you by them. Maybe, you must [*sic*] be extremely

busy in connection with the elections in India. I am very sorry that the fund collected by the aforesaid Committee had not been a substantial one. As far as I am concerned, the long illness of my wife having taken a precarious turn rendered it impossible for me to take any further active part, but alas! my frantic efforts and entire energies to look after my wife proved unavailing as she expired on the morning of Saturday, the 9th instant, leaving behind four children: all of tender age.

In the intervening period Mombasa Muslims celebrated in a most befitting manner for the first time your birthday when a resolution of felicitation, gratitude and prayers for your long life was adopted, which resolution was subsequently telegraphically communicated to you by the local Muslim association.

Another event of interest was a lecture delivered by Mr. A.K. Esmail, Advocate of Kampala (Uganda), on the subject of foreign policy of Pakistan who had specially come down to Mombasa for the purpose.

We note with interest all that you write on the subject of the Hindu-Muslim relations at Mombasa and greatly appreciate the kind advice given by you thereabout.

The Musalmans of East Africa were both heartened and inspired by the wonderful success scored by the League in the Central Assembly elections and wish that like success should have attended it in all provincial elections as well. Cognizant of the fact that the League had to fight the latter under great odds against it, the results hitherto obtained are however far from disappointing. I am sure you will go on undeterred and undaunted. We have unshakable faith in your ability and sincerity to deliver the goods.

This morning the South African Indian Congress Delegation, which had arrived here by air on last Thursday, left for Bombay by SS *Canton*. Of the three Muslim members of the Delegation, Messrs A.S. Kajee and V.N. Mahomed are the zealous supporters of the Muslim League and firmly believe in Pakistan as being the only satisfactory and abiding solution to the Hindu-Muslim tangle in India. Mr. Kajee is a prominent South African public worker noted for his selflessness and sincerity. The undersigned has the honour of having intimate [*words illegible*] him. He and his colleagues will no doubt seek your ripe and sound advice in their predicament. By the same boat, another prominent Muslim public worker, but of East Africa, in the person of Councillor Allah Ditta Quraishy, has left for India. He is one of those who has done yeoman service for bringing the Muslim League to the forefront before the Muslims of Kenya. I am sure he will not miss the opportunity of

having the honour of an interview with you during his sojourn in India.

With great regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HAJI IBRAHIM HAJI ISHAK

[1]Not traceable.

523

Fatima Jinnah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/76-7

NEW DELHI,
23 February 1946

Dearest Jin,

I read in the papers this morning you are returning on the 6th March. Do let me know what your programme is. Everyone is rejoicing over the Punjab election results. It will have a very good effect on other provinces. I sent your things the very day I received your wire. I expect you must have got them and also the key under separate cover.

We had a little rain yesterday and weather has cooled down a bit.

Today there is a debate on the RIN. I am going to the Assembly. Your statements as regards INA as well as the RIN are splendid.

With much love. Look after your health, which is most important, and come back soon.

Yours,
FATIE

524

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 505/20

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
24 February 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your telegram of the 22nd February[1] about Rashid's sentence.

2. I am afraid there can be no question of remitting this sentence. Nor, on the other hand, is there any question whatever of discrimination, and if I failed when we last met to convince you on this point, I should be glad to see you again when you are next in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]No. 518.

525

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 392/83-4

CLARIDGE'S, BROOK STREET,
LONDON W.1,
24 February 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I will try and give you a short report of my impressions as a result of my discussions with Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, Sir John Henderson and Sir John Woodhead. Although these people do not like the idea of Pakistan, they think that perhaps this is inevitable, but practically all of them are of opinion that they do not see how they can support the claim for including Ambala Division, Calcutta and Burdwan Division in Pakistan zones. I would request you to be ready to meet them on this point. Secretary of State wanted to know why we refused to join one Constituent Assembly when we had the right to break away. What is our objection to joining the Executive Council?

I tried to explain to him our reasons for demanding two Constituent Assemblies and why we cannot form the Central government. I do not know if he was satisfied. In my opinion it is very necessary that there should be propaganda on behalf of the League in England. British public has very little knowledge of Muslim demands and why they are made. It is I think essential that a person of status who is a good speaker and can write well, should be sent to London and some money placed at his disposal so that he can get the English papers to publish Muslim League news. He will also have to do some entertaining as without this he will find it difficult to contact the people who count. I have asked a friend of mine who is here and who will be returning in a week to explain the need for propaganda here. He has been in contact with the

top men here and will be able to give you a good idea of the situation.

Yours sincerely,
K. NAZIMUDDIN

526

Aftab Iqbal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 299/6-8

LALAZAR,
GRAND TRUNK ROAD,
BAGHBANPURA, LAHORE,
24 February 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is possible that the Muslim League party may have to form a ministry in the Punjab in coalition with the Akalis or the Congress. If this happens the question who will be the Premier of the province is a very important one. Unfortunately the Muslim League party in the Punjab lacks men of ability and integrity and personally I do not see one man amongst the candidates for the premiership who is competent to hold this high office. We do not know whom you have in mind, but I am writing this to bring it to your notice that by an overwhelming majority of Muslims in this Province, Firoz Khan Noon will not under any circumstance be tolerated as Premier. Intelligent and patriotic Muslim Leaguers are definitely of the opinion that to have Firoz Khan as Premier would be a disgrace to the Muslim League organisation generally and to the Punjab Provincial Muslim League particularly. The younger generation of Muslims, especially the student community, are strongly opposed to him and firmly believe that this man is not fit to be trusted. To get rid of one undesirable man and to have another undesirable man in his place would mean no material change for the better. My late father had an extremely poor opinion of his character and ability. How do we know that he is not a foul Unionist in the attractive garb of a Muslim Leaguer? My observation and experience of Punjab politics during the last nine years have convinced me that the Maliks, the Tiwanas and the Noons of the Punjab are the greatest hindrance in the political advancement of Indian Muslims. During the Unionist regime a battle has gone on between intellect and ignorance and ignorance has always been on the winning side. On behalf of the Punjab intelligentsia, I ask you never to trust Firoz Khan. Mamdot who bought the chairmanship

of the Provincial Muslim League for two thousand rupees possesses neither intellect, imagination, idealism, nor political sagacity. Daultana and Shaukat are too young and inexperienced to undertake the onerous duties and responsibilities of the premiership of a province. The only other persons in the field are Raja Ghazanfar Ali and Malik Barkat Ali. Of the two, we believe that the latter is a superior man. When the Muslim League was almost a non-entity in this province, Barkat Ali tenaciously adhered to the Muslim League creed and held the banner of this party aloft in the midst of strong opposition from every quarter. He is an experienced lawyer who has been in political life for nearly a quarter of a century, a trusted servant of the Muslim masses, a man who combines sound common sense with idealism and heart with intellect. In the judgment of many he is by far the ablest man of the whole lot of those young politicians who aspire to be the premier of the Punjab. I am not oblivious of the difficulties even in his case, but I think with your support he will succeed in maintaining the integrity of the Muslim League party in the Assembly. His name is worthy of serious consideration.

With kind regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
AFTAB IQBAL
Barrister-at-Law,
Advocate, High Court

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I. I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/344-8

BOMBAY,
24 February 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

There are about 20,000 R.I.N. ratings at Bombay. About seventy per cent of them are Muslims. The differentiation in the treatment meted out to them and the men of R.N. was causing heart-burning among the R.I.N. ratings.

The beginning of the trouble can be traced to an incident which occurred about two weeks back, when Commander King of H.M.I.S. *Talwar* told some of the ratings who were sitting in the barracks that 'You sons of bitches keep quiet'. This caused a great deal of resentment

amongst the ratings, who were already agitated on the question of differential treatment meted out to them in regard to food, pay, leave, allowances, discharge, etc.

The situation appears to have been further aggravated by serving to the ratings of the H.M.I.S. *Talwar, Daal* originally meant for the mules and extremely bad ration. The food was so bad that the ratings decided not to take it and go on strike. They then placed their grievances before the authorities. When the other ratings heard about it they also went on strike. This was about the 16th or the 17th instant. On the 17th instant, Rear Admiral Rattray came to make inquiries but the ratings told him that they had placed their grievances before the authorities on previous occasions also but they were not attended to and they therefore had no faith in him.

On the 18th instant the ratings had a talk with Rear Admiral Rattray. No untoward incident appears to have taken place until the 19th when the ratings took out a procession and marched through several main streets of Bombay.

On the 20th morning, a meeting of the Central Strike Committee of the ratings, consisting of representatives from various ships and shore establishments which numbered 32, was held at the Signal Training School at Colaba. The meeting chalked out a programme and appointed a committee of five persons to negotiate with the authorities. On the 20th instant the naval authorities ordered all the ratings to return to their barracks by 3.30 p.m. It appears that almost all the ratings except about 40 returned to the barracks or their ships by that time. About 40, who had not returned within the time-limit, were rounded up and arrested. The strikers of H.M.I.S. *Talwar* took their meals at the mess and went to their billets on the 20th night. Military pickets were placed at the gate of the various shore establishments on the 20th from 3.30 p.m. This action of the authorities seems to have created an excitement in the ratings who were comparatively calm till then.

By the 21st., the ratings appeared to have got the control of all the ships of the Royal Indian Navy and the Castle Barracks together with all the arms and ammunition there. It appears that some shots were fired at the R.I.N. ratings by the military authorities and the ratings fired in return. The situation was very tense. It was apprehended that if either party made an attack in full strength, there would be almost a pitched battle. It was also apprehended that the ratings were in a position to destroy a portion of the Fort area if they made full use of the arms and ammunition in their possession. Luckily neither party attacked the other but great excitement and nervousness prevailed in the city. The military authorities stopped supply of food from outside to the

ratings and cut off their water connection of the Castle Barracks where the ratings on shore were concentrated.

In this tense atmosphere, the Communists made an announcement on the evening of the 21st that Bombay should observe *hartal* on Friday the 22nd inst. to express their sympathy with the R.I.N. ratings. Both the League and the Congress were opposed to the observance of this *hartal* but public feeling was so much excited by wild rumours and newspaper reports that it was impossible to control the mischief-mongers. From early morning on the 22nd, the excited mischief-mongers began stopping all vehicular traffic and also asked the people to close the shops. Stone throwing was indulged in on an precedented [*sic*] scale. Even our efforts in Muslim localities and Congress efforts in Hindu localities could not succeed in restoring order or stopping violence. Several tram cars and motor lorries were burnt. Several grain shops were looted. Several post offices and banks were broken open and some of the furniture was taken out on the road and burnt. The police opened fire at several places. By mid-day the public frenzy was uncontrollable. After noon, the military was posted at several places in the city where the damage was great. There were about 70 deaths and about 700 casualties as a result of firing. Curfew Order was issued on the 22nd evening.

I had all along advised the ratings not to persist in the strike. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel who was approached by another section of the R.I.N. also advised them complete surrender. A large number of the members of the Central Strike Committee of the R.I.N. came to the conclusion on the night of the 22nd that in view of the advice tendered to them from all quarters the question of unconditional surrender should be seriously considered. They decided to do so in the early hours of the 23rd though they did not hoist the black flags until 8.30 a.m. Your press statement appeared in the press on the 23rd morning and by 8.30 a.m. the said Central Strike Committee hoisted black flags as a signal for complete surrender. Even after their complete surrender to the authorities, the R.I.N. ratings wanted to go on hunger strike until their grievances were redressed. Mr. Hameed Akhtar, Secretary, Central Strike Committee, came to me for advice on the noon of the 23rd and I advised him not to resort to hunger strike and call off the strike in view of your press statement. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel was also approached by another section of the Central Strike Committee and he gave them the same advice. They have given up the hunger strike also.

On the 21st evening, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan came here from Madras on his way to Delhi and I acquainted him with the situation. I also sent him a telegram on the 22nd and requested him to get in touch with the Commander-in-Chief to get the redress of the grievances of the

ratings and also get an assurance from the Commander-in-Chief that there will be no victimisation of the strikers. It appears from the press reports that both Abul Kalam and Nawabzada saw the Commander-in-Chief and the results of their interviews have appeared in the press.

Though the situation was quieter in Bombay on the 23rd, there were several disorders and there was lot of firing by the military. The number of persons killed by the 23rd evening was 230 and of [those] injured by bullets 1200. There appears some further improvement today but there are some scattered incidents of firing by the military in some parts of the city especially in the north. I may mention here that on the 22nd instant one of our National Guards, Munshi Raza, received a bullet wound while on duty near Play House as a consequence of which he expired. The National Guards are rendering good service in all the localities.

Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali and the Communists have a big hand in the whole trouble. Yesterday at the Mayor's Peace Committee, the question of Aruna Asaf Ali having a hand in the trouble was discussed and some members of the Committee suggested that she should be made to leave the city. It appeared from the talk of the Congress members of this Committee that she was beyond their control also.

If there are any further developments hereafter, I shall write [about] them to you.

I enclose[1] herewith a copy of the demand of the R.I.N. ratings given to the authorities by them. The Secretary of the Central Strike Committee, Mr. Hameed Akhtar, who saw me yesterday has requested me to convey to you the confidence of the ratings in you and their request that you should help them in getting their grievances (marked A) redressed. They have been very much impressed by your statement.

I also enclose a copy of the letter[2] addressed by some members of the R.I.A.S.C. to me and a copy of their demands.[3] They are marked B collectively.

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR

[1,2&3]See F. 1092/349-51, *QAP*. Not printed.

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M. Zain Hasan & S. M. Noer to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC I/40

CAIRO,
25 February 1946

Sir,

We take the liberty to write you this letter, as up to now we have no personal contact while we deem it necessary to strengthen our line in our common struggle for the independence of our respective countries and for the renaissance of our holy religion, the Islam.

We have indeed read and heard much about the Muslim League under her able leader Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah and so too about her noble defence of the Indonesian problem, for which we, as Indonesians, have to express our heartiest gratitude.

Sir, we, oppressed peoples all over the world, have to prepare a powerful defence line, which ought to be impregnable by whomsoever; the recent U.N.O. conferences in London proved that the colonizing powers did not want to learn anything from their bitter World War II experiences and that they are determined to resume their old policy of exploitation. Their noble charters, and the goodwill towards nations as provided therein, turned out to be nonsense. Preference is still given to power rather than right.

We, members of the Indonesian Association for Independence in the Middle East, therefore, hope that this introductory letter will pave the way for a close relationship so that we may have the opportunity of complete collaboration in our common struggle in the nearest future. And we have the pleasure to enclose herewith a copy of the political manifesto[1] issued by the Indonesian Ministry of Information and multiplied by our association.

We have the honour to be,
Sir,
Yours most truly,
M. ZAIN HASAN
President, Indonesian Assocation
for Independence
S. M. NOER
Secretary

[1]Not traceable.

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Muhammad Anwar Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1136/312
[*Original in Urdu*]

O Freedom! Thy name is Paradise

AZEEM BUILDING, SHERGARH,
KAPURTHALA,
25 February 1946

Respected Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

You will be well-informed about the Punjab Assembly elections; congratulations on Muslim League victory.

The Muslims of Punjab gave their verdict and we hope that you will guide us to path of independence as soon as possible. May *Allah* give you power to accomplish this task (*Aameen*). There is an unpleasant situation in Punjab. The Muslim League has given membership of League to a Qadiani named Fateh Muhammad Siyal (who was elected as an independent candidate). The people of Punjab will protest against this act without the slightest hesitation. We appeal to you not to give membership of League to Qadianis. You know the reason of our protest well enough. It will give a chance to Majlis Ihrar-ul-Islam to propagate against Muslim League.

Awaiting your reply,

Servant of the nation,
MUHAMMAD ANWAR KHAN

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A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/162-3

25 February 1946

Janab Taslim,

Excuse me kindly for intruding upon your valuable and busy time. I cannot avoid disturbing you in the interest of the nation. The people who throng about you every morning and evening have been misleading you about the actual state of affairs in Bengal. They say that Muslim League will capture cent per cent Muslim seats,[1] which is quite impossible in the present circumstances.

You know literacy among the Muslims of Bengal is only seven per cent and the number of English-knowing Muslims is still lower. Then, majority of the English-educated men are in Govt. service and living in towns. The few Muslim lawyers who practise in *mofussil* towns are young in age and have got little hold over the masses. It is again a fact that the Muslim League has not yet been strongly settled itself [*sic*] in the villages. The young pleaders, who were ardent supporters of the League till recently, have become indifferent to the League owing to the unsatisfactory and unwise selection of candidates by the Provincial Parliamentary Board. I have already said that they have little hold over the masses.

Owing to your good offices, activity of the student community, and the fall of League Ministry in Bengal, the League was penetrating into [*sic*] the masses and these young lawyers were working a bit for the League. But now after the publication of nominations, all propaganda of the League has been totally stopped in the *mofussil*. The opponents of the League are not sitting idle. They are on the contrary making good use of the situation created by the Suhrawardy axis. Mr. Fazlul Huq, Syed Nowsher Ali and other Mir Jafars[2] are making tremendous propaganda in misrepresenting the League. The unwary masses of the interior never read newspaper. They are led by the influential men of the locality. Fazlul Huq is purchasing these petty local leaders with Congress money at his disposal; Hindu *zamindars*, pleaders, traders, intelligentsia are all his supporters. You know, Fazlul Huq is not a man to be trifled with. Nowsher Ali also has got his followers. As against these, who work for the Muslim League? None. Sir Nazim is away; Moulana Akrum Khan is old and ill; Mr. Suhrawardy is dreaming of premiership. Who works and who will work among the masses?

If you expect Bengal's vote in favour of Pakistan, be not befooled by the dunces and dreamers. You are old; you have got other urgent work to do, I realise. Notwithstanding these, you cannot avoid some unusual labour for Bengal. You arrange for vigorous propaganda in every constituency of Bengal and personally go to Barisal, the stronghold of Fazlul Huq, and other important districts of East and North Bengal. You are intelligent to gauge the situation.

Hence I stop here with apology once again for disturbing you. Let *Allah* bless you and grant you long life to uphold the Muslim cause.

Yours fraternally,
A. KHAN

[1]Muslim League won 114 out of the 117 Muslim seats in Bengal. See Appendix XIII. 8&9, Vol. I, Part II, 616-20.

[2]The quisling who collaborated with the British East India Company to help cause the defeat of Sirajuddaula at the Battle of Plassey in 1757, which paved the way for the Company's control over Bengal under Robert Clive.

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1107/61-4

BAREILLY,
25 February 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Most respectfully I beg to draw your kind attention to the following facts.

You are aware that the Victory Day celebrations were observed by the Muslim League in the month of *Moharram* in spite of the fact that you were requested to postpone the date of its observance. But the appeals proved to be a 'cry in the wilderness.'

This act was totally improvidential [*sic*] and painful in view of the fact that Muslims in general and Shias in particular were engaged in mourning the martyrdom of Imam Hussain in those days. It seriously injured not only the feelings of Shias but also annoyed the holy soul of our Prophet Mohammad[PBUH] and that of Imam Hussain, with the result that you had to face, contrary to our hopes, the unsatisfactory results of the provincial elections—specially in the N.W.[F.] Province.

By God, I say that I was as much shocked over the bad results as you, my Quaid-i-Azam. I am, undoubtedly, among those Leaguers who always pray for your long life and success.

It is my firm faith that the Hindu Congress had to face calamity, misery and destruction for about 6 years in the past only on account of the fact that the U.P. Congress Ministry in 1937-39 had oppressed and wronged the Shias, and schemed to suppress the mission of Imam Hussain, the greatest martyr of the world.

The object in writing this letter is nothing but to request you to pray [to] God to grant you forgiveness for your fault and sin which you committed by getting the Victory Day celebrations observed during the days of *Moharram*.

I am confident that if you confess your fault and express your remorse before Almighty, you will certainly succeed in achieving the goal of Pakistan.

Once again I assure you that I am so much sincere to you that after my daily prayers, I pray for your success over your opponents.

Being in Govt. service, I am not in a position to reveal my name in this letter.

M. H.
B.A.

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Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 399/220

LAHORE,
25 February 1946

Mian Amiruddin informs me that you told him on the telephone this morning that Mamdot must be elected leader of League Party. If that is your wish I shall be the first to obey.

Wire reply,

FIROZ NOON

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Mrs. Kobad Ahmad Chaudhuri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/82-3

JAMAL KHAN,
CHITTAGONG,
25 February 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Assuming that you are still in Calcutta, I am inspired by a national cause and writing these few lines to your esteemed self.

Having devoted my time to the service of the wounded and suffering for the last 3 years, I now feel inspired to a higher and greater call for service, service to the women and children of this Province which is part of "Pakistan", and ameliorating [*sic*] their suffering at a time when a greater famine stares us in the face. The people have not recovered from the ravages of the last one, when another knocks at the door. It is up to us to take timely action.

May I at this period seek your advice and patronisation [*sic*] in forming an institution for destitute Muslim women and children who could find cloth, food and shelter, and in lieu thereof be taught a useful trade (handicraft), the sales from which could add to the wealth of the institution.

Such an institution, you will no doubt agree, requires sufficient funds and patronisation and it could only be a genuine success if the cause is taken up by your generous self.

I feel confident that you would in the name of the community appeal to the Muslim League and the supporters of "Pakistan" to give a careful thought to the burning question. Let it be a Pakistan issue to save the starving and let us give the lead.

I would very much appreciate a personal interview with you on the subject.

My husband, Mr. Kobad Ahmad Chaudhuri, is already at Calcutta (159 Park Street) and any reference regarding myself can be had from Khan Bahadur Farid Ahmad Chaudhuri at Anderkilla, Chittagong.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,
MRS. KOBAD AHMAD CHAUDHURI
B.A., D.T.

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Ehtisham Uddin and others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 988/38-9

MORADABAD,
26 February 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the students of Aligarh University, have been working at Moradabad in connection with the elections for the last one week. Despite our best efforts we apprehend, and very much regret to say, that there is every likelihood of the seat from the women's constituency being lost to the Muslim League candidate.

The Congress has got very solid strength behind it, which is by no means negligible. Begum Shahid's voters are adamant that their votes will go to her, irrespective of what party she belongs to. She is holding a very large number of votes, which in her absence might go to the Congress and are with her only due to her and her husband's influence. Personally we are of the opinion that Begum Shahid should win this election without much difficulty due to her personal influence which we cannot break. We have also very reliable and true information that the greatest possible influence has been brought to bear upon her from the Congress to accept the Congress ticket even now, but she has clearly refused the offer.

Under the circumstances, our personal and sincere opinion is that if we want to secure the seat for League, we should win it with Mrs Shahid as our candidate. We can assure you that Begum Shahid will win this

election with an overwhelming majority if she is given the League ticket even now, whereas with Mrs. Mashkur as our candidate our chances are too meagre. As a matter of fact the conditions are such that without Begum Shahid's support, the men's seat from the same constituency is also in danger as far as the Muslim League candidate is concerned. Our information is that Chaudhry Ahmad Ullah is perforce supporting Begum Shahid, otherwise his success will get into jeopardy. Qazi Sarwat Husain, the Congress candidate, has considerable personal influence in the constituency and is breaking away many votes from us by bargaining with the voters that they could give the women's vote to Begum Shahid. If Begum Shahid is with us we could try for both the votes [*sic*] with much more ease.

However, we are doing our best and will continue to do so for the Muslim League whoever may be the League candidates. But we have considered it our duty to apprise you of the actual and true facts, as it may still be possible for the League high command to reconsider the matter and retrieve the position which appears rather gloomy at present.

We also suggest that someone from the League high command should come down to Moradabad at once and verify the actual facts.

Yours sincerely,
EHTISHAM UDDIN
AGHA MOHAMMAD MAZHAR ALI
AZIZ AHMAD ANSARI
.ZAFARUL ISLAM

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Viqarun-Nisa Noon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/30

65 FALETTI'S, LAHORE,
27 February 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It has never been our game to write or to inspire anybody else to write or to wire complaints, accusations or maliciously invented stories about personalities or public opinion. In spite of that we have been aware that much of it has been going on all the time but especially for the last week when we were sure that the Muslim League was to win an overwhelming majority of seats.

Firoz, in spite of knowing it and of realising the possible effect it

may have on you, first of all thought that you, being a constitutional leader, would let the MLAs' wishes prevail, who have been elected in the face of the greatest difficulties and opposition. Besides all of us were so tired and exhausted from this struggle that neither of us had or has any stamina left to fight the disrupting forces that are carrying the day.

As I said on the telephone: Your wishes will be obeyed implicitly; and they have been.

Something may interest you, though, Mr. Jinnah. Your wishes, so we found out, were already known to Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Raja Ghazanfar Ali and the Nawab of Mamdot three days ago. Nothing was told to us or to Iftikharuddin nor to Shaukat, so we gather. On the contrary, they wanted Firoz to stand and then produce your message expressing your wishes at the last moment, in this way trying to impress the MLAs that the man they may want to be their leader is not the trusted man of Mr. Jinnah. But for Amiruddin we would have known nothing of your wishes.

These last six months were more like a nightmare, especially for me. Firoz when he was actually on tour, and that was most of the time, loved every minute of it because it brought him back into contact with his countrymen whom he loves and understands so well. Firoz is an easy-going commoner and sitting on wobbly *charpoys*, eating the farmer's food, and talking to them or listening to their tales is a joy to him. But while he was out on tour continuous intriguing was going on against him. Once or twice I asked Firoz if I was allowed to write to you but he forbade me to do so. I only hope that they have not succeeded in influencing you through their machinations in the decision you have taken re[garding] the leadership of the party.

The disappointment in the public is great and sincere and the only thing for Firoz now to do is to work still harder [so as] not to let them lose confidence in the Muslim League organisation. The electorate was hoping for a League Ministry that could undo all the wrong that has been committed against them and that will start on the constructive course of administration. Everything possible must therefore be done for the formation of a Ministry. I realise that you do not think in terms of ministries but after elections like the one we just had to fight over here, the only possibility of the party, for which the voter had to undergo such humiliations and actual physical dangers, is to do its utmost to be in power so as to save the public from vindication [*sic*] and oppression. Besides, it was a flame-like enthusiasm that inspired the people, the villagers in particular, to vote for the Muslim League, mainly based on religious fervour. You, Mr. Jinnah, think on big international lines which our simple Muslim electorate does not understand. It is important to educate them further and that can only be done with official backing

because our party has not the means nor the resources of the Congress to fall back upon, which enable them to finance its party and followers when they are out of power. On the other hand, if the other parties form a coalition, Congress plus Unionist money and official power will be used to reduce and crush the present Muslim League strength.

I hope that Mamdot and his advisers will be able to come to an arrangement with the Akalis. Up to now Firoz had refused to see anybody because he has no *locus standi* in the party. If and when he will be asked to help, he will of course do so especially as he knows the leader of the Akali Party, Sardar Baldev Singh, very well. I was told last night by Malik Mukhben Singh, who is an old acquaintance of ours and one of the live wires in the Akali Party, that most of the talks up to now have been going on with the defeated Communist and Congress Sikhs, which as you can well understand, are considered with real enmity by the Akalis.

Out of all this muddle, I hope much good will come. I know that we have all your good wishes with us. If Firoz allows me to do it or not, I shall, if I feel like it, write to you and inform you of happenings over here. Only I hope that my nerves will have not gone to pieces by then. The strain has been enormous and nothing has been so worrying as the jealousies and petty intrigues that were directed against Firoz.

I just heard that at the party meeting Mamdot was elected leader, Shaukat Deputy and Mian Nurullah, Secretary. I suppose that meets with your approval.

Take care of yourself and come and visit us soon again.

With kindest regards from us both,

Yours sincerely,
VICKY NOON

PS. Firoz just now came back from the meeting, himself proposed Mamdot and told the facts to the members. Mamdot in turn made the nicest speech. He said but for your orders he would have never stood against Firoz, but Ghazanfar pretended that he had not been aware of your wishes up to now. Well, the main thing is unity. Firoz has started them off on it.
V.N.

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S. Rahaman to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 883/90

SOUTH EAST ASIA COMMAND,
SINGAPORE,
28 February 1946

Respected Sir,

As a first and last Muslim national leader, I am approaching you with a view to [your] clarifying and advising us Muslims abroad for many years regarding contributions for the people likely to be affected with famine in the very near future.

You please suggest one organisation to send the collected money [to]. Most probably, Bengal will be affected seriously. It is better for us to send the first instalment to Bengal. You can direct me to an organisation for the needful and contact. I have already informed Moulana Akrum Khan, editor, *Azad Patrika,* [of] our intention and views. But up to this time no reply. Praying to *Allah* for your long life and prosperity so that Muslims in India and abroad can be benefited by your service and guidance.

Your well-wisher,
S. RAHAMAN

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Nasim Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/114

MONTGOMERY,
28 February 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

At a recent meeting of Working Committee of the District Muslim League, Montgomery, it was resolved to present gold medals to *Nawa-i-Waqt, Zamindar,* and *Ihsan,* three Muslim dailies of Lahore, for valuable publicity work in the Punjab for the Muslim League.

It was also resolved to request you for any direction which you may

consider desirable for the award of these medals.

I, therefore, request you on behalf of the District Muslim League to allow your venerable name to be associated with the medals and also to give the necessary directions as to how these should be presented. They will be gold medals worth at least rupees two hundred each.

Yours obediently,
NASIM HASAN
Publicity Secretary,
District Muslim League

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/88

CALCUTTA,
28 February 1946

Sir,

The Muslim women of Calcutta felt greatly honoured by the presence of your august self in their midst at the Muslim Institute on 25.2.1946, and considered it a red-letter day for the emancipation of the much-neglected women of Muslim Bengal. At that meeting, Sir, you were good enough to stress the necessity of giving proper education to our children so that they might become useful citizens now and in free Pakistan. Sir, the Wellesley area, where Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and his illustrious father lived all through and where Mr. Suhrawardy was born and brought up, from where he came into prominence and power, where 90 per cent of the population is Muslim, and where again the office of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League is situated, has got neither an up-to-date boys' kindergarten school nor a girls' kindergarten school suitable for Muslim children. It is at the primary stage that children should be provided with first class nursery schools as are available to children of some of the European countries. Nobody pays any attention to the building up of really useful children who may be able to face the difficult problems that lie ahead of them. Then again, there is no maternity home, children's creche, nor even a ladies' park in this locality. The Wellesley Square, which was meant for health seekers, has turned into a veritable nuisance and has now become unfit for use as a health resort by the public. The Calcutta Madrasah

H.E. School has lost its reputation because of its bad teaching staff who have been on the same spot for years together, and other undesirable features existing there. There is no suitable library or reading room for Muslim boys and girls in this area. The Muslim Institute does not provide all the facilities for which it was founded. The above grievances can be redressed if you feel disposed to intervene.

There should be an association for Muslim children's amenity excursions and sports. There is no agency to supply pure milk. The sanitary condition of the Wellesley area is most unsatisfactory and the Muslims here are backward educationally.

There should be an agency authorised by you to collect subscriptions from Government servants who are very willing to pay. Sir, we badly need a good girls' H.E. school in the neighbourhood of Wellesley Square. Our girls are being wasted without a girls school here.

Yours most respectfully,
[UNSIGNED]
A lady member of the public

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N. D. Garg to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/176-7

C/O MR. KARIM BAKHSH, CLERK,
DISTRICT & SESSIONS COURT,
BHATINDA,
28 February 1946

Dear Sir,

So far as I have been able to make out, stating in brief, the Muslim League advocates first for [*sic*] the security of Muslim interests in free India and then stands for freedom. Pakistan is the most [*sic*] and serious demand to secure Muslim interests. Efforts so far made to arrive at an agreement have failed. Representation of a community in the new constitution committee, or any other one, on the score of population gives chances of apprehension for the less represented minorities to be harmed at the hands of majority. Although this is the future which could be the best judge about it, yet apprehension is there, which is serving as a wall to arrive at an agreement. It is thus necessary that an agreement based on a principle other than the population, affording chances to Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims and others, of getting more representation, seems to be called for, appropriate and practicable.

History tells that the Muslim community is martial-spirited. It sacrifices [*sic*] when called upon. It never lagged behind to sacrifice even under hanging swords.

[*Para 3 omitted*]

To be extremely short, the basic principle for representation by different communities should be the sacrifices done [*sic*] by a particular community in the war for freedom and not the present population of any community. In this way if Muslims suffered more than other communities, then they could get more seats than according to the population of Muslim community. By great sacrifices the Muslims can get even more seats than Hindus, and thus in every committee, it will be more representative than others, and in this way the question of Pakistan will also be solved. Every community shall be given free room to do its best and to try to get more seats by sacrifices. And in the zeal to get more seats, every community shall try its level best to put in all what it possesses in the prosecution of the object of freedom. This would also bring freedom soon.

I think on this basic principle there could be some agreement. I would be thankful if you send your opinion by return of post in this respect. If this basic principle is agreed upon, then I am sure, on further progress there would certainly be an agreement.

At the end, I would request you not to make any public announcement in this respect, as there is an apprehension that your opinion may prejudice others with whom I have to come into contact at any stage of this scheme.

Hoping to have a very early reply,

Yours sincerely,
N. D. GARG

540

Fakhruddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/86-7
[*Original in Urdu*]

CHHACHHI MOHALLA,
RAWALPINDI,
28 February 1946

'O commander of the faithful, may divine help be with you,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu
I shall never forget this moment of my life when I am making a

request to the honourable and beloved leader of the Muslims of India. I cannot fully express my joy and pride which are beyond words. A number of titles, for addressing you, came to my mind but I consider that the title *Amirul Momineen* (commander of the faithful) was the best; so I have used it.

Amirul Momineen, I would like to congratulate you on your sustained efforts to bring together the Muslims of the Punjab, which resulted in overwhelming success of the ML candidates in the elections.[1] Who could have predicted a month back that the ML would obtain 90% seats in the Punjab. Before the elections, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan had said that the Muslims of Punjab were divided into castes and creeds but the elections had proved that unity and solidarity was possible amongst them and that in the adverse circumstances they got over the caste system and old traditions for the greater cause of Pakistan. You would be pleased to know that members of different sects set aside their differences and voted for the ML candidates. Different clans also did the same. This was an unprecedented show of solidarity.

I may say without any hesitation that your faith is stronger than ours, and I wish that all leading persons of our nation were also blessed with it.

You might agree with me that the Muslim League would not be content with success in the election but would like to see the revival of the spirit of Islam. God has promised that the Muslims would rule the world once again but would have to justify this honour with unflinching determination.

In this connection it is stated that it is the duty of every Muslim to obey the divine commandments and be nice and helpful to fellow human beings. The minorities are also God's creature. When the ML comes into power, it should abide by the Islamic laws and treat the minorities liberally.

[*Remaining portion omitted*]

Your humble servant,
FAKHRUDDIN AHMAD
B. A.

[1]See No. 472, note 1.

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F. K. Khan Durrani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/180

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL 65 RAILWAY ROAD, LAHORE,
1 March 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have not written to you for a long time. The last time you were here, friends urged me to see you. But I was too ill at the time and even at present I have to do my correspondence with the help of friends. Perhaps I should not meddle in the matter I am going to write about. But I am afraid silence at this time will be disloyalty to the Muslim nation in India, of which I cannot be guilty even in dream. Negotiations are taking place between the Provincial League high command and the Akalis. Public opinion, I have been able to gather so far, is that an Akali-League coalition will be short-lived and will prove fatal to the Muslim League in this Province, especially as there is no man big enough in the League to tackle the situation properly. One suggestion is that you should come to Lahore and let Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Tiwana and his Muslim followers enter the League or that the League should make a coalition with his party. A Ministry so formed will be stable and save the League as well. The Muslim majority in the Assembly is only nominal, and in any coalition with a non-Muslim minority, the balance of power will be always in the hands of the latter, which will prove fatal to the Muslim League. You see we are not too many and we want unity in our ranks. I know Muslim Leaguers in the Punjab are in no mood for unity, and a most dangerous variety of fanaticism has taken possession of the Muslim mind. At present one must shout with the crowd or get lynched by the crowd, and the feeling has been created in the public that one who is not a Leaguer is worse than a *Kafir* and should be hanged like a dog forthwith. I say this kind of fanaticism is full of menace to the Muslim nation, and the League's election campaign, though it has won its immediate objective, has done a positive disservice to the nation. That is, however, a different story. All I want to insist is that we Muslims want unity in our ranks and must seek ways and means to such unity. The patch-up I am suggesting has every promise of success, provided you can gag that evil genius Mumtaz Daultana, who alone is responsible for all that has taken place in the Punjab.

At this point, I learn that you are on a tour to Assam and this letter will not reach you for many days. But now that it is written, I shall let it go.

Yours sincerely,
F. K. KHAN DURRANI

542

Abdur Rashid Arshad Makhdum to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/91-4

BACHRA BUILDING,
TANDO VALI MOHAMMAD,
HYDERABAD, SIND,
1 March 1946

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have always been sending you the detailed news about the muddled politics of Sind. As I have heard very bad news against the League, I earnestly request you, Sir, to be very kind enough [*sic*] to come over here in Sind, and for God's sake save Sind Ministry from the expected fall and thus save the downtrodden Muslims of Sind from the yoke of Congressites.

Here are [*sic*] the fresh news. Three Muslim League MLAs are sure to leave the League Assembly Party, out of whom I know the names of two, Mr. M. H. Gazdar and Arbab Toqachi. Mr. Gazdar is contesting for Speaker's post against the League's nominee Syed Miran Mohammad Shah. Thus he is trying to make [*sic*] a serious rift in the League Assembly Party. The opposite party has decided at Sann Conference, headed by the so-called Leaguer Shaikh Abdul Majid, that they will whole-heartedly support Mr. Gazdar. So much so that the opposite party has decided to form the Congress Ministry in Sind at any cost and if League fails, following will be the Ministers and their portfolios:

G. M. Sayed	Premier
Syed Mohammad Ali Shah	Home Minister
K. B. Moula Bakhsh	Revenue Minister
Prof. Ghanshyam	P.W.D.
Nihchaldas Vazirani	Public Health and Local Self [Government]

And the fourth [*sic*] Minister will either be Nawab Nabi Bakhsh Bhutto or any other member coming from the League Party and he will be

given either Finance or Education.

There are very clear signs that Sind League Ministry may fall during the session, and it seems a certainty keeping in view the above fact. I hope you will yourself come to Sind during the critical days lest it is too late, Sir! It is very essential that we must save the League Ministry and it can only be achieved if you come to terms with G. M. Sayed and his party.

I have come [to know] from a reliable source that Sayed is ready to cooperate and join the League, in case the present League Ministers should resign, and the Sayed party will also not form the Ministry but will come into League fold and besides the present Ministers, some others should form the Ministry which should be a League Ministry having a majority, and thus Congress will be alone. Sayed's party says that the present Ministers should not be in office, as they are absolutely corrupt. God knows how far this is true, but anyhow in the month of March during the session Sayed will form the Ministry, which is really heart-rending news. Hindus of the province are determined to celebrate victory day, if Sayed comes to power, which is [*sic*] really terrible, and it is only you, Honourable Sir, who can save Sind from this calamity.

Time is short, Sir. Sind Assembly will meet on 12th instant.

It is worthy [*sic*] to note that in order to save Sind from the Congress Ministry, and install League Ministry in power, K. B. Khuhro is ready to come to terms with the Sayed's party, but he cannot do so, because he will not do anything without the permission of the League high command. For God's sake save Sind.

In the end, I must heartily congratulate you, Sir, for the remarkable victory in Punjab. God Almighty may give you strength, health and what not to do service to the Muslims.

With best respects,

Yours most obediently,
ABDUR RASHID ARSHAD MAKHDUM

543

Jalal Husain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 907/17-8
[*Original in Urdu*]

MANSA MANDI,
PATIALA STATE,
1 March 1946

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim
Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'ala Rasulihil Karim
Pakistan *Zindabad*

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Muslims form a substantial part of the local population in Mansa Mandi of Patiala State. Though they are scattered all over the place, yet [*sic*] they are concentrated mainly in two *mohallas*. Last time when election to the Small Town Committee was held, no Muslim member was included nor was any Muslim nominated to the Committee. Muslims were not permitted even to stand for election. The population was divided into two wards and only Hindus and Sikhs were declared eligible to contest the elections. Nominated members were also selected from these two communities.

Now the elections will again be held in April. It is apprehended that the Muslims would again meet the same fate. To avoid a repeat of injustice to the Muslims, petitions were sent to the Maharaja and the Ministers concerned but to no avail. It is apprehended that the Muslims will be ignored again. They, therefore, approach you to please come to their help. If you do not take interest in the matter, the rights of Muslims are liable to be crushed. We have also invited the attention of the President of the Provincial Muslim League to this matter.

A copy of the reminder sent to the State authorities is sent herewith.[1] It is earnestly requested to help the Muslims here who all are League supporters but due to an order of 1988 *Bikrami* they are unable to declare it publicly.

Wassalaam

Yours obediently,
JALAL HUSAIN
General Secretary,
Anjuman-i-Khuddamul Islam

[1]Not traceable.

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Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/181-2

MUSTAFA CASTLE,
MEERUT,
2 March 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

When I arrived in Delhi, I came to know that you had left in the morning for Calcutta. I was sorry to miss you but am very happy to read the account of your visit. I am sure that Bengal will give a better account of its organisation and solidarity by giving a crushing defeat to our opponents. The League success in the Punjab is entirely due to you and I, as a humble follower of yours, offer my very heartfelt congratulations to you. I will be in Meerut for some days before reaching Delhi on the 10th, where I will stay till the 15th of March. I have come from Hyderabad to see you and discuss some matters. I hope that you will kindly spare some time for me on any one of these days. My wife is also with me and is very keen to pay her respects to you personally.

Hope you are in the best of your health,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD NOMAN

545

Sheikh Tafazzul Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/185-7
[*Original in Urdu*]

CHHATAPUR,
DISTRICT BHAGALPUR,
BIHAR,
3 March 1946

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

We, the residents of Thana Chhatapur, respectfully submit that at the call of Muslim League we had voted for the League candidate Molvi Mubarak Karim and helped him in winning the election. Although

the Muslims in this area are seventy per cent of the population yet they are extremely backward. On the one hand the Kosi rivulet has caused tremendous damage to our fields while on the other Zamindar Harawat Raj is auctioning our lands; and whatever was left of the yield, is being forcibly taken away by his men. Moreover, they have set fire to our dwellings thus rendering us homeless. Haji Habibullah, an Ansari, to whom we could look up, is annoyed with us as we did not vote for the Jami'at candidate, as desired by him.

Hindus, who were controlling the supply of cloth, oil and sugar have extended their business to other edibles. Consequently we are in great trouble. The Hindus and Jami'at followers, who control business in the entire *thana,* are reluctant to sell articles to the Leaguers.

It is, therefore, requested that a person well-versed in business dealings may be deputed to arrange for our needs and requirements under a separate arrangement. We are desperately in need of help and require a person who could guide us. We are at the beck and call of the Muslim League, and are prepared to provide office for the Muslim League and a shop for the purpose. We are in great numbers but illiteracy is destroying us. Our opponents jeer at our helplessness and ask us what help can League give to you?

Humbly yours,
SHEIKH TAFAZZUL HUSSAIN
On behalf of Muslims of Thana Chhatapur

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S. M. Akhtar Mir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/183-4

MAHLOG HOUSE, SIMLA WEST,
3 March 1946

Women Muslim League Simla held a ladies' open *jalsa* today in Qutb Mosque, under the presidentship of Begum Maulana Hafiz Abdul Ghani, and started with the recitation of holy *Qur'an* and *Na'ats*. General Secretary, Jahanara Begum, invited attention to her statement in the *Dawn* of February 27th, in which she had urged that the All India Muslim League should continue its efforts, encourage education of Musalmans, women in particular, open *Zakat* Fund and *Baital-Mal,* and improve their economic stability. She continued that she would soon reach Delhi and see Quaid-i-Azam and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali

Khan Sahib in this connection. She said that during her last week's visit she had found the accounts of the Women Muslim League, Ambala, quite satisfactory and that she gave some useful suggestions to the Women Muslim League, Ludhiana. She reached Simla to join the League's victory day and on behalf of the Women Muslim League she had arranged for the illumination of all Simla mosques and sent congratulatory telegrams to Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Nawab Sahib of Mamdot and Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, on League Assembly Party's unanimous decision over leadership, etc. After that, Financial Secretary Hamida Begum delivered an effective speech on religion and politics, thus showing that our religion cannot be separated from politics. Saadia Bano, Shameem Bano, Tahira Begum and Nasra Begum recited poems on Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan. After that, General Secretary, Jahanara Begum moved the following resolution for the immediate release of Captains Abdul Rashid and Burhan-ud-Din and it was unanimously passed that it be sent by telegram to the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief:

> This *Jalsa-i-'Aam,* under the auspices of Women Muslim League, Simla, looks with contempt and hatred [at] the Viceroy's and Commander-in Chief's unjustifiable and discriminatory decision against Captains Abdur Rashid and Burhan-ud-Din, and appeals to Their Excellencies to consider [*sic*] the sentence awarded and release the Captains immediately.

Speaking on the resolution, Jahanara delivered a fiery and heart-rending speech proving the un-justifiability and discriminatory [nature of the] treatment meted out to the Captains. She continued that through glorious success in the elections the Musalmans had covered the first stage of Pakistan and consolidated the League fold, not caring for the Ministries. There are several obstacles ahead of us but we must face them and go on until we have achieved success. Speaking on the Central and Provincial elections, she said that, notwithstanding the enemies' morally contemptible, mean and provocative machinations, we have held the ground and that we must be prepared for more sacrifices. Finally, the women thanked the President and her husband Maulana Hafiz Abdul Ghani for their powerful backing and doing the League's propaganda and constantly praying for League's success. The *Jalsa* dispersed amid shouts of Pakistan *Zindabad,* Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad,* etc.

For information, please.

S. M. AKHTAR MIR
Pleader

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Abdur Rahman Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 988/40

3 March 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Contest is in full swing and eleven out of fourteen seats are keenly contested. The Congress is contesting Wardha, Chanda, Bhandara, Balaghat, and Seoni seats. One Ahrar is contesting Saugor seat. Congress Momins are contesting Jubbulpore, Nagpur and Nimad seats. One Khaksar is contesting both rural and urban seats in East Berar. In Nagpur, Nimad and East Berar, rural and urban, Muslim Leaguers are contesting [the election], being disappointed with the results of their appeals: Messrs Mohammad Asgher and Abdul Salam Khan, because they were ousted [*sic*] in their appeals and K.B. Rahman Beg and Abul Hasan, because their appeals were not accepted.

Since [*sic*] last so many years no member of the Working Committee, Committee of Action, or Parliamentary Board visited this Province. I would request you to depute some of them at [*sic* for to] different places in this Province. I would request you to spare a day and inform me when you will be able to come down.

I have to request you to kindly send a message to the Musalmans of this Province so that I may get it printed and distributed to the voters.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN
Secretary,
Muslim League Parliamentary Board,
C.P. & Berar

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Penang Indian Muslim League to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 676/29-30

74 KING STREET,
PENANG,
4 March 1946

The Committee of Penang Indian Muslim League unanimously resolved to request Quaid-i-Azam to send to Malaya an enquiry

board to collect evidence of atrocities committed against Indian Muslims by the Japanese-sponsored Azad Hind Govt. and Indian Independence League during the Japanese occupation. Committee has requested Viceroy and Govt. of India to send a dispassionate commission to enquire into atrocities. The committee requests Quaid-i-Azam to take up matter with Government of India and Viceroy and do needful.

PENANG INDIAN MUSLIM LEAGUE

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Basirud Din Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/233-4

DARUL QURESH,
ABBOTTABAD,
4 March 1946

A'la Hazrat,

In 1934, Maulana Mohammad Shoaib, Maulana Manki and myself toured whole of the Frontier Province and formed District Muslim Leagues in all the districts.

In 1938, I received a letter from *A'la Hazrat,* the true copy of which is attached herewith.[1] In this letter *A'la Hazrat* has encouraged us to work hard for the prosperity of the Muslim League, also that *A'la Hazrat* was pleased with our work. The League defeated several Congress candidates in by-elections in such districts where now the League has lost all the seats.

In the year 1938, we had our provincial meeting in Nowshera. I was selected unanimously a member of All India Muslim League Council. Unfortunately Mr. Zia-ud-Din, Barrister-at-Law, was nominated by us as Provincial Secretary of the League, because Saadullah Khan and Aurangzeb had promised that they would never aspire after high positions in the League.

We were expecting that our names will be published in All India Muslim League Council list. But after two or three months we found that other persons' names were published in All India Muslim League Council list in place of our names, and at once Qazi Isa appeared on the scene and disaffiliated our League and recognized Mr. Zia-ud-Din's home-made League consisting of nine men only including office bearers in the Province. The natural consequence was that the League was shattered to pieces by these three conspirators, namely Mr. Zia-ud-Din,

Qazi Isa and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. This is how democracy functioned in the inner circle of the League. These two men, namely, Liaquat Ali and Qazi Isa, form bogus Leagues in India to retain their present position in the Central League.

All the workers of the League were fed up with these three gentlemen. I decided that I should allow these men to work for the League. So in 1945 I left for Bombay to study law. Once I had the privilege of leading a deputation of the Law College students to your honour at your bungalow during the time of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and Co.

In the year 1945 I came back home and found that the condition of the League was at the point of death in this Province. This very clique of Liaquat Ali Khan, Qazi Isa, Zia-ud-Din and Aurangzeb Khan had destroyed the very roots of the League. Luckily Abdul Qaiyum Khan entered the League. He changed the position a bit. But his hands were fettered by Zia-ud-Din because all the money and control of the League was handed over to Mr. Zia-ud-Din by Qazi Isa. The result is that the League has been thoroughly crushed in all the districts of the Frontier except one. Men like Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan, the President of the Afghan *Jirga* and Bakht Jamal Mian were disappointed. This is how the League failed.

Our opponents created rumours that Qazi Isa attended some meetings while he was stinking of liquor [*sic*]. The Congress exploited this situation.

We knew the result but we kept quiet and did not inform *A'la Hazrat* for the only reason that we may not disturb him at this critical juncture. On the contrary we explained to the people that these above-mentioned men are essential for the progress of the League, but the people of the five districts excluding Hazara turned a deaf ear to our cry.

In Hazara District, I helped Khan Bahadur Jalalud Din with hundreds of National Guards. This is how the League won in Hazara District. Now people do not want any selfish element in the League anywhere in this Province. People of this Province are not so politically conscious that they will understand higher aims than that of forcing this hated group upon us.

Hence my proposal is that a resolution should be tabled at the All India League Council meeting that the Frontier League must be entrusted to the following workers to organize and form the League in the whole of the Province.

1. Maulana Mohammad Shoaib, President, representing Nowshehra
2. B. D. Qureshi, Secretary, representing Hazara District
3. Bakht Jamal Mian, representing Mardan District
4. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Barrister-at-Law, representing Peshawar
5. Maulana Sahib of Manki, representing Nowshehra
6. Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan, representing Peshawar suburbs

7. Pir Sahib Zakori, representing Bannu, Kohat and D.I. Khan

Further, it should state that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Qazi Isa must not visit this Province for any purpose whatsoever concerning the Frontier League; also the above members must be nominated as members of All India Muslim League Council.

If our request is heard [*sic*] then *A'la Hazrat* will again be pleased to see the progress of the Frontier League.

Your true and loyal servant,
B. D. QURESHI

[1]See F. 1105/235, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Raja Mohammad Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 988/41

MEDIABAD, CHAK NO.353 JB,
DISTRICT LYALLPUR,
5 March 1946

Brother Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

In the first instance I consider it my sacred duty to congratulate you and your patrons [*sic*] on the splendid [electoral] success achieved in the Punjab. This is all due to your untiring efforts and keen interest evinced by you towards the Muslim League.

On 14 February 1946, when I had to go to the polling booth to cast my vote with nine other voters under my sway, my tiny and beloved daughter Amim Akhtar expired at 11 a.m. It was a keenly contested situation. Efforts were being made by the Unionist Party to get our votes and in view of this cut-throat competition, I preferred the votes being polled first to cremating [*sic*] my daughter. My wife said [*sic* for saw] eye to eye in my action [*sic*] and said "Do not care for your dead child, Islam first, temporal affairs afterwards". Being encouraged by these words of my wife, I hastened to the polling booth with nine other voters on foot for nine miles and cast all votes to the Muslim League candidate Mian Nurullah. It was dusk fall [*sic*] when I returned to my village and attended to my daughter's burial.

The passing away of my daughter, at such a premature time, has caused me an irreparable loss, but it will afford me a good

consolation if I received a letter under your signature in response to this act of mine.

Yours obediently,
RAJA MOHAMMAD ISMAIL KHAN
Zamindar

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Abdul Naweed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1012/11-2

INDO-AFRICAN PUBLISHING COY.,
JOHANNESBURG,
SOUTH AFRICA,

5 March 1946

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Board of Directors of the above Company unanimously decided to have the magazine, *Sham'a-i-Hidayat* (Light of guidance), published under your distinguished patronage.

I, therefore, humbly seek your kind permission to do so, and also beg to solicit a foreword from you for the first issue.

For your information, I have much pleasure in stating that all the Directors of the above Company are Muslims, and that the publication of a magazine such as *Sham'a-i-Hidayat* is, perhaps, a venture undertaken for the first time by any Muslim in the Province of the Transvaal.

May I be privileged to add that the publication of this journal, which is devoted to the cause of Islam, by recording and propounding [*sic*] primarily the political activities of the entire Muslim world, is undoubtedly the direct result of the worldwide Muslim awakening, caused by the influence and impact of the renaissance of the All India Muslim League, so admirably led by its renowned President and his band of sincere Muslim followers.

As such, I am sure, Sir, that you will appreciate the fact that the magazine will, above all, record, elucidate and propound [*sic*] the past, present and future activities and programmes of the All India Muslim League to the mutual benefit of Muslims, both at home and abroad.

With this view in mind, the Company is leaving no stone unturned to make the magazine second to none in South Africa, nay—more than that—it hopes to make the journal a national institution.

For this purpose, correspondents, friends and other reliable contacts in

all the major cities, towns and districts of India, Egypt, the Middle East, Malaya, the U.S.S.R., China and southern and central Africa, are being approached to contribute articles, notes and news on the Muslim political, social and cultural activities in these regions. All reliable sources of information, such as the All India Muslim League offices in Delhi and elsewhere, the Arab League office, the Wafd party office in Egypt, the South African friends of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Consulate in South Africa, etc., will be contacted for first-hand information on the activities and progress of their Muslim national institutions, and also other organisations directly related to the social and cultural upliftment of Muslims in these territories.

In other words, *Sham'a-i-Hidayat* will serve to educate the Muslims of southern and central Africa to this extent that it will bring home to them the aspirations held, the progress made, and the future visualised by Muslims in other parts of the world.

Sir, may I once more respectfully request you to kindly grant the Company permission to publish the magazine under your illustrious patronage, and may I also beg of you to post me a foreword for the first issue, which I hope to have in print by the end of May or June of this year.

Knowing full well that you can ill-afford your invaluable and precious time during these crucial days, I nevertheless venture to suggest that a foreword of about two hundred words by so prominent a leader as your renowned self will give *Sham'a-i-Hidayat* the impetus so necessary for the success of the journal in the initial stage of its edition.

I hope and trust that my humble request, on behalf of the Company and *Sham'a-i-Hidayat*, will meet with your kind approval, and I am anxiously looking forward to your kind reply.

Thanking you,

I am, yours truly,
ABDUL NAWEED KHAN
Editor,
Sham'a-i-Hidayat

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M. H. Mirza to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/105-12

BAHADURGARH PRISON,
6 March 1946

My beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Long live Islam! Long live Pakistan! Long live [*sic*] Prophet Muhammad [PBUH]!

In reply to a question put by the Hon'ble member, Mr. Ahmed Jaffar, the War Secretary, Mr. Mason, has stated in the Central Assembly yesterday that orders have been issued for the release of all European INA personnel under detention at Bahadurgarh, except one who was not in the INA. In other words I can be his chief target. So it is very likely that the political dice of Bose's tittle-tattle in Europe may be directed [*sic*] against me; because, being a Muslim, I stood firm and resolute in the midst of all perils for the just cause of Pakistan. It is my impression that preparations are going on for my trial. Perhaps the high charge against me would be of espionage or collaboration with the Germans. Excepting that, there is no other way open for the Hindus to put me on trial. Come what may, I am always prepared for that. What can be more opportune and honourable for me in the world than to dedicate my life at the sacred altar of my nation's freedom. As you are my beloved Quaid-i-Azam I deem it fit to make a clean breast of the whole situation before you and thereby demand your whole-hearted support in it.

It is but true if I say that the world is full of shams, and shoddy is the grand duke of shams. There exists absolutely no justice in life. Justice is like a toy which is being played with by those who possess power. I am here under detention for the last eleven months. I was taken into custody by the British in the month of April 1945, in Brussels, Belgium. Since then, thrice my interrogation or court of enquiry in different countries was made. My first enquiry, rather prosecution, was held at Hermsdorf, Germany, by two bigoted Hindu officials in the month of May 1945. Their methods of interrogation were too primitive, illegal and inhuman. Why? Because they were Indians. I was kept for two weeks in a dark, air-tight cell, half-starved; where I got attacks of heart failure for four days in succession. The memory of those days

is indeed dreadful. My second enquiry was made at Cranwich, S.E. England, under close arrest in the month of June 1945. In the month of September 1945, I was brought to India and since then I am kept under detention here. So my third court of enquiry was directed here in the month of December 1945. In spite of all these enquiries no decision has been announced about my case uptil now. Is it justifiable or legal on the part of the Govt? I can say without doubt that the present policy of the Government is logically wrong, morally inhuman and legally unperceivable. At least there must be a limit to the Defence of India Rules when in any case or in such cases the court of enquiry or interrogation is complete, law demands that the alleged accused is bound to be produced before the court of justice for trial. But I am at a loss to know why the Government have no regard for law, humanity or justice. I am kept under detention for the last eleven months, but no legal procedure or prosecution, no decision, and no release has been effected. In my opinion it will never be *bona fide* if the Government puts an excuse of pending interrogation in such a case as mine. My Quaid-i-Azam, can't we file an application in the High Court against this illegal procedure of the Government? Anyhow, I have done my duty in putting my case before you and now it is for your favourable consideration to get me salvation.

[*Paras 2 & 3 omitted*]

4. My Quaid-i-Azam, the bearer of this letter is a Muslim from the European INA who has given me a word of honour that his services are at the disposal of his nation. He realizes the gravity of the situation and is quite sensitive to the good of Islam. Your honour can deal with him. I have talked to all Muslims of the INA and majority of them have put their services at your orders. As soon as I am set free, I will put a complete list of their names and get your instructions for all concerned. I convey my heartfelt thanks and best wishes to the Nawab Sahib and Mr. Ahmed Jaffar.

With love and national slogans,

I am,

Your follower,

M. H. MIRZA

553

Abdur Rab Nishtar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 394/13-6

PESHAWAR,
7 March 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In accordance with your telegram, I wrote to Nawabzada Sahib that I shall meet him at Delhi in the afternoon of 8th [instant] and shall meet you on the 9th, if possible. I did not receive any reply from him because he was at Lahore. Then I telephoned him at Lahore and the arrangement suggested by me was agreed to. Later on I came to know that you were returning to Delhi on the 10th and not on the 8th, as intimated to me [*sic*], therefore I wrote to Nawabzada Sahib that I shall [*sic*] not be coming to Delhi on the 8th but would come later when you reach Delhi and your future programme is known or when you or he likes me to come.

Yesterday it was announced that the Punjab Governor has called upon Khizar to form government. People may consider it a mere unjust act on the part of a Governor whose enmity with the League is well-known; but let me respectfully say that the step has far more serious implications. At Simla, even in connection with the reorganization of a nominated body, the Govt. did not dare by-pass the League. In the Punjab where Muslims are in majority, their verdict is ignored and the Govt. is practically handed over to non-Muslims; and in order to throw dust in the eyes of the Muslims, Khizar has been made a puppet premier. This seems to be a clear challenge to test our mettle. If we do not meet it successfully then I am sure that the Muslims will be injured and the Govt., in conspiracy with the Hindu Congress and a few quislings amongst the Muslims, will enforce upon us its scheme of a federation of *Akhand* Hindustan. The Punjab incident is the thin end of the wedge. In these circumstances I would suggest the calling of the meeting of the Working Committee so that the matter may be fully discussed. I think Lahore will be best suited for the meeting because the three members from Lahore cannot absent themselves from the meetings of their Assembly where the Muslim League will have to measure its strength with the unholy combination. I don't know if K.B. Khuhro will be able to attend the meeting if it is held in March. Sir Nazimuddin is away but I think other members may be able to

attend, although in some provinces elections are still on. It is for you to decide the date and venue of the meeting. Maybe, you like to wait till you have discussed the matter with the Viceroy and the British delegation that is reported to reach India in the third week of March; but permit me to say that any undue delay in taking a suitable action may prove as much or even more dangerous than a rash step. I personally feel that the wrong will never be redressed by the Viceroy because the Punjab Governor must have consulted him before taking the step. Under Section 51 (5) of the Govt. of India Act, the function of choosing and summoning of the ministers is exercised by a Governor in his discretion, but according to Section 54 of the Act, in such matters the Governor-General exercises a general control over him and can from time to time give directions to him which he is bound to comply with. The Punjab question is so important that I cannot believe that the step was taken without consultation with and consent of the higher quarters. In fact all indications are to the contrary.

Yours sincerely,
A. R. NISHTAR

554

Shah Mohammad Azizur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/193-5

14-2 CHANDNI CHOWK,
CALCUTTA,
7 March 1946

Respected Sir,

The All Bengal Muslim Students' League has already started electioneering campaign throughout the province, though with scanty resources at its disposal. It has borrowed money and has despatched workers to the different constituencies. At present, if the A.B.M.S.L. is not financially helped by the Central Muslim League it is practically impossible for it to continue to work. 5890 local workers are working all over the province.

[*Paras 2 & 3 omitted*]

4. Besides the local workers of the A.B.M.S.L., we have opened training centres at Dacca and Calcutta where we have trained 500 workers who are being sent to different constituencies and they are working in

addition to the local workers. The Dacca University Election Board and the Dacca District Muslim Students' League Election Board are working as our branch machinery at Dacca which has already supplied workers to the East Bengal districts. Moreover, we have our reserve forces both at Dacca and in Calcutta from where we are meeting emergencies. We have classified the workers into three classes according to their capabilities and duration of service.

5. It will not be out of place here to mention that at the time of Central Assembly elections our workers worked in all the constituencies and we have already placed an account of our activities with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. We borrowed money which still remains unpaid. The account is lying with us. Your kind advice regarding this matter will be appreciated.

6. In conclusion, I hope that you will consider our case and help us in a way which will enable us to work for the success of the League nominees.

Thanking you,

Yours truly,
SHAH MOHAMMED AZIZUR RAHMAN
General Secretary,
All Bengal Muslim Students' League

N.B. All accounts and vouchers may be checked at any time at our office.

555

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/198-9

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
7 March 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I returned from Ranchi election field day before yesterday. The Ranchi election was a clear match between Marwaris and Muslim League. I am enclosing my report on the subject for your perusal. *Insha Allah* we will win all seats in Chotanagpur.

2. The bearer, Mr. Zafir Ahmad, was my right-hand man in our campaign in Ranchi. He is an able, hardworking, self-sacrificing worker of the Calcutta League. Please grant him an interview. He will explain

many interesting things about the situation in Chotanagpur.

3. I sent an important letter about the *Adibasis* (aborigines) of Chotanagpur. I did not receive any reply from you and this was most disappointing for me. But I honestly believe that Muslim alliance with *Adibasis*, who are non-Hindus and demand separation of their homeland of Jharkhand (Chotanagpur), where they are in a majority of 80 per cent, from Hindu domination, is not only natural and just but vital and essential for the security, defence and economic prosperity of Pakistan. I have, therefore, tried my best to propagate League ideals among the *Adibasis* from [*sic*] a long time past.

Now the situation in brief is that:

1. the *Adibasis* have definitely declared war against the Hindu Congress;
2. the *Adibasis* are demanding separation of Chotanagpur from Bihar and contesting general seats in Chotanagpur on separation issue;
3. the *Adibasi* leaders and masses are supporting League and Pakistan; and
4. the *Adibasis* are raising cries of Islam *Zindabad*, Pakistan *Zindabad*, Muslim League *Zindabad*;
5. the *Adibasis* have adopted green flag with a plough as their national flag;
6. the *Adibasis* and Muslim Leaguers are working as a united team in Chotanagpur;
7. the *Adibasis* are planning to start their paper with the two-fold object of advocating (a) the cause of Pakistan and (b) the cause of free Jharkhand;

I only request you to kindly find some time to visit Tatanagar Steel City and Ranchi, and meet Lt. Col. Jaipal Singh Munda, M. A. (Oxon.), their leader. You will be glad to meet him. He is ready to meet you in Delhi or anywhere you like.

I will write to you later in detail after the election results.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
Member,
Bengal Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board

556

M. M. Ishaque to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/121

12 A CHOWRINGHEE LANE,
CALCUTTA,
8 March 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

May one who once had the privilege of an introduction to you take the liberty of drawing your attention to a circumstance that many in the coming months will be viewing not without a certain misgiving, and to put in a word of ordinary caution. In your procession in this city the crowd was all around you pressing down on your car and somewhere in the Punjab, as the press report gave out, you were surrounded by a bodyguard of a dozen men with drawn swords, invariably consisting of men who do not constitute your permanent bodyguard. Considering the times ahead, on all occasions of your public appearance, no chance should be taken in effectively guarding your person and your bodyguard, if it is armed, should consist of none but a few absolutely trusted men. Time for a final showdown seems to be approaching when you will either have achieved the Muslim national objective of Pakistan or will, in the eyes of these gentlemen of the Indian National Congress, be the one person standing between them and the realisation of their dream of *Akhand* Hindustan, the one person preventing the entire right, title and interest of the British Government in the Indian Empire devolving upon them to the exclusion of all others. In either turn of the event, but particularly in the latter, specially if these self-appointed heirs to the largest Indian Empire in history have reasons to believe that the Cabinet ministers have any preference for a united India, one can conceive the extent of their fury let loose upon you. One among them will certainly be beyond any restraint of language. Pray let no chance be taken in guarding your person, the greatest single asset of the Muslim nation.

Yours humble follower,
M. M. ISHAQUE
B. L.

557

M. A. Jinnah to Akrum Khan & M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 68/31

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
8 March 1946

Dear Sirs,

I have, from all my information, come to the conclusion that, as a matter of emergency, I must help Bengal financially. There is a large body of our young men, who have already contributed their services and are anxious to play their full part in helping us in our elections in Bengal. Taking everything into consideration and the fine spirit that our youth is showing, I have decided to place a sum of rupees twenty thousand out of the Central Fund, at your disposal. You will open an account in the joint name of Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani and Maulana Akrum Khan with the Habib Bank, Calcutta, and it will be for you now to supervise, control and direct the activities of our young men and keep an account of the expenditure of the money.

I have been assured by our young friends—and they have shown a very fine spirit indeed—that they are willing and ready to be guided by you and under your directions render all the services they can and put up with any hardship that they may have to face.

I am herewith enclosing a cheque for rupees twenty thousand in the joint name of Maulana Akrum Khan and Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

558

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani & Others

F. 57/8-9

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
9 March 1946

Dear Sirs,

After discussion with various leaders and workers, I find that the

Bengal Provincial League organization has not been able to collect sufficient funds for the necessary and legitimate expenses of electioneering campaign that we are facing in Bengal. After full examination of the situation, I am satisfied that there has arisen [an] emergency which has induced me to give all the financial help I can from the central funds of the All India Muslim League to Bengal. I, therefore, appoint the following three persons, Mr. M. A. Ispahani, K. B. Moazammuddin Hossain and Mr. A. W. Baakza, as a committee to control, manage and keep accounts of the funds. They are to open a separate account with the Habib Bank Ltd., Calcutta, in the name of the committee, with power to operate upon this account under the signature of two of the members. It will be their duty to examine all the requirements and legitimate expenses of the various elections and give such financial help as they may think necessary after scrutinizing carefully the requirements and demands that may be put up before them by various constituencies; and generally to allot such amounts as they think proper in their judgement and keep account.

I am enclosing herewith a cheque for rupees two lakh and I would be prepared to give further help if required when I am furnished with the fullest account of the amount spent and the reasons for any further call on the central funds. I hope that the committee will attend to this matter wholeheartedly and carry out my instructions even at great sacrifice of their time and convenience that they may have to bear.

In conclusion, let me thank you all for having agreed to serve on this committee and I wish Bengal all success.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

559

Mohammad Abdul Gaffar El-Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/80-1

NAWABGUNJ,
DELHI,
10 March 1946

Dear Sir,

I had worked for Muslim League candidates for Central as well as Provincial Assembly elections in the Districts of Muzaffarnagar, Aligarh, Meerut, Gurgaon, Rohtak and Hissar and considered it my duty to inform you about my impressions thereupon.

I spoke at public gatherings, talked to voters and public in private, answered many questions and doubts and found that the Congress Musalmans and Hindus have tried their best to poison the public mind against the League while the Leaguers were sleeping.

The common questions which I had to answer were specially as follows:

i. The League is a body of *nawabs* and title-holders. They have never given an ear to our grievances; why should we vote for them?
ii. What is League? Nobody came to us before; now you have come for votes only. Where were you when we were in need [of you]?
iii. Why should we discard the candidate of our brotherhood and vote for your League?
iv. What use is Pakistan for the U.P. or C. P. Muslims living in minority provinces?

To reply and convince [them] I had to repeat the whole history of Congress and League and that of the Congress atrocities and thanks *Allah* that all the constituencies, seven in number I worked in, came out triumphed [*sic*].

I saw that when the villagers were convinced, they voted cent per cent for League. They used their influence for [*sic*] other voters. They voted and also many donated for the League Fund in cash also. There are instances in villages of Sikandra Rao Tehsil where the Muslims voted for the League at all risks and pressure from their Hindu Zamindars.

These elections were a blessing and the message of Muslim League had reached every house and was accepted.

Now it rests with the district and sub-Leagues to organise and carry out the constructive programme and not to leave them as outcasts.

I have also found great slackness on the part of the League workers in carrying out the League message to every house and I think they have only worked for the candidates. I happened to reach such places where the voters knew the candidate and were ready to vote for him but did not know what the League was or what it meant. The League workers, knowing that they will vote for their candidate, did not think it worthwhile to approach them.

Yours faithfully,

MOHAMMAD ABDUL GAFFAR EL-KHEIRI

N.B. I came out in public after about twenty years, when I worked for *Khilafat* and then for Congress, to help fight the elections.
Now the elections being over I go back to my seclusion only to come out again, if living, to fight for Pakistan or Islam, when it will begin. Now good-bye for the present.

M. A. G. KHEIRI

560

S. B. Ghosh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/122-3

NAGJIBHAI TOWN,
NAGPUR,
10 March 1946

Sir,

I appreciate your leadership. You have understood aright what the so-called Indian National Congress is and what it stands for. The Congress is nothing but a Hindu organization and it stands for the rights of the Hindus only. Recent hooliganism of the Congress in burning churches in Calcutta and in molesting undefended Christian women on public streets, exposed the falsehood of its assertion that it defends all communities equally [and] alike. And these acts of hooliganism clearly show what will become of other communities who are not Hindus, if the Congress comes to power. Muslims, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians should organise themselves to defend their rights and their females. I am sorry and ashamed to say that some members of the Indian Christian community, of which I am a member, are apathetic towards the interest of the community. And unfortunately the President of the Indian Christian community is duped by the false glare and self-trumpeting of the Congress.

There is another fear if the Congress gets into power. The Hindus shall again begin conversion of the poor and illiterate Christians and Muslims under the supervision of the Congress as they did during 1937 to 1939. Hence the three organized communities should fight tooth and nail against the Congress getting into power.

A month back I wrote to the Parliamentary Delegation that came out to India, condemning the Congress for all the ills of India.

Although I am an insignificant Indian Christian gentleman, I am determined to do what I can for the good of Indian Christian community and for the good of other minority communities.

I shall be thankful to you if you be kind enough to write to me.

Respectfully yours,
S. B. GHOSH

561

Mohammad Abdul Gaffar El-Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/78-9

NAWABGUNJ,
DELHI,
10 March 1946

Dear Sir,

As far as I know Delhi Muslims are staunch Leaguers and in a very great majority but the Provincial Muslim League Delhi is in the hands of such youngs [*sic*] who only play for their personal interests and know nothing about politics.

It is sure and certain that this League has done nothing to educate the Muslims in politics neither it has done any moral, educational or economic reforms nor formed any national guard.

The Secretary of the Provincial League is a *Pucca* Communist and a nephew of Moulvi Ahmed Saeed of Jami'at ul 'Ulama-i-Hind, and Muslims of Delhi are of a mind that most of the donations for the League Election Fund have gone to Jami'at ul 'Ulama through the mother of the Secretary who had collected [money] from the Muslim ladies and sometimes without any receipt also [*sic*].

Some Muslims are ready to sue against [*sic*] the Secretary and his mother in the Court, but I pressed those, who spoke to me to be calm and patient till the end of the elections.

Delhi P[rovincial] League is playing in the hands of young and inexperienced lads and no sincere Leaguer dares to come out to work for the Delhi Muslims under this League and mushrooms are taking [*sic*] growth under names such as Pakistan Club, Pakistan League, Khadiman Muslim League, etc.

You will find Delhi League quite dumb on any point, matter or subject, however important, and this silence added [*sic*] with the party struggles is just going to mar the name of the Muslim League.

I am not going to lay complaints against any person but I would like to request [*sic*] that it will be better for the Delhi Muslims if this League be made a district League affiliated to Punjab or U.P.

If it be impracticable, then this League be suspended for at least a year as a punishment. This will be better than having such a nominal and useless League.

I have warned you, Sir, before time as I find clouds gathering against

some of the provincial personalities and the public mind is being polluted day by day.

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMAD ABDUL GAFFAR EL-KHEIRI

562

F. K. Khan Durrani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/205

65 RAILWAY ROAD,
LAHORE,
11 March 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please permit me to encroach once more upon your most valuable time. I want to tell you that there is extreme tension in the atmosphere at Lahore. The Muslim Leaguers of Lahore seem to have entirely lost their heads. Speeches from their platform are an open incitement to violence and bloodshed and I have reason to believe that the Provincial high command is instigating the college boys to hurl themselves into fire, and blood has already been drawn. I say with the fullest sense of responsibility that if any untoward incident happens, the responsibility will be wholly of the Muslim League. The Punjab Muslim League seems to be leading deliberately towards bloody riots, and I want further to tell you that if any such thing takes place it will be most unfortunate for Musalmans, and the Muslim League itself may not be able to survive the shock. The demand of the time is that cool heads should join to plan out a stable life for the Musalmans and build up a sound material and political life for them. If a riot takes place at this time, it would hurl them back by half a century. I appeal to you, for God's sake, put a brake on it before it goes too far.

Yours sincerely,
F. K. KHAN DURRANI

563

Amoy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/126-7

2A NANDALAL JIU ROAD,
KALIGHAT,
CALCUTTA,
11 March 1946

Honourable Quaid-i-Azam,

After due gratitude may I beg a fraction of your valuable moments to some of the points, [over] which my reason fails me utterly to draw a definite conclusion. The points are discussed below.

So far from the activity and the information published by the League, I gather that in order to safeguard the Muslim interests in this country there should be a central government composed [of] and conducted by the Muslims alone, independent of the government run by the other Indians. The units of this Muslims' own government will be the provinces where there are Muslims in majority. This scheme is popularly known as Pakistan. I want to know whether there is any possibility of safeguarding the Muslims without forming Pakistan. Because some points arise in my mind which I cannot control [*sic*] by arguing.

First, suppose the national government is formed at the centre, which is obviously of the federated type and each province based on its linguistic and cultural basis in general, will be the unit of the federation. Now, again every province should have a cabinet of ministers to be elected by the people of the province and will conduct the affairs, and safeguard the interests, of the people of the province concerned. The decision of the cabinet should also be respected by the national authority, as opposed to the present system of vetoing by the governors.

The province which has a majority of Muslims will obviously elect a representative cabinet which will have a considerably strong Muslim representative [element]. The conduct of such a cabinet will surely be so directed as not to turn a deaf ear to the Muslim interests. So it may be admitted that with one central government at the centre the Muslim interest is preserved and safeguarded. So it can be done without forming Pakistan.

The other point to which I want to draw your attention is: suppose the scheme is operated in the Muslim majority provinces, but there are quite a lot of Muslims in other provinces which are not under Pakistan. These minority provinces may hamper the interests of the Muslims

there. How the Pakistan scheme [is] going to save them, that is, how their interests [are] going to [be] safeguarded? It cannot be expected, and it is even notorious [*sic*], to think that those Muslim families who are a minority in other provinces in India will leave their hearths and homes and their traditions of old times and migrate to Pakistan and live as "new settlers" there.

It has already been negotiated that there will be an equal representation of the Hindus and the Muslims at the centre. So one central govt. may conduct the affairs instead of two.

Finally, the Muslim people of today are gradually fed with metaphysical enthusiasm to stand up. It is well and good, but how will they walk without a path of reason towards the new era!

So I pray for an answer on practical reason of vivisecting the soil which has a culture dating back to seven thousand years.

I conclude here with the hope that your eminence will not mind taking a little trouble to throw some light on the dark poverty of my little or no knowledge.

I hope that my duty to the leaders will have a hearty response from your duty as a leader [*sic*].

Thanking you with a homageful[*sic*] mind,

Most sincerely yours,
AMOY

564

J. Misra to M. A. Jinnah

F. 673/41-3

ORIYA BHANDARI STREET,
P. O. PARLAKIMIDI,
GANJAM DIST.,
ORISSA,
12 March 1946

Sir,

I welcome the British Cabinet Mission to India and I hope that a final settlement can be reached if the Mission is determined for [*sic*] a solution. Nothing is impossible in this world; and the Indian problem is not so difficult as [it] is thought to be by many. I stress so much for sincerity from the British side for two reasons: first, I am quite sure that India is not strong enough to get independence unless the British

give it as a gift; secondly, I want India to retain its friendship with England as a co-partner [*sic*]. If the parties will fail to reach a settlement this time, neither can India get independence nor can England retain the friendship of India in the future. Russia will be at an advantage to exploit differences between India and England. It is clear to all; I need not say it. World peace will become a day-dream unless England, USA and Russia come to a compromise. Peace cannot be a real one unless the rights of the smallest and weakest of the nations are respected by the strong ones. At the present moral standards of the world, this is too much to be expected now. But the foundation can be laid with mutual respect of the rights of big powers at the start and this will proceed on and on and include all the nations in course of time. But the start cannot be made leaving the British aside. But it is seen from the UNO discussions how England is being overlooked and not cared for by USA and Russia who are more powerful than England. But England can rise to the level of the other two, even exceed [it], if she gives independence to her dependencies and consequently win their friendly cooperation. Otherwise, peace cannot now be established in the world, and England will sink into insignificance in the near future. So this last opportunity is more critical for England than for India.

If the aim is a noble one and the efforts to attain it are reasonable, then one is sure to attain it and retain it after attainment. But if the efforts are not reasonable, even though the aim is a noble one, the aim cannot be attained and even if attained, it cannot be retained for long. The Muslim League cannot demand the expulsion of Muslims other than the League[ers] from the ministries in the provinces nor can any other party deprive the League of its reasonable share in them. If the League is not tolerant towards other Muslims now, how can it be expected to be tolerant towards inhabitants of other faiths in Pakistan in future?

Yours truly,
J. MISRA

565

Asghar Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 570/109-10

JUBBULPORE,
12 March 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

Herewith I am enclosing a copy of the letter[1] sent to Sir Hassan

Suhrawardy, MLA, who was sent to C.P. as one of the deputies for the League Central Parliamentary Board to hear the appeals.

You know very well that the Bohras (Shia Ismailia) who are in Bombay Presidency as well as in C.P. You are also well aware that they are businessmen and educated and are Leaguers. They are followers of Syedna Tahir Saifuddin Sahib, known as Bara Mullaji Sahib of Bohras.

Not a single Bohra, though qualified, is given the League ticket either in Bombay or in C.P. In the accompanying letter, the comparative qualifications in para three are given of the Bohra candidates. You have also mentioned on August 30 from Karachi the qualifications required for the candidates for the legislatures. You have assured the Shias in your statement dated 1-10-45 from Quetta that their interests are safe in League hands.

Sir Suhrawardy is unable to reply to my letter. You know well that I have conducted the well-known Bisva Murder Case of C.P. In the last election you also recommended my name but owing to dispute in C.P. I did not seek election.

If the Bohras have no status and position in League they may be told likewise [*sic*]. In C.P. and Bombay the Provincial Boards gave one League ticket each to a Bohra candidate but the Central Board has taken it back. Is it under some all-India policy that this very attitude has been adopted in both the provinces for the Bohra League candidate? It has created a great misunderstanding amongst the Bohras by [*sic*] this act of the League high command. Would you be pleased to give your thoughtful consideration in view of your assurances to the minor sects of Muslims and be pleased to remedy the wrong done to the members of this Bohra community. There is no distinction in the League for any Muslim. Why the League High Command has shown this in C.P. when the Bohra candidates were more qualified and rendered great service to the League than the other candidates who became members after the Simla Conference?

I hope you would be pleased to consider the case of Bohras in C.P. in view of my accompanying letter and oblige.

Yours sincerely,
ASGHAR ALI

·Not traceable.

566

M. A. Jinnah to Deewan Mohammad Azeezuddin

F. 883/23

13 March 1946

Dear Sir,

I thank you very much for your letter of the 15th February 1946.[1] You must be observing that things are developing from day to day, and it is not possible for me to make any commitment as I have not yet decided to go to Madras or Ceylon. Nevertheless, I thank you for your kind invitation and the offer of your hospitality. I wish the Arabic Madrassah all success, and you need not, therefore, delay your opening ceremony but go ahead with the good work.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Hajee Deewan Mohammad Azeezuddin,
Big Bazar Street,
Trichinopoly

[1]See F. 883/21-2, *QAP*. Not printed.

567

M. A. Jinnah to Faiz Ali Khan

F. 988/42

13 March 1946

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th February[1] and I thank you very much for it. I quite appreciate the hardships that many of our people had to go through and suffer in these elections and I am really glad that the Muslim League candidates have been successful despite all unfair methods adopted on the part of the Government officials against the voters of the Muslim League candidates and they had the satisfaction of having done their duty and fearlessly voting for the candidates of their own choice, as you inform me and I am glad to note that they have come out victorious. That ought to be a great satisfaction to the

lover of freedom and one who stands for free and fair election.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Khan Sahib Faiz Ali Khan,
Gujranwala, Punjab

[1]See F. 883/84, *QAP*. Not printed.

568

Mrs. Jamila Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/142-3

SEA VIEW ROAD,
QUETTA,
13 March 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Your whole-hearted and unconditional support to the Govt. in relieving the famine-threatened country of the horrors of hunger so close at hand has earned for you world-wide admiration— both of your friends and enemies. In this connection, I most respectfully put forward the following suggestions:

i. An emergency meeting of the All India Muslim League Working Committee should be called at an early date to discuss the famine situation and to find ways and means to overcome the approaching calamity. The members could bring with them information regarding the special needs of their respective provinces.
ii. This meeting of the AIML Working Committee should be held in the worst famine-affected area so that the members could go round on a tour and see conditions with their own eyes.
iii. Instructions should be issued to provincial and through them to the district and primary Leagues to economize the consumption of food—all entertainments, religious or social, should be cut down to the minimum.
iv. All League members should start planting-quick growing food such as vegetables in the compounds of their bungalows and houses. The used household water could be utilized for the purpose.
v. To encourage grow-more-food drive, the provincial and district Muslim League committees should help poor people by supplying them with free seeds.
vi. Since growing food needs scientific knowledge of the subject, the

provincial Leagues should obtain expert advice regarding it from agricultural experts and the pro-League papers should be requested to publish information free of charge at regular intervals.

vii. Those who can afford and have facilities should also start rabbit and poultry farming.

My husband, Major Sultan Ali Shah, sent you a cheque drawn on the Imperial Bank of India, Quetta Branch, for Rs. 500, enclosed in a registered letter. He requested you to be so kind as to send him an acknowledgment for the same, which he has not received so far. Later, he sent you a reminder inquiring if you had received the cheque but even that has not brought him a reply.

I shall be greatly obliged to you if you will kindly let me know if you have received the cheque.

With prayers for your long life and success of your mission,

Yours respectfully,
MRS. JAMILA SHAH

569

F. K. Khan Durrani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 657/21

65 RAILWAY ROAD,
LAHORE,
14 March 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am informed that the Punjab Muslim League leadership is instigating college boys to stage a demonstration before the Assembly Chamber on the day the first session begins. I say it is a crime against the student community. Some heads will be broken; some will have a taste of police custody and have their character blasted for the rest of their lives. For the life of me, I cannot see the wisdom of this desperation. For God's sake do put a stop to this shameless exploitation of immature boys for the selfish ends of a set of stupid, incompetent and petty men. I am writing this in extreme anguish of the heart.

Yours sincerely,
F. K. KHAN DURRANI

570

M. Mohamed Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 831/48-52

CONFIDENTIAL

33 ERRABALU CHETTY STREET,
GEORGE TOWN,
MADRAS,
14 March 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

His Excellency the Governor of Madras invited me for a chat this afternoon and in the course of the interview enquired of me regarding the position of the Muslim League party vis-a-vis the formation of ministry in the province. I told him that our Provincial Muslim League is a part of the all-India organization, that we shall act in accordance with the policy that will be formulated by the high command, and that we have not yet got into touch with the high command over this matter.

Now, I seek your kind guidance in the matter. The Madras legislature is bi-cameral. The Council (the Upper House) consists of 54 to 56 members of whom not less than eight and not more than ten are to be nominated by the Governor. The general seats are 35, most of which will be filled by Congressmen. The Muslim seats are seven in number; and out of this number, nominations for four seats came off towards the end of last month and the Muslim League candidates were returned unopposed to all the four seats. One seat is already occupied by a Muslim Leaguer. The last date for nominations for the remaining two seats is the 22nd of March. These two seats too will doubtless be captured by the Muslim League. So, the strength of the League party will be seven in a house of fifty-four or so.

Regarding the Assembly (Lower House), the total number of seats is 215. Out of this the Muslim quota is 29. The League set up candidates for all 29 seats and 13 have been returned unopposed. The polling for some of the remaining 16 seats will take place on the 18th instant and for others on the 23rd instant. The result will be known by the end of this month. However, I may say that all these 16 seats also will be captured by the Muslim League. Thus the strength of the Muslim League party in the Assembly can be taken as 29. As against this the Congress is expected to have 170 or so.

During the last Congress regime, they included one Congressite Muslim, late Yakub Hasan Sait, in their cabinet of ten ministers. Our population is about seven per cent and our seats in the Assembly are

about 14 per cent of the total, i.e. 215. But ours is an important, the most important minority, in the province.

The formation of ministry may now be taken up at the end of this month or at the beginning of the next, and the Muslim League will be required to decide its attitude. It may be said, as one alternative, that the League Party may ask for two or three places in a cabinet of ten, reserving their full right and freedom in the matter of Pakistan, Constituent Assembly, etc., so that they may have a share in the provincial administration. In such a case, the League Party will become practically merged with the Congress Party and cannot ordinarily be vocal. The Muslim ministers will have to carry on the battle inside the cabinet. The other alternative will be to ask the Congress to accede to our Pakistan demand first and to keep out of the ministry if they refuse to accede (they will refuse indeed). In that case, the League party will form the main opposition and carry on the battle openly in the Assembly. Though we are comparatively small in number, we are yet 29 and can be expected to be more effective in opposition than otherwise.

Since all the elected Muslim members of both the Houses are expected to be in the League party, the Congress will have to go to the Muslim League if they want to include Muslims in the cabinet. The only other method—an indirect and arbitrary method—will be for them to get the Governor to nominate one or two Muslims to the Upper House and then include them in the cabinet.

The British Cabinet Mission will, I think, have begun their parleys by the end of this month and we shall of course have to take into account the situation that will be created at that time. But I think also that the Congress will try to go ahead with the formation of ministries independently of the work of the said Cabinet Mission.

Under these circumstances, I request you to kindly issue instructions as to what course should be adopted. I am writing this before the completion of the elections, so that we may be prepared when the matter is taken up, as it will be, soon after the results are announced.

I hope that by the Almighty's grace you are in the enjoyment of the best of health.

Requesting to be excused for the trouble and with best regards and *salaam*,

Yours sincerely,
M. MOHAMED ISMAIL
President, Madras Presidency Muslim League

571

Indian Muslims Association, Selangor to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 556/94

SELANGOR,
KUALA LUMPUR,
MALAYA,
14 March 1946

Following telegram sent to Viceroy. The Indian Muslims of Selangor, Malaya, convey their greetings to Your Excellency and the members of the Cabinet Mission and request Your Excellency inform the Cabinet Mission our full support for Pakistan scheme accepted by the Muslim League while placing full confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Sahib.

PRESIDENT, INDIAN MUSLIMS ASSOCIATION

572

Arthur F. Smith to M. A. Jinnah

F. 503/9

NEW DELHI,
15 March 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I understand that H.E. the Viceroy has suggested that you might like the opportunity of a talk with me and I write to say how delighted I shall be to receive you, for the more Indian and British people in responsible positions meet each other the better we shall understand each other, and this I am convinced is all to the good for the welfare of India that we both have so genuinely at heart.

I do not know what time or day would be convenient to you but I will be delighted if you would come to tea with me at my house (9 Queensway) any day next week, say at 5 o'clock. Indeed, I am free tomorrow afternoon, the 16th, and if that would be convenient to you I shall look forward to meeting you.

Or you may prefer a more formal interview, in which case perhaps your Secretary will ring up my Personal Assistant (No. 3108) to arrange

an hour and day when I would be glad to receive you in my office.

Yours sincerely,
ARTHUR F. SMITH
Lt. General
Chief of the General Staff, India

573

G. E. B. Abell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 488/1

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
15 March 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

H.E. sent me down to Bombay on the 13th and I saw Mr. Gandhi that evening. I put to him the proposition about an Advisory Committee on Food consisting of himself, you and possibly H. H. of Bhopal. He was not in favour of the suggestion and did not consider that it would be suitable for him to represent the Congress, nor could he attend in his personal capacity because he would be taken to be a representative of that party.

The Working Committee of the Congress having turned down the original suggestion of a larger committee, H.E. proposes to drop the whole proposal of a special non-official Advisory Committee and to say as little about it as possible. He does not want any recriminations or any widening of the gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League. He proposes that any queries about my visit to Bombay should be answered by the statement that I went to see Mr. Gandhi on H.E.'s behalf about certain matters arising out of the food situation.

H.E. is sorry that your suggestion, for which he is grateful, should have come to nothing.

Yours sincerely,
G. E. B. ABELL

574

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 309/313

5 HARINGTON STREET,
CALCUTTA,
15 March 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a copy of telegram[1] despatched to Suhrawardy this morning giving the present position of the disposition of students by the organization whose affairs you have entrusted to my charge.

You will see with satisfaction that no time has been lost in sending out our workers. The last portion of the telegram refers to another telegram received from Suhrawardy asking me to inspect the new type ballot boxes concerning which he had received disquieting reports.

Suhrawardy is at present in Barisal, busy digging Fazlul Huq's political grave in that district.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]See F. 309/314, *QAP*. Not printed.

575

Mohammed Alsadr & Others to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1133/40-1

BAGHDAD,
16 March 1946

In view of the very serious developments in situation following publication report Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry on Palestine, the society for the defence of Palestine formed in Baghdad declare that the security of the Arab countries and the tranquillity of the Muslim world depend upon Palestine being preserved as an Arab country. We earnestly request your collaboration and support in taking decisive stand by adopting all effective means warranted by the grave situation now prevailing in Palestine.

MOHAMMED ALSADR AND OTHERS

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Mohammad Ikram Bajwa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/151-3

FLAT NO. 5,
BUILDING NO. 53,
DARYAGANJ,
DELHI,
17 March 1946

Dear Sir,

With utmost respect, I beg to submit the following few lines for your kind and favourable consideration.

I have been for the last few years watching with interest the responses [to] your appeals for funds received at the hands of the League leaders and the public and I am never satisfied with the attitude of the League leadership, and specially those at the top, as their attitude in my view had always been of indifferentness [*sic*] if not of quiet hostility. I, however, hesitate to detail what I think would be already known to you.

But there are certain matters to which I feel my duty, even as an ordinary Muslim not much concerned with the present day politics, to draw your attention; perhaps, actions taken as suggested by me may make the attainment of Pakistan and a self-sufficient Pakistan somewhat easier and closer. And these are the following:

ALIGARH UNIVERSITY

Recently both the Hindu leadership and the press have adopted a quite hostile attitude towards the Muslim University, Aligarh, and that is purely because of the fact that the students of the University *en bloc* have come out to help the League in the present life-and-death fight of the Muslim nation. That has enraged them much and even the show-boys have, I have heard, pledged to bring bad name to the University. Now, if tomorrow the Congress, in spite of all the possible opposition of the Muslims, as seems indicative from the recent speech of the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons, is installed at the Centre, the Aligarh University is sure to lose its grants and thus to suffer almost a breakdown.

MUSLIM STUDENTS

Muslim students, one and all, have rendered unprecedented service to the Muslim League and it will not be false to say that the League

successes in the elections, for both the Central and Provincial legislatures, are solely due to the untiring efforts of the student community. They deserve full appreciation, no matter even if the League as such and its leaders as individuals have to go somewhat out of their way to make arrangements for that. Pending the taking of some effective move in this regard, till the Muslim League ministries are formed in the Pakistan provinces or till the British Government finally decides as to the nature of the constitution they are going [to] award, is simply delaying full appreciation of the work done by the student community and that amounts to denying justice to them.

MUSLIM MASSES

There is no denying the fact that the Muslim masses have, against all odds and in innumerable cases at the cost of their personal benefits which they were enjoying and those for which they were held out promises, no doubt realizing the grave need of the nation, sided with the League. They deserve full praise for that. Admitting that a common Muslim [who] is conscious of the limitations of the League, as at present, does at the same time expect that the League will not fail to adopt ways and means within its power, not minding minor inconveniences, which will ensure Muslim nation's onward march to prosperity and honour— self-sufficient Pakistan.

PLANNING COMMITTEES

It is likely that the different committees set up by the League might start their work immediately the elections are over. Their reports will be ready in the very near future for consideration and adoption by the League high command. But as to the preparation, which the League has made to put those recommendations into action, is a secret to the public. Perhaps the League has not given thought to that aspect of the problem and that, if I be permitted to say, is almost criminal on its part. Both the planning and the arrangements to put the recommendations into practice should have been considered simultaneously, and if that has not been done so far, that may kindly be done now.

QUISLINGS

The Congress, on the notorious lines of the British imperialists, has adopted [*sic*] itself in creating disaffection and disunity among the different sections of Muslims, to win some quislings to their side, to serve them in keeping the Muslims as a nation in subjugation. Congress leadership and press is out for that, and considering their attitude in this regard, it is most necessary that some machinery at the centre and in the

provinces be set up not only to counteract that propaganda, but also to search out instances in Indian history where different interests in the Hindu society have worked against one another and also concoct [*sic*] and represent the current politics and happenings in such a way as to show that one section of the Hindu public is out to usurp the interest of the other, just to create disunity in them, too. Simply repulsing the attacks as is being done now, and that too half-heartedly, will not serve [the purpose]. We must have some quislings from Hindu society to serve us in the attainment of Pakistan.

The problems detailed above, together with a host of others, which I, for want of space, would hesitate to mention here, but are equally important, will no doubt be demanding the League attention in the very near future. All these would require very large funds at the disposal of the League to tackle them properly and successfully. But the question is how to get money—that is the problem of the time, which I would suggest may be solved if the following schemes are adopted.

FIRST SCHEME: DIRECT APPEAL

Under this scheme, the League high command is to issue appeal for funds; who, according to the information available with them, are rich enough to pay Rs. 10,000 and above clearly telling them that the contributions will be utilized to create a permanent fund, the annual income of which will be used to encourage technical education amongst Muslims through offers of grants to Muslim technical institutions and scholarships and stipends to deserving students, and to control investment, income, allocation and distribution of that fund, a committee of 5 members or more will be set up from amongst the donors and that other rules and regulations in this connection will be framed by that committee. I feel that that would suffice to convince the donors that their money is not likely to be mishandled. I am confident that if complete efforts are made, a sum not less than 5 crore can be collected.

SECOND SCHEME: GENERAL APPEAL

Under this scheme, an enquiry to all the League organizations asking for the names together with their addresses, occupations, approximate annual incomes, educational qualifications, general trends whether towards trade, education, etc., capacity to contribute both monthly or yearly and political inclinations of all Muslims who are considered able to understand and contribute for any purpose of national interest when approached [*sic*]. This should be done immediately. And on receipt of replies, those may be got consolidated and categorized so as to be readily and conveniently available for use when required. To start

with, appeals for funds to all persons who, from the information available, it is considered are in a position to contribute Rs. 10 and above, be made. Responses to the appeals be watched and if from any quarter some delay is noticed, that may be reminded.

In case responses to the appeals for Rs. 10 and above are encouraging, the advisability of issuing appeals to others on the lists may be considered.

The uses of making this enquiry and issuing of appeals as indicated above would be that:

1. a general opinion would be created among the Muslim masses that the League is out to do something really worth [while] for the nation;
2. the contributors would feel privileged and also proud that they are somebody in the scope of the national organization as the League is;
3. they would start taking more enthusiasm in the day-to-day activities of the League; and
4. if at any later stage the League decides to launch some movement on a large scale, such associates will not hesitate to offer their bits to make that a success, even if the leaders high up may for one consideration or another, shirk coming forward but take it for granted that these common Muslims won't, etc., etc.

THIRD SCHEME: PRIZE BOND SCHEME

This scheme should be on the lines of the Govt. scheme. Under this scheme, however, we can reduce the distribution of prizes from twice a year to once only and also fix the denominations of contribution at Rs. 1,000, Rs. 100, Rs. 10 and Rs. 50 just to accommodate the largest number of Muslim pockets. In addition, the number of prizes under each series of different denominations can be increased to enhance the chance of more contributors getting the prizes. Further details can be worked upon.

Under this scheme there will be a net saving of 2 to 3 per cent of the interest on the sums collected, as only 1 per cent will go to the contributors in the form of prizes and the other 1 per cent will be incurred on establishment and the other expenses in running the scheme. And if the information collected under second scheme as detailed above be properly utilized for getting response under this scheme, the total contributions and the savings can very well be visualized. All, however, depends upon how the scheme is developed and worked upon.

My impression is that the presence of large funds in the safe hands

of the League high command, would serve a great impetus to the Muslim nation, in its onward strides from strength to prosperity and ultimately in the establishment of a self-sufficient Pakistan.

I am confident that you would be kind enough to give due consideration to this submission of mine.

I, however, beg to be excused for taking this liberty.

Praying for your long and healthy life,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD IKRAM BAJWA

577

Syed Mohiyuddin Lalbadshah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 386/1

PRINCE HOTEL,
LAHORE,
17 March 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

May *Allah* bless you. I am happy to offer to the Muslim nation, through you, my humble services, leaving aside all those differences, personal or political, which kept me from doing so in the past. I hope you will join me in my prayer that God Almighty may accept this humble offering on my part to the cause of our nation. So far I have been trying to do whatever I could in my individual capacity in the service of my people. This even brought me into conflict with vested interests and I had to suffer in consequence. At the present hour of trial for the nation these vested interests have again tried to keep me in isolation, but I am fully convinced that every individual member of the nation owes a sacred duty at this juncture to join the Muslim League. This call overrides every other consideration and I am sinking and forgetting all personal differences and pledging my support to you and the Muslim League inside the Assembly as well as outside as a humble servant of the nation.

Yours most sincerely,
SYED MOHIYUDDIN LALBADSHAH
MLA
Pir of Makhad

578

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/361-3

BEGUMPETT,
HYDERABAD,
DECCAN,
17 March 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

There is a matter of vital importance which, I believe, deserves your early consideration. Our organization (the Hyderabad Construction Company Limited) have been investigating and trying for the establishment of an iron and steel industry in the State for the last five or six years. We came to the conclusion that we cannot establish this industry without taking some of the better quality [iron] ore that is found in large quantities in the adjacent State of Bastar. We drew the attention of the Government (Hyderabad) to this fact and negotiations started some time back between Hyderabad and the Bastar State with the approval of H.E. the Crown Representative. Matters progressed satisfactorily for some time but two new factors have just come in. The Steel Panel of the Post-War Department of the Government of India have recommended that a steel plant should be established in Central Provinces using ore from the Bastar State. They do not favour the idea of establishing the plant in Hyderabad using that ore. The Hindu financiers are also exerting their utmost to prevent the Bastar ore being given to Hyderabad and are, I believe, making offers to the Bastar State that they will find all the finances needed to establish the industry in Bastar itself. Here, I may add for your information that Bastar is a Hindu State and as the Rajah is a minor, the State at present is being administered by a regent appointed by H.E. the Crown Representative. The Hyderabad Government, no doubt, intend doing all that is possible to get the ore from Bastar and establish the industry within our own State but a little pressure from you at Delhi with the highest quarters, in my opinion, will be needed to turn the scales finally in our favour.

The other issue is of a local nature but is also equally important. The European element here wishes the industry to be developed by European organization and to remain and be operated under the management of British Steel Companies even though the finances are to be mainly provided by the State. I am, on the other hand, struggling

that our organization should be made responsible to operate and manage the industry and that we shall collaborate in technical and other matters with the leading British steel concerns to the extent and in a manner necessary, I feel, in view of the strong local European influence, that I will be unable to deal with the situation single-handed. I am conscious of the fact that there are no appreciable deposits of iron ore elsewhere in the Pakistan area and Hyderabad will have, to very great extent, to meet the steel requirements of Pakistan provided the concern is primarily under the control of Muslims. The proposed ship-building industry at Karachi will also primarily be dependent upon Hyderabad steel. The above is really the more important background of my struggle today, although, when we started the work some years ago, it was mainly out of commercial consideration.

I am fully aware that more vital issues, which will probably decide our fate for generations to come, are engaging your entire attention at this moment. However, things are moving so rapidly on this side that it may be too late if some early action is not taken. I hope you will forgive me, therefore, for encroaching on your precious time.

I am sending this letter through Mr. Basith who can furnish further facts and details.

I trust you are well and with respectful regards,

Sincerely yours ,
MIR LAIK ALI

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Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/364-6

BEGUMPETT,
HYDERABAD,
DECCAN,
17 March 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was glad to read in the papers that you have arrived safely at Delhi after a successful tour of Assam and Bengal. May *Allah* keep you fit and bestow on you every success.

On my return from Calcutta, I had informed the concerned people that you would, in all probability, be in Hyderabad between 18th and 20th March 1946 and your arrival was most anxiously awaited in all

quarters. Since there is no confirmation from you so far, I feel you must have changed your programme in view of the more pressing issues at Delhi.

The events in Hyderabad have taken an unfortunate turn during the past week. A temporary mosque which had existed for some years in the compound of leper's asylum, which is owned and run by an Anglo-American mission at a village called Dichpalli, was dismantled under the instructions of a local officer. This led to a great deal of agitation among the Muslims all over the State. Unfortunately, the investigation and the decision of the Government, in my opinion, took an unduly long time. A mass meeting was held in Hyderabad last Friday morning. At that very time the Government had also decided the matter in favour of the Muslims. The leaders of the agitation who were conducting the mass meeting were sent for at Nawab of Chhatari's residence and the decision of the Govt. was communicated to them. However, the mob from the meeting also followed the leaders and arrived at Nawab Sahib's residence. Even though the favourable decision of the Government was announced through the leaders to them, the mob became unruly and started setting fire to and destroying the President's office and his residence. Nawab of Chhatari was assaulted and received slight injuries on his forehead. Mr. Grigson, the Revenue Member, received slight injuries also. The mob then proceeded and set fire to Mr. Grigson's bungalow. The President's office and his residence and Mr. Grigson's bungalow were all completely burnt down. Fortunately, Nawab of Chhatari's family were escorted out of the premises and taken to a place of safety in a cordon formed by some of the more sensible elements of the mob. The consequences, otherwise, might have been more serious.

The situation, therefore, at present here is extremely tense. Some repercussions from the Government will naturally follow. Personally, I feel, that the mob was sent on the unfortunate course by some outside elements which were among the crowd and were giving fully designed and well-considered lead to the excited mob in committing such violent action. On the one side, we are all trying to do our best to restore the loss of prestige suffered by the Government and, on the other, to save Ittehadul Muslimeen from any drastic action on the part of Government.

I have a feeling that Nawab of Chhatari may find himself in a difficult position with H.E.H. after this incident. Your guidance and advice at a critical time like this will be of the utmost importance to both H.E.H. and the Muslims.

I am sending this letter through Mr. Basith who can furnish further facts and details.

I trust you are well and with respectful regards,

Sincerely yours,
MIR LAIK ALI

580

Hanumat Saran to M. A. Jinnah

F.883/161

35 CHAKWARTY HOSTEL,
MEDICAL COLLEGE,
LUCKNOW,
17 March 1946

Dear Sir,

I want to bring to your notice that the great trial of your life, aim, and the most legitimate demand of yours and the Muslims for Pakistan has to be realized by you. My inner heart and some light of the inner feelings says that like a true German you should try for the emancipation of Islam from the clutches of politics of the Hindus. The whole nation knows here in these elections the votes were purchased with money by the people. I am really to help you as much as I can with blood and flesh in any capacity. The mission which is coming to India must give definite [*sic*] to the Muslims.

Yours sincerely,
HANUMAT SARAN
MBBS

581

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 990/1-2

ISLAMIA COLLEGE,
PESHAWAR,
19 March 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

May God spare you long to guide and lead the Muslim nation! It is

to be regretted that the Frontier Province has not proved loyal to the League in the true sense of the word in the recent elections. Whatever else may be said, I am convinced that the League failed due to lack of organization. Given organized election campaign the League could easily have captured at least 65% of the Muslim seats.

People here do not seem to be satisfied with the present leadership of the province. Both Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Abdur Rab Nishtar have failed to win the confidence of the people. They lack that sincerity of purpose and sustained effort which alone could make them the leaders of the masses. There are other persons, however, who can easily prove better than these two persons. A well-informed friend of mine told me to-day that the Nawab of Tank who has been elected to the Assembly on the League ticket can become the Frontier Nawab of Mamdot, if properly handled. Another sincere man who can become an asset for the League is Khan Habib Ullah Khan, a pleader of Bannu. He is a man of conviction who has suffered imprisonments with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Inayat Ullah Mashriqi. Khan Habib Ullah has also been recently elected to the Frontier Assembly on the League ticket. I would request you to come in contact with these two persons whenever possible.

In spite of the election results, I believe that at least 80 per cent of the Frontier people are staunchly in favour of Pakistan. Without bringing in party politics, if a plebiscite is taken on the Pakistan issue alone, they would undoubtedly vote for it. Quite a good number of Congressmen believe in Pakistan but they refuse to follow the reactionary and insincere leadership of the Provincial League. There are some Congress MLAs, too, who have declared themselves in favour of Pakistan in private talks. The rising generation has got a blind faith in your leadership. Some of them are ready to make any kind of sacrifice for their cherished goal of Pakistan. Not to speak of them, there are thousands who will not fail you in the crucial hour. Let that hour come and the Congress will then find itself doomed in this province.

With best wishes,

Yours faithfully,
[UNSIGNED]

582

Abdus Sami to M. A. Jinnah

F. 988/43

BIJNORE, U.P.,
19 March 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Bijnor has given us a shock. In the result, we get 42 per cent votes only as against 58 per cent of the Congress candidate Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim. Although we made very considerable progress as compared with our achievement of 1937, still the result is shocking inasmuch as we expected victory over the ex-Congress minister; and this feeling was shared to a great extent by the opposite camp, where preparations for collecting material for an election petition were afoot. This appeared to be the situation after nothing was left undone by the Hindus, the Jami'at and the Congress; money was squandered like water, the entire official machinery was in league with the Congress, and the Hindu landlords and bankers were putting up fight as one of the last ditch, at the sacrifice of every comfort and money. Dishonesty and partiality prevailed throughout the elections. Hindu officials acted as partisans, Muslims were terror-struck. Thousands of female voters of the Muslim League had to go away without recording their votes as the polling staff bullied them and put them off; chits issued by the League presented [*sic*] were torn to pieces or returned. Signature slips and ballot papers were not issued. At Najibabad, 39 signature slips were recovered from the *Sari* of a Hindu polling clerk (female). Telegrams and representations were sent to the Governor, and every foul play was brought to the notice of the authorities. Votes were freely purchased; and every pressure was brought to bear on the vote[r]s by the Congress workers. Husain Ahmad Madani, the Red Shirts, INA officials, Pandit Nehru, Pandit Pant, and the entire Jami'at ul 'Ulama-i-Hind, made the constituency their centre of activity. The Muslim League workers put up very tough resistance, and did persistent canvassing in the constituency for three months. Everybody expected a neck-and-neck contest. The President of the District Congress Committee, in a telegram to the *Hindustan Times*, which he himself took to be very exaggerated, gave out the expectation of winning by a thousand votes. The result, as announced, was mysterious and shocking. We lost by three thousand. Everybody was of opinion that we led at

three out of the four biggest polling stations. The result revealed that we lost at all the four.

[*Last para omitted*]

Devoted to you as every Muslim should be,

ABDUS SAMI
President, District Muslim League

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Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar to M. A. Jinnah & Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 883/189

42 LARUT ROAD,
PENANG,
20 March 1946

Dear Sirs,

It gives me great pleasure to read in the newspapers that you two noble selves have been invited to confer with the Cabinet Ministers on the constitution of the new government of independent India. I have taken the liberty to send you two noble selves and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad a telegram in roman, as follows. [It is taken from the holy *Qur'an* and means]

"O ye who believe... hold fast to the rope of God (Islam) and together and divide not".

I do beg you to forgive me for the liberty I have taken in sending you the telegram and in writing this letter, but I do so for the love of God only who knows best what is in my heart. I have also written a more or less identical letter to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah may remember that I was present all three days at the Lahore Conference in 1940, and had the pleasure of meeting him again at Mr. Bashir Ahmad's house later on and presenting him with a copy of my translation of the holy *Qur'an*. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah also knows my younger brother Mian Abdul Aziz, M.A., C.B.E., etc., of Lahore.

My object in writing this letter is nothing but that you two noble selves should try to soften the heart of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to come to an honourable and noble compromise between our and the Congress opinions. Please for the love of God speak to him as a Muslim brother. May God soften his heart and reward him and you both with

success. In my most humble opinion, a compromise should be possible and quarrels avoided. After all, we cannot do without the Hindus. May God guide us and them rightly in this matter.

Peace is better than fighting unless we are driven to fighting, and then we can rely upon God for paradise or success, both here and hereafter.

Yours sincerely,

HAFIZ GHULAM SARWAR
M.A., M.C.S. *(retired)*
Translator of the holy Qur'an,
Author of Life of Muhammad, *etc.*

584

Mohammad Abdus Subhan to M.A. Jinnah

F. 883/190-1

GORAKHPUR,
U.P.,
20 March 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

This province, supposed to be stronghold of Muslim League, has received a set-back which must provide food for thought. The catastrophic results of the elections are due to bad leadership and severe bungling. The members of the Parliamentary Board on whom rested the management of the election were mostly candidates, and they could not afford time to supervise the work which they had taken in their hand. There was no organized scheme of work. Some of the influential candidates monopolized the resources of the organization as a whole leaving some districts to take care of themselves. In many places an eleventh-hour change has been made with fatal result. For instance, the seat of Begum Shahid Hussain in Muradabad should not have been changed. Similarly, there was no reason to change the seat of Mr. Zahiruddin Farooqi in favour of Nawab Nawazish Ali Khan. It is earnestly requested that your honour should appoint a commission to enquire into the causes that have led to such shocking results. And if it is proved that the leaders, local or provincial, were responsible for

the defeat of Muslim League your honour should remove such persons from the leadership and have the League organised through persons who are above intrigue and selfishness.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD ABDUS SUBHAN

585

Dr. Jal Patel to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/126

MERWAN BUILDING,
SIR PHIROZSHAH MEHTA ROAD,
FORT, BOMBAY,
21 March 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is long since I have not heard from you. I hope you are keeping fit and healthy to go through the strain of recent events and events in future.

God has always helped you and will help you is my prayer. Please do let me know about your health.

I congratulate you on your success in election in [the] Punjab specially.

My friend, Mr. Sabawalla, is flying to Delhi to cover the news about the [Cabinet] Mission. If you are giving interviews to press people, I hope you will give your views to Mr. Sabawalla[1] as well, as he is a journalist of no mean merits.

He has made his mark in journalism.

With regards,

Very sincerely,
JAL

PS. How is Miss Jinnah. Please convey my regards.

[1]On 31 March 1946, Jinnah informed Dr. Jal Patel that he would be glad to see Mr. Sabawalla along with other press correspondents. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims 1/127. Not printed.

586

Iqbal Study Group, Durban, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 556/137

36 CATHEDRAL ROAD,
DURBAN,
22 March 1946

Celebrating Iqbal Day 31st. Will appreciate your message of goodwill.[1]

IQBAL STUDY GROUP

[1]Jinnah sent the following telegraphic message: Iqbal voiced ideals, aspirations of Muslim India. Made great contribution through his poems to political awakening, stirring up souls of Muslims of India. Wish Iqbal Day every success. See F. 556/136, *QAP*. Not printed.

587

Abdul Kader Ismail Bayat to M. A. Jinnah

F. 907/44

47 CHURCH STREET,
PIETERMARITZBURG,
NATAL, SOUTH AFRICA,
22 March 1946

Dear and respected Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have sent per to-day's air mail a photograph taken of the pupils of the local *Madrassa*. *Munshi* Bellim, their teacher, composed an Urdu song in praise of Pakistan movement, taught this to these pupils and then went from house to house, amongst our Muslim womenfolk, singing this song and collected the sum of £24-13-6 towards the South African Pakistan League Appeal Fund, which sum was sent to the *Indian Views*, to be forwarded to yourself together with other money. A photo of this also appeared in the *Indian Views* of December 19, 1945, on page 11, which I am forwarding to you[1] also. I shall be very much glad to hear from you upon its receipt.

It is my earnest prayer that may the Almighty *Allah* grant you long

life and health so that you may achieve the goal you have set forth, i.e. Pakistan.

Wassalaam

Yours truly,
A. K. I. BAYAT

[1]Not traceable.

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Mrs. Molly Gwyn to M. A. Jinnah

F. 936/25-6

PRINCE STREET,
COLOMBO,
23 March 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have followed with great interest your activities with the Muslim League which have gained for you one more silent admirer, i.e. myself.

I wish to become a Muslim and would like to know how this is to be attained, if you know what I mean. I already think like a Muslim but what is the procedure to be able to declare one as such. I [would] then offer you my services to work for the Muslim League in any capacity fitting for my sex.

I have given great thought to and studied this matter and would like nothing better than to work for the restoration of Islam in all parts of the world. I see no answer to the sorry state of affairs that exists in India and other parts of this troubled world.

I hope sincerely that the coming "Mission" will make your grand task easier. I am visiting India in April and hope to have the pleasure of seeing you when you can advise me as to how I can become a Muslim.

I am a Christian and a widow of an Army officer. I am on a visit to Ceylon.

Thanking you for an answer, I wish you every success.

Sincerely,
MRS. MOLLY GWYN

589

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 101/103-4

ICHHRA, LAHORE,
23 March 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The treatment meted out to me by thousands of hooligans after you hurriedly left the public meeting of 13th January last, when I arrived in order to do my utmost for the purpose of creating unity among the Musalmans, was most shameful, and as you have not expressed regret over the incident, I take it that it was done at your bidding, or at any rate you approved [of] it. If this be so, I can very well see what your Pakistan would be like, but I can assure you that I have not the slightest ill-feeling against you or the Muslim League that you have created.

I enclose herewith a copy of the letter[1] that I wrote to the thirteen heads of seven Muslim organisations who do not see eye to eye with you in the matter of prostituting 100 million Musalmans for the British cause by creating their solid support against the Hindus and thereby retarding the grant of freedom to India. I have asked these heads to annihilate the existence of their parties and form themselves into an "All-India Azad Muslim League" in order to counteract the ill effects of the present Muslim League headed by you. I have not the least doubt that should you come to know [of] the most unhonourable [*sic*] part that the Muslim League espoused by you is playing in the history of freedom of India, you would hardly do things which you are doing now and create a united front for this country's freedom from the foreign yoke.

Most of these organisations have approved of the proposal and a Conference is being held in order to institute the new League. Donations also have been promised amounting to several lakhs of rupees. The Azad Muslim League will join hands with all parties in the land for the purpose of presenting a united front against the continued slavery of India.

Prominent Musalmans have suggested to me that this invitation to all parties to join hands with all political parties of India for the purpose of gaining freedom should also be extended to the Muslim League, headed by you, as this League also is as much a portion of the

Musalmans as any other party. I consider this a most reasonable proposition and, therefore, most heartily extend the invitation to you by means of this letter. I assure you that should you join us we shall be able, unitedly, to move mountains. I expect a reply from you, one way or the other, early.

Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1]Not traceable.

590

Z. Abedeen to M. A. Jinnah

F. 831/62-3

CHANDMARI, DARJEELING,
25 March 1946

Pakistan Day was observed here with great pomp and splendour. Great enthusiasm and high spirit was shown by the Muslim public of Darjeeling and Lebong.

All the Muslim shopkeepers, except three, closed down their shops in connection with the celebration of Pakistan Day. A long procession with Muslim League flags was taken round the town of Darjeeling in which all the Muslims of Darjeeling and Lebong paraded the main thoroughfares shouting the slogans of *Allaho Akbar,* Muslim League *Zindabad,* Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad* and Pakistan *Zindabad.* The procession then terminated at Masjid Road and the processionists mustered strong at a place adjacent to the Masjid Road, where *du'a* was offered for the long life of Quaid-i-Azam, and the following resolutions were passed unanimously under the presidentship of Mr. N.H. Malik:

i. Resolved unanimously that this meeting of the Muslims of Darjeeling and Lebong fully support the League's Lahore Resolution March 23rd 1940 and reiterate the demand of Pakistan.
ii. Resolved unanimously that all the Muslims present in this meeting are solely behind the League and have full confidence in the leadership of their esteemed Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah.
iii. Resolved unanimously that those present in this meeting are ready to sacrifice their all for the Muslim cause and achievement of Pakistan.
iv. Resolved unanimously that copies of Resolution Nos. i, ii and iii

be sent to Mr. M. A. Jinnah; Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan; Moulana Akram Khan, President, B[engal] P[rovincial] M[uslim] League; Secretary, B. P. M. League, and Mr. Raghib Ahsan, Member, Working Committee, B.P.M. League.

Z. ABEDEEN
Officer Incharge,
Darjeeling District Muslim League

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 990/5

BOMBAY,
25 March 1946

Respected Sir,

One of your humble Leaguers craves your permission to put the following lines for your kind consideration. I trust you will be gracious enough to read them, although time is a precious factor with you in your present day pre-occupations. For reasons best known to me, I am unable to disclose my name.

The Cabinet Mission has arrived. The statement of the British Premier and the composition of the Mission are disappointing so far as Muslims are concerned. Cripps is entirely a Congressite. So is Pethick-Lawrence. Still we should try our level best to cooperate with the Mission from our point of view. As far as I can see, these Ministers are anti-Pakistan. For their satisfaction and in order to reduce [*sic*] we may agree to revise the boundaries of the Punjab and Bengal to some extent. The Labour Govt. cannot refuse this demand of ten crore of Muslims in a vast fertile and rich country like India, especially when Muslims are here for the last one thousand years and have ruled it for eight hundred years. Our case is stronger than that of a small community, the Jews, whom the British Govt. want to thrust on Palestine which is much smaller and unfertile. The Jews had left the country some thirteen hundred years ago and as such have no claim and yet are being injected into Palestine. If the Cabinet trio is still adamant and refuses to grant Pakistan, even then I plead that we should try to arrive at some compromise rather than let this opportunity pass away. I am convinced the Muslims will lose in the civil war as they are very scattered, and educationally and economically are very

backward. They are still disorganised, have not fully developed political knowledge and discipline, and above all have many black sheep such as Azad, Khans, Lalljee, Madani, etc. Many more will desert the League. We may demand the following safeguards in a united India:

i. Separate electorate in all legislative and local bodies.
ii. Provinces should get full residuary powers. The Federal list should be reduced to the minimum.
iii. The boundaries of Punjab, Bengal and Assam should be so revised as to enable the Muslims to have clear majority in these provinces.
iv. The number of Muslim seats in Sind should be increased so as to have a workable majority.
v. Muslims should have proper and sufficient representation in all legislative and public bodies.
vi. In the minority provinces there should be at least two ministers in Madras, Bombay, C.P. and Bihar and three in U.P. They should be selected from the party which commanded majority amongst Muslims and one of whom should always be given a key portfolio.
vii. The Govt. at the Centre shall also be formed as above.
viii. In minority provinces, Muslims should have adequate share in all public services and one-third in the central services.
ix. The question of official language and the script to be used should be settled.
x. Adequate provision should be made for the education of Muslims, especially in Urdu.
xi. No legislation should be passed or made applicable to the Muslims which is against their religious principles.
xii. There should be no commercial discrimination against Muslims.
xiii. Muslim places of worship, *durgahs*, charities, and old structures should be safeguarded and respected.
xiv. There should be a Muslim President of the Indian republic at least once in six years and should be selected by the Muslim Ministers at the Centre and in the Provinces.
xv. Muslims shall have adequate and not less than fifty per cent share in the defence services of the country.
xvi. All the above and other safeguards deemed necessary should be incorporated in the constitution and nothing herein contained should be amended or repealed unless agreed to by the three-fourth majority of all the Central and Provincial Muslim legislators or by a plebiscite of the Muslims.
xvii. If the Muslims feel that any of the safeguards has been violated either in spirit or letter they should be entitled to appeal to the Indian Supreme Court, thence to the British Privy Council and

finally to the UNO or any other similar body. The decision of the last one shall be final.

I believe that these conditions would sufficiently make the Muslim position safe, will give Pakistan a substance, will do away with quislings, will make the League still stronger, and will give the Muslims a breathing time to organise and improve themselves still better for the final struggle, if required.

I humbly request that these [suggestions] may kindly be considered favourably.

Yours obediently,
AN ARDENT LEAGUER

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Syed Badruddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 846/27-30

SADARGALI,
PATNA CITY,
26 March 1946

Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

With all due respect I submit that the elections of the leader and deputy leader of the Bihar Muslim League Assembly party took place on the 24th instant and Nawab Khan Bahadur S.M. Ismail was elected leader and Moulvi Latifur Rahman deputy leader. My apprehensions came true. Latifur Rahman made a pact with the people of Nawab S.M. Ismail and also entered into an alliance with the newspaper *Sada-i-'Aam,* an Urdu daily of Patna, which is vigorously carrying on propaganda against us since [*sic*] three years. The activities of this paper have been condemned by the Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and others, who also know what material harm it has done to the Muslim League in the garb of a friend. Though of course this combination has swept off [*sic* for 'cut'] the ground from under our feet, still we are able to hold on and shall bring majority in the next meeting. As you know, Sir, we three, Jafar Imam, myself and Mazhar Imam, organised the Muslim League in the province when the top-most leaders of today in Bihar were either ridiculing us or sitting on the fence. We do not complain that our poor [*sic*] energies were wasted, rather we thank God that we have been the first to rise at your

command. Though we are not rich and we have also sufficiently suffered economically, still we take pride in saying that we did not go office-hunting or ever lowered the prestige and position of the Muslim League. We still enjoy the confidence of the masses in the province and that is our sole consolation and satisfaction. I once more assure you that I shall remain your most loyal follower and shall lay my life at your command.

By the way, I would submit one important thing which I forgot to bring to your notice at Delhi. Mr. Jaipal Singh, the *Adibasi* leader of Chotanagpur, is organising his people in opposition to the Congress and demanding the separation of Chotanagpur for the *Adibasis*. We gave him what little help we could afford but I think he deserves more. He is an Oxonian M. A. and a very smart and clever fellow. He has got the capacity to organise his people. If you condescend to help him I may ask him to see you. The *Adibasis* are very poor and are in fact the original people of Chotanagpur who have been driven to live in jungles. They have managed to secure three seats in the Bihar Assembly on their own tickets.

One thing more; I would submit that Mr. Tajamul Hussain of Patna is a veteran changer [*sic*] who joined the Muslim League in August last. His credentials are so very bad that he himself could not think of having a ticket for the Assembly from anywhere. Now he is an MLA on Bihar Muslim League ticket. He first applied for the Central Assembly but the Bihar Provincial Parliamentary Board reported against him saying that he could not be trusted. The report must be with the Central Parliamentary Board. Still he got the ticket on appeal from Central Parliamentary Board when nominations for the Bihar Assembly were made. This is something personal but all the same it is for your information and it is also confidential.

May I hope to know what you can do for Mr. Jaipal Singh?

With greatest respect,

Yours obediently,
SYED BADRUDDIN AHMAD
Secretary,
Bihar Provincial Muslim League

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Agha A. Mahmud & M. H. Khan Maikash to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1012/21-3

C/O ROYAL BAKERY, MAIN ROAD,
VIZAGAPATAM,
26 March 1946

Dearest Quaid-i-Azam,

In view of the impending grave crisis which we are driven to face by the unscrupulous and mean British and Congress *banias,* we felt impelled to communicate to you in all humility the following:

We feel it necessary to make it very clear to you that we believe that *Allah* in his unbounded mercy to his Islamic children [*sic*] sent you into this world with the special mission of successfully leading the Islamic humanity in India at this assuredly most critical juncture. We further believe that we are bound to succeed. The inherent justness of our cause has given us the necessary strength. We feel that Pakistan is in the hollow of our hands. We are in entire accord with the rising tempo of your public speeches and fervently hope that you will strive to keep it up, nay raise it ever higher, so as to reach white-heat on mid-day of 5th April, immediately after which your meeting with the Cabinet Mission is scheduled to take place.

We have no doubt that Punjab, "the sword-arm of India" will rise to Himalayan heights. It is gratifying to note that the "corner-stone of Pakistan" is standing solid as rock with unflinching faith and has unmistakably indicated its unalterable determination to go through with Pakistan to the end as can be clearly seen from the resolution of Mr. Ataullah Jahania posted for discussion at the ensuing meeting of the Punjab League Council. We note with satisfaction that the Punjab League is seriously considering an immediate vigorous enrolment campaign.... in the first instance of four lakhs of (blood) volunteers and one lakh of *Janbaz*. It is quite in the fitness of things that the province which has given us the incomparable Iqbal of revered memory and undying fame, the pioneer of the Pakistan idea which we are now prepared to live for, fight for, and if need be, die for, should have come out first to provide the means for its achievement. We hasten to implore you in the name of *Allah* to afford us an opportunity of serving our nation, which is synonymous with serving Him by registering our names for inclusion in the *Janbaz* class of volunteers, whenever it is drawn up,

and as an earnest of our unflinching loyalty to the sacred cause of Islam, we affix our signature to this letter with blood drawn from the index finger. The British have insulted us in Capt. Rashid's case and we have got to return this with a Roland for an Oliver. Mohammad Siddiq of Ludhiana and Mohammad Malik of Lahore, the noble martyrs in our sacred cause, shall not have died in vain.

Insha Allah, Patels and Nehrus and their dupes, Azads and Syed Hussains, who are talking of romantic wars and "sporadic disjointed risings" shall before long be thoroughly and completely disillusioned. Something from within tells us that the combined might of the British and the Congress will most certainly give way at the eleventh hour. It does not in the least mean that this should make even an iota of difference to our efforts, which in spite of everything must continue with unabated vigour till we are dead certain of our total victory. Pakistan is our birth-right, have it we must and have it we will, *Insha Allah.*

We consider the following as very important and therefore we take the liberty of sending you a copy of the article written and submitted on 4.3.46 by one of us (M.H. Khan Maikash) for publication under the pen name 'Makhfi' and actually published in the *Deccan Times* weekly of Madras on 17.3.1946. To give only one example, the last sentence of the last but one para of the article, where it is marked thus the clause, "with a fierce fighting tradition of centuries behind them" has been omitted by the Editor. We feel it is greatly toned down. We further feel that our papers, unfortunately very few, should pursue a forward policy and not fight shy of showing fight. We request you to return this enclosed article to us with your autograph which, needless to say, will give us a good deal of encouragement.

Finally, we implore you in the name of *Allah* not to treat the foregoing as so many meaningless and emotional words but as the contents of the innermost recesses of our hearts.

Both of us are technically not Muslim Leaguers and we are ashamed of it. The reasons are, the first of us is ever on the move in business connection and the second a permanent typist clerk in the service of the Madras Government who has tendered resignation from his post on 28.2.1946 which has been accepted. His relief is expected soon.

We are advisedly sending this sealed letter to you through an old intimate of ours.

Both of us are bachelors and below 28.

Yours affectionately,
AGHA A. MAHMUD
M.H. KHAN MAIKASH

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M. S. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/218

PALAMAU, BIHAR,
26 March 1946

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Please allow me to take the liberty to draw your special attention towards the allegation made by Master Tara Singh, Akali Sikh leader,[1] which appeared in responsible newspapers, that a sum of rupees six lakh is being paid to you annually by the British Govt. through the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Is it true? I shall request you to kindly make your position clear on this major issue. If it is true, a reasonable account should be placed before the public and, if not, a defamation suit must be filed against this Akali leader who says that he will produce some documentary proof in support of his statement.

In last [*sic*] I want to say that this humble request should not be ignored as it does not represent only a view of mine but of a large section of Leaguers.

Your long silence on this point is poisoning the wells of public opinion which will neither serve the cause of Islam nor the long cherish [*sic*] will of Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
M. S. KHAN

[1]See No... [SHC, Punjab I/80] for Tara Singh's denial.

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F. H. Elkhairabadi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1112/100-03

38 WESTERN COURT,
NEW DELHI,
27 March 1946

Dear and revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I am a common ordinary Musalman and owing to my vocation in

life precluded from taking any active part in public life. Yet I am at heart an ardent Leaguer and your zealous follower. In my own quiet and humble way, I have tried to serve the interests of my nation and the cause of Pakistan. I addressed two letters on the subject of Muslim right to self-determination, one to the Parliamentary Delegation, when it came here, and the other I am sending to the members of the Cabinet Mission, which is now in India. I wonder if these views and my humble efforts will meet with your approval. I am enclosing herewith for your perusal copies of my letters[1] and I can only hope that they may have some effect, however small and insignificant, in furthering the cause which is so dear to every Muslim heart. If you find that the British Govt. is not willing in any case to concede our full demand of Pakistan, it may be worthwhile to put before them and the Hindus an alternative. I, therefore, give below a skeleton scheme exclusively for your consideration, which would, in my opinion, bring us the substance of Pakistan. The Hindus, however, will not agree to it as they do not want us to be independent and live as free men. But it may provide an effective answer to the charge that it is the League that is vetoing the advance of India and putting a spoke in the wheel of Indian freedom. Having an independent army of their own, the north-western and eastern Muslim States will be able to maintain their integrity against future encroachment by the Federal Govt. at the centre and resist militant Hindu imperialism. In the federal structure, the centre either grows strong or grows weak. If the constitution such as I have suggested in outline is adopted, the federal centre is likely to grow weak rather than strong with the passage of time, and Pakistan can secede from Hindustan in due course. Apart from the desire of Pakistan to separate from Hindustan, there will be a centrifugal tendency among some of the Hindu provinces on the ground of racial differences and provincialism. This factor will also help us in throwing off the Hindu yoke. This alternative scheme, however, I am submitting to you only. I have not made any mention of it in my two letters (enclosures) in which I have advocated the cause of Pakistan pure and unadulterated.

1. The autonomous Muslim provinces will be joined together into a single union of Muslim States and shall accede to the Indian commonwealth of nations as a single acceding unit or, at the most, as two acceding units, one of the united Muslim States of the north-west and the other of the united Muslim States of eastern India.

2. The Muslim States in India shall be free to join any of the two united Muslim States, or a single federal group of united Muslim States if such a one is established, as may be convenient to them and shall not be forced to accede to the Indian federation directly. That is

to say, they will be entitled to join any one of the two united States of Muslim India or a single union of Muslim States which as units or a unit, as the case may be, will be acceding to the Indian confederation or the commonwealth of Indian nations.

3. Each federating unit will have its own state army including air force, land forces and navy wherever possible, as in the case of Bengal and Sindh. No restrictions shall be imposed by the centre on the strength and composition of the army of the federating Muslim units or States.

4. Complete provincial autonomy with defence and army as both a provincial and a central subject.

5. In the case of the central federal government the Musalmans shall have 40% representation in the army including navy and air force, which incidentally is less than their present strength in the Indian army.

6. The Musalmans shall have 40 per cent representation in the central federal assembly.

7. The residuary powers shall vest in the federating units.

8. Only Defence, Customs and Foreign Policy, Communications (Railways, Posts, Telegraphs) shall be federal subjects, subject to the above reservations in respect of provincial defence and army mentioned in items 3,4 and 5 above.

9. The religion, culture and language of the Muslims (and other religious minorities) shall be safeguarded by definite provisions in the federal constitution, which shall not be changed and modified except by 2/3rd votes of the elected representatives of the Musalmans (and the other minorities concerned).

10. The Musalmans (and other minorities) shall be protected from social and economic discrimination by definite provisions in the Indian constitution.

11. The Musalmans (and other minorities) shall be free to practise and preach their religion and to carry on their proselytizing activities without let or hindrance.

12. No legislation shall be passed affecting the religious and social rights, customs, and cultural integrity of the Musalmans (and other minorities), if it is rejected and vetoed by a 2/3rd majority of their elected representatives in the federal assembly.

13. No war shall be declared and no peace concluded with any foreign power if 3/4th majority of the elected representatives of the Musalmans in the federal assembly oppose it.

14. The Muslim representatives to the federal assembly shall be delegated [*sic*] by the Muslim federation or federations or by the legislative assemblies of the Muslim States comprising their federation. In other

words, there shall be no direct elections to the central federal assembly of representatives of the (Muslim) federating units.

I hope you will be interested to read the enclosures and that they may be of some little use. You may make any use of the stuff for what little it is worth without disclosing my identity.

With kind regards,

I am,

Your sincere admirer and a humble servant of Islam,

F.H. ELKHAIRABADI

PS. As regards the claim of the Sikhs to have a sovereign Sikh State, it may be mentioned that the Sikhs are not in majority in any district of the Punjab, to say nothing of any division or sub-division. A Sikh State, however, can be constituted, if so desired, by amalgamating the Sikh States of the Punjab, namely Patiala, Jind, Nabha and Faridkot. Patiala, being the premier Sikh State in southern Punjab (adjoining the Ambala Division), be made the head of this sovereign Sikh State. In all these three states the rulers too are Sikhs. This step may, to an appreciable extent, appease the Sikhs, soften down their opposition to Pakistan and satisfy their sentiment and growing consciousness of a separate and exclusive national existence.

[1]Not traceable.

596

E. C. Kent to M. A. Jinnah

F. 927/116

DINHAM HALL,
MISSION HOSPITAL ROAD,
MYSORE CITY,
27 March 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to you and hope for a reply but wonder if you will be able to answer me. I had the pleasure of meeting you at the Savoy Hotel, Ootacammed, some 20 years ago. What I and most planters want to know is what does the 'Quit India' mean—do you want all English people out or only the Government? I have lived as a coffee planter for

54 years and worked with all castes. I know and admire Musalman and Hindu gentlemen and can leave India tomorrow as a friend to all castes. Having lived in peace all my life in India from a lad of 17, I want to die in peace and if not wanted will go tomorrow, sooner than live here and be hated because I am British. If you will answer me I shall not be offended in any way but [be] grateful to you. I wish you well with your Pakistan.

Very sincerely,
E.C. KENT

597

Indian Muslims Association, Lower Perak to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telegram, F. 1003/15

TELUK ANSON,
LOWER PERAK, MALAYA,
27 March 1946

On behalf of the Indian Muslim Association, Lower Perak, Malaya, which represents the views of substantial majority of the Indian Muslims of Lower Perak, Malaya, express our absolute confidence in your guidance and leadership.

SECRETARY, INDIAN MUSLIMS ASSOCIATION

[1]Jinnah assured the Penang Indian Muslim League of his full support, adding "we would do everything we possibly can in the matter". See F. 676/28, *QAP*. Not printed.

598

Begum Mataul Mulk to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/243

MAIDEN HOTEL, DELHI,
27 March 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am a Chinese and wife of Capt. Prince Mohammad Mataul Mulk of Chitral, now in detention in Kabul lines. I have arrived here by air on the 18th from Singapore.

Before my marriage to him, I was a Christian but he made me realise that Islam is truth and the only way to salvation. I am young and don't know politics, but from my husband's talk, I came to understand that Muslim League represents all Musalmans of India and you are their great leader. I assure you that my husband has always been a staunch believer in the Muslim League. His only reason for joining the I.N.A. was to safeguard Muslim interests and be in a position to oppose with arms the wicked designs of the Japanese and Mr. Bose on the Muslims of India. Because of his outspokenness, on January 10th 1945 he was arrested by Mr. Bose to undergo solitary confinement in the I.N.A. concentration camp, Singapore, till the arrival of the British. He is absolutely innocent as he never believed in the Japanese and Mr. Bose and so never had the intention to fight the British but only to safeguard Muslim interest. A great injustice is being done by detaining instead of rewarding him. I am appealing to your kind self to secure early release of my husband as I consider you not only a great leader but also the father of all the Muslims.

Hoping you will give kind consideration to my appeal,

Yours sincerely,
BEGUM MATAUL MULK

599

Kabir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/219-22

ROSHAN MAHAL,
PASTA LANE,
COLABA, BOMBAY,
27 March 1946

Sir,

I beg to invite your attention to certain important things which have occurred recently.

The extensive Congress propaganda for the so-called I.N. Army, interference in the force's strikes, and posing as champion of their cause is to gain the sympathy and support of the armed forces for their nefarious ends.

Besides this, the recent riots, attacks on Britons and their property and exploiting the disturbances in the army and the navy are all calculated to impress the people in general, and the British Government in particular, that

this agitation is due to the growing influence of the Congress, and that the Government's whip-hand, i.e. the armed forces, are even now with the Congress. Therefore, unless Britain surrenders to its demands it will create a country-wide revolution.

These events, and particularly the frequent unrest among the forces, seem to have shaken the Britishers a good deal and they imagine that the Congress is alone capable of giving them trouble. Hence Mr. Attlee's statement that "A minority will not be allowed to veto the advance of the majority."

But it seems strange that the Governments in India and England are blind to the fact:

i. that the intensity of the mob violence was due to Muslims, joining in the fray, and not the work of Hindu heroes alone,
ii. that Musalmans predominate the army and the navy, and they are not under the influence of the Hindu Congress in any way. The unrest among the troops is due to the fact that their outlook has vastly changed, having moved and fought all over the world in this war, and they naturally resent any kind of discrimination or insult now.

If Muslims keep strictly aloof, Messrs Nehru and Patel will not be able to produce the threatened "Earthquake" in India.

I humbly suggest that immediate publicity be given to this matter so that the Cabinet Mission and the people may know the true position.

Further, the Muslim League should not tolerate Musalman troops being misled and exploited by the Hindu Congress any more. Muslims should be made to realise that by joining the Hindus in the recent disturbances without the advice of the League, they have only suffered, while the Hindus have gained at their expense in the shape of Mr. Attlee's declaration. We are passing [through] critical times and may have to launch a desperate struggle at short notice for our existence; therefore, we must organise scientifically and keep our power and resources intact for all eventualities.

On the other hand, if British trade is the reason for Hindu appeasement, then Britain should know that the Hindus are only waiting for the transfer of power to industrialise with a vengeance. With Muslim consumers alienated and Hindus having their own industries, where will British trade be?

No constitution based upon *Bania*-British alliance will work without Muslim co-operation. They may force such a constitution only by means of a large British Army of occupation, and the Muslims thirsting for revenge and revolt will strike hard and wide, which will make events in Java pale into insignificance. Thus, there will be no peace, and the

rosy dreams of Hindu-British trade will vanish in smoke.

Finally, this gross betrayal will alienate the 100 million Muslims forever, which will have repercussions in the Middle and the Far East, and under the present world conditions may prove fatal to the British empire.

We want nothing more than a fair and honest deal. There is no reason why a free Pakistan and free Hindustan cannot live as good neighbours like Canada and U.S.A.

A civil war will be a holy war to the Muslims; besides, we will not lose much, for the simple reason that we have not much to lose, as most of the trade, industry and property belong to the Hindus. In that case, taking advantage of our fight, the British would remain here, or some other power may step in.

But one thing is sure, [which is] that the Congress will never be allowed to establish Hindu *raj* over whole of India.

Sir, I realise that you have thousand and one important things to do. Please forgive my intruding on your time.

Yours respectfully
KABIR AHMAD
B.A., A.B.T.I. (London)

600

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (901)

28 March 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The British Cabinet Mission has reached Delhi and you will meet the members on April 4, 1946. You will also consider and frame, in your Working Committee on March 30, 1946, your policy towards the Cabinet Mission. May I implore you, as a member of the Working Committee of the All India States Muslim League, also to take up the case of thirty million Musalmans of Indian India at this critical juncture. The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes will press the claim of the Princes and Pandit Jawaharlal is likely to champion the cause of the All India States People's Conference. What about the future of the Muslims of Indian States? Alas! Our leader Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur is no more. Our position is worse than that of political orphans. You are our only hope now. May I entrust the uncrowned king of the Musalmans of India with pleading our case as our sole representative. All my colleagues of the All India States Muslim League

shall be glad to follow your instructions as you may kindly give us in this connection. I am anxiously waiting to know if you would be pleased to take up our case.

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM
Member, Working Committee,
All India States Muslim League

601

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 321/58-9

AMEER MAHAL,
ROZAPETTAH,
MADRAS,
28 March 1946

My dear leader,

You are meeting the British Cabinet [Mission]. May I wish you every success. Our case for Pakistan is most reasonable and just. If the Mission gives serious thought to what the Congress has done recently in the Punjab, NWFP, Assam and Sindh, they should be convinced of our fate under a Hindu majority central government. Their treachery, perfidy and immorality cannot be surpassed. They have been employing all questionable methods to seduce quislings from our ranks. Quislings are found among every people. It is a shame that Sind Muslims should behave as they are doing.

I am still unable to understand how any of our League leaders can meet the worst quisling—the Congress *Rashtrapati,* even for forming ministries. I find U.P. Muslim leaders meeting and talking and giving him an opportunity to condescendingly offer two plans to us from his high pedestal. I am afraid that besides compromising our position, they are weakening our case, particularly when the Cabinet Mission is here to decide [on] major issues. What becomes of our case for Pakistan when we come down on our knees for a ministry here or a ministry there, or for a despicable coalition? I am afraid I cannot understand either the principle or policy behind such self-contradictory actions of our own men. The flag is lowered for attaining selfish ends. You have been troubling yourself for decades for building up the Muslim nation.

Our own men are undoing the noble work. God forgive them. *Aameen*
Pakistan *Zindabad*! Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad*!

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

PS. *Insha Allah,* I will meet you in Delhi next week when I go there for the convention.

602

A. Majeed K. Lodhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/232-4

PILIBHIT,
28 March 1946

My Quaid-i-Azam,

I do not know whether it will be opportune or inopportune to write to you anything on the formation [of] a composite Ministry in the U.P. All the same, I do feel that it is my duty to write to you on the subject, so that my viewpoint may be considered by you in arriving at a decision at a time when the final make [*sic*] of things are [*sic*] to come about, which will turn the course of events for a long time to come. The time is very important and the fate of the Muslims hangs on your decision. I know and believe that what you will decide will be to their good. Now coming to my viewpoint, I may say that the U.P is a cradle of Muslim culture, we are in a minority here, and this province will always be included in Hindustan. Our fate is sealed but we look to you for the amelioration of the distressed condition of the Muslims of this province. I have some experience of the Congress regime of 1937-39 and think that if you can see your way, as a test case, to allow[ing] the formation of a composite ministry, so far so good. The same is practically the case of Bihar. If in both of these provinces we may have composite ministries then we can spare our volunteers, workers, time and energy for attaining our object in Pakistan zones. If perchance we are kept busy in our own homes we will not be able to spare anything for Pakistan zones. We should act upon this policy that we should set apart minority provinces for recruitment purposes and do our work in majority provinces whole-heartedly, zealously and with utmost bitterness [*sic*] and energy. The Muslims of these provinces are alive to the ideal of Pakistan and they are very enthusiastic workers, whose services should be availed

of in places where they can be of better advantage to the nation. The immediate future is very crucial and we have to lay down a definite policy of action. A war can be fought and won only when there is a provision for reserve and if there is no reserve the war can hardly be won. This is my reading of the whole situation which is to come, otherwise the patience of the Muslims will be exhausted if we fight on all the fronts at the same time. If we can, in any way, act on this policy we may dishearten the so-called nationalists and see them ousted from the ministries showing them that the Congress will use them only when we are at war with them and the moment we come to terms they are nowhere. We should create a rift. A straight fight is not always necessary. We should create two or more fronts for the Congress to fight on. We should have separate sets of policies for Pakistan and Hindustan zones for the time being and if we fail to achieve our ideal of Pakistan, we can have a uniform policy of a straight fight. So in my humble opinion I may say that we may, for the time being, allow ministries to be set up in minority provinces. I do not say that I am right in what I say and that it may be acted upon. I only say that the position may be considered from this point of view.

Hoping to be excused,

Your servant,
A. MAJEED K. LODHI
B.A., LL.B.
Vakil

603

Mohammad Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1105/245

AHMEDABAD,
28 March 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

With the best regards I beg to state that on reading in yesterday's papers about the recent Congress offer for the League ministers in the Congress cabinets of Muslim minority provinces like U.P., Bombay, etc., it immediately struck me that it is a snare to split the League's solidarity or to extirpate the League as the opposition to meet the British Delegation. Because if the League agrees to the proposed offer [of

inclusion in the Congress ministries, it merges as the ministerial party and no longer remains the opposition and therefore cannot be invited by the British Delegation. The Congress premiers will surely claim to represent League party also.

Kindly, therefore, beware.

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM

604

Indian Muslims Association, Negri Sembilan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 556/132

SEREMBAN, MALAYA,
28 March 1946

Following telegram sent to Viceroy. Indian Muslims of Negri Sembilan, Malaya, convey their greetings to Your Excellency and the members of the Cabinet Mission and request Your Excellency to inform Cabinet Mission our full support for Pakistan scheme accepted by the Muslim League while placing full confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

PRESIDENT, INDIAN MUSLIMS ASSOCIATION

605

United Muslims Association, Penang, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 556/126

PENANG, MALAYA,
29 March 1946

Three and a half years of bitter experience under *Azad Hind* Government, the symbol of pagan despotism in Malaya, convinced Indian Muslims that it is utterly impossible to accept one constitution for India. In order to safeguard Muslim interests the Muslims of the United Muslims Association advocate establishment of Pakistan, the only solution. Indian Muslims of Malaya stand solidly behind All India Muslim League and Mohammad Ali Jinnah's demand [for] separate constitutional assembly for drawing constitution for Pakistan.

PRESIDENT, UNITED MUSLIMS ASSOCIATION

606

Pearl S. Buck[1] to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1003/16

40 EAST 49TH STREET,
NEW YORK,
29 March 1946

India Famine Emergency Committee formed by prominent Americans to help obtain allocation of food for India. Purpose solely humanitarian. Would appreciate cable or air-mail statement non-political about famine for publicity supporting campaign here.

PEARL S. BUCK

[1]American novelist.

607

Inayatullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/71

DIRECTORATE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS,
CHAMBER OF PRINCES,
NEW DELHI,
29 March 1946

My dear Sir,

I am in receipt of yours of 28th instant.[1]

I am afraid I have been unable to express what I wanted to in my letter of the 19th instant.[2]

I did not ask you to give any comments or statements. What I wanted to convey to you was that in case you fail to achieve Pakistan by negotiations, then (as you have said) only bloodshed and war will be the choice. In case this becomes inevitable, every man of the nation is duty-bound to fight by your side. I am one of the crore.

Myself having been a Khaksar officer for eight years (now I am a Leaguer since January last), and having been one of the organizers of U.P. agitations, I have been thinking over the mode of offensive. I have come to a conclusion which I think will work. But without the leader's blessings nothing can succeed (at least *Qur'an* says so). I wanted to put before you my scheme[3] and know if you could permit the *millat* to do it.

It was for this that I sought an hour's interview in seclusion, if you permit, with you.

My heart says that this scheme will work and I hope you remember the famous Arabic proverb that sometimes a fool can also say something workable.

I may add that hundreds of Khaksars who had been under my command have left Mashriqi. They have not joined League because they madly believe in war. But they are ready to fight by your side if you declare war upon Hindu-British axis.

You may care or not to listen to me, but I am a humble soldier of *Allah* and will obey my commander (yourself) whenever ordered to do anything for the *millat*.

Your faithful follower,
INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1&2]Not traceable.

[3]Jinnah asked the correspondent to send his suggestions/scheme for study and for fixing an appointment, if necessary. See *SHC*, Delhi/72. Not printed.

608

Syed Badruddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 565/93-8

SADARGALI, PATNA,
30 March 1946

Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

With respect, I state that Mr. Abul Kalam Azad is here at Patna and will be leaving for Calcutta this evening. Yesterday he rang up Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail, who is now the leader of the Muslim League party, to see him. But Nawab S. M. Ismail is very seriously ill and he said he cannot go out. Therefore, Mr. A.K. Azad sent his Secretary, Mr. Ajmal Khan, with a message regarding the formation of a Congress-Muslim League coalition ministry in Bihar. The Congress President was prepared to allot a reasonable quota of seats in the cabinet to the Muslim League but at the same time said that the Congress shall have the power to select other Musalmans from its party in the cabinet over and above the seats allotted to the Muslim League. K. B. S. M. Ismail insisted upon the representative character of the Muslim League and replied that the Muslim League shall not agree to any such coalition in which any

non-Muslim Leaguer Muslim was taken in the cabinet. As the Muslim League was the sole representative of the Musalmans the selection of a Muslim minister must rest with the Muslim League. K. B. Ismail Sahib also replied that for the final talks he will have to take instructions from you. Mr. Ajmal Khan then rang me up and informed me about his talks. I impressed upon him the necessity and advisability of acting on the instructions from you because the final authority lay in your hands. This morning again Mr. A.K. Azad sent his Secretary, Mr. Ajmal Khan, to see K. B. Nawab Ismail. The talks took place on the same lines and K.B. Ismail told me when I was with him today that there was no improvement in the terms of suggestions made to him last evening. I have again advised him to say nothing further till he receives your instructions and have also advised him to write to you today about the talk which he is doing.

So far as I could judge from the spirit of the talks that took place, the Congress contemplates taking eight ministers into the cabinet and would come round to allotting three seats to the Muslim League with the residual five seats reserved for itself. It will give four seats to the Hindus and one to a Congress Muslim. Thus apparently it will be deciding the personnel of the Cabinet half and half between the Hindus and Muslims but in reality will have two advantages, one of real majority of Congress people and the other of their own Muslim who will be placed over the head of the Muslim League to counteract its representative character and play to the tune of the Congress.

K. B. Nawab S. M. Ismail is much anxious to meet the Cabinet Delegation. Though he is very seriously ill suffering from lung trouble and has grown very weak, yet he is pressing to allow him to go to Delhi. In fact he cannot very well sit up and undertake the journey. But that is his mental attitude. He is writing to the Viceroy to extend the date of his interview. Mr. Latifur Rahman is no less anxious to meet the Cabinet Delegation. He is writing to some person at Patna to request K. B. S. M. Ismail to nominate him to meet the Delegation as the deputy leader.

I will be in Delhi on the 6th April and will stay till the 11th. In the meanwhile I shall feel privileged if half an hour is allowed to make a call to pay my respects to you. I shall be staying with Dr. A. Rahman at 22 Feroze Shah Road, Delhi.

With all respects,

Yours obediently,
SYED BADRUDDIN AHMAD
General Secretary,
Bihar Provincial Muslim League

609

S. M. Zauqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 917/90-3

LAKHAN KOTHI,
AJMER,
31 March 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As a poor contribution from me, the following are in brief some of the important points which, in my opinion, should be impressed upon the British Cabinet Mission now in India, or should be kept in view while discussing matters:

a. Justice, reason and fair play should be the first consideration in arriving at decisions. Consent of the people can only be a secondary and a minor consideration. Unanimity on constitutional problems in a sub-continent like India is impossible. To insist upon such a unanimity would be regarded as an attempt to find an excuse for doing nothing.

b. Hindus are as much foreigners in this land as Muslims and Englishmen. Muslims conquered India from [*sic*] Hindus and ruled over it for about a thousand years. So the Hindus lost to the Muslims what they still have the impudence to call their birth- right. Justice demands that the British should return to the Muslims what they took from them. If they have not the courage and the good sense to be so fair to the Muslims, they should at least help the Muslims to secure Pakistan, the irreducible minimum.

c. Mere numbers do not entitle a people to rule. It is the ability to rule fairly and well and the strength to maintain that rule and to defend the country which should be taken into account. In this respect, Muslims are decidedly far superior to Hindus. In fact, the past record of Congress Ministries and the past and the present record of most of the Hindu native States proves Hindus to be quite unfit to rule over any part of India. Even Hindus know this fact very well. They have quite a clear concept of their inability to govern India without British help. That is why their Quit India demand was never honest and their desire for complete independence is not at all genuine. They do not really want the British to quit. The British know it too and it is, therefore, only natural that the British should have for the Hindus a soft corner in their hearts.

The real obstacle, therefore, in the way of India's independence is the present *Bania*-ridden Congress. Mr. Attlee's veto sentence applies more aptly to the Congress than to any other body. *Banias* were never meant to rule. They have a nuisance value of their own which is their only weapon. Gandhi has already threatened to come out with his *baniaship* to play his part in the present overtures.

d. Muslims are an international dynamic force and their friendship with the British will prove a highly useful asset to the British nation. They are more trustworthy and reliable. It was mainly through Muslims of Russia that Stalin was able to crush Hitler much quicker than many expected.
e. Delusive effusions about the indivisibility of India can deceive none, especially when one sees India already divided into French India, Portuguese India, Indian India, British India, Burma, and Ceylon. Unity through willing co-operation and friendly treaties is much better and more durable than a fictitious unity managed through unwilling subordination to an artificially concocted federation.
f. The British would be well advised to avoid the odium and escape the disgrace of going down into history as a people who wrested India from Muslims and passed it on quietly to Hindus.
g. The British Prime Minister's statement about the minority veto should be taken to mean, or should be made to mean, that Sikhs, Hindus and other minorities in the Pakistan area shall not be allowed to come in the way of the majority, i.e. the Muslims. If it is not intended to mean that it must be replaced by an announcement to the effect that majorities shall not be allowed to crush minorities. Majority rule is not democracy. There is no practical difference between an unsympathetic majority and an unsympathetic autocracy. In fact, collective tyranny is more devastating and unrelenting than individual tyranny.
h. The recent elections have undoubtedly clarified the situation to a great extent. The myth of the Congress representing the whole of India has been effectively exploded and the true position of the Muslim League has been well established. But these elections have also re-installed the Congress Ministries. The Congress has come in with greater numerical strength. The old tyrants have returned to power with a grim determination to wreak election vengeance upon helpless Muslims. The old constitution is still there. Governors did nothing during the recent elections to protect Muslims and others from Congress hooliganism and they will do

nothing in future to stop Congress *zulm*. Unless the picture changes at once there is no hope for poor Muslims.

i. One very important thing to be noted is that all the Hindus do not subscribe to the Congress views. The Indian National Congress is a misnomer. It is a mere show run mainly by high caste Hindus with the help of some showboys and renegades from other groups. Dravidians, Scheduled Castes, and many others, whom Hindus count among themselves, are outside their fold. These Caste Hindus are really a microscopic minority but they have artfully magnified themselves into a majority. They have funds, a howling press, and gift of the gab. They also occupy high and important key-posts in almost all the departments of the government and the part they play in the administration of the country is mostly responsible for the unpopularity of the British rule. They are adept at the art of electioneering and all those whose votes are secured do not necessarily see eye to eye with them.

j. The question now remains: what can the British Mission do under the present circumstances? If these gentlemen have come with an open heart without having any plans of their own, which hardly seems likely; if they are not to inflict their choice upon unwilling elements, and if the Indians have to solve their problems themselves, what can the Mission do except advise and persuade. Will they advise Muslims to abandon their claim and accept slavery under the Hindu *raj*? They shall not do it, they cannot do it, they dare not do it. The only reasonable course open to them is to advise the Congress to become reasonable and fair-minded. But, then, will the present Congress leadership listen and accept? No, not until the Hindu masses revolt against their leaders and compel them to return to sanity. That, however, is not our concern. The outlook, therefore, appears gloomy. The danger is that matters will get more complicated and the Mission will leave India in a much worse condition. There is a type of people in the world who seldom listen to reason unless some sort of threat administered side by side makes the argument more effective.

I am afraid, appearances at the surface are yet misleading. Despite the declaration of open mind, an unpleasant surprise is in store for us. Muslims will then realise more fully that western methods will not serve the purpose.

I sincerely pray to *Allah* for your success.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ZAUQI

610

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1119/45

8 ZAKAULLAH ROAD,
M. U. ALIGARH,
31 March 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the resolution adopted unanimously by the meeting of the Muslim workers of the Indian States for your kind perusal and necessary action. The resolution has authorized you to plead the case of the Musalmans of Indian States as their sole representative.[1] Muslim League workers from Kashmir, Gwalior, Kalat, Hyderabad, Nabha, Janjira, Bhopal, Tonk, Jaipur, Rampur, Patiala, Balrampur, Kapurthala, Jodhpur, Jaora, Bundi, Junagarh and a number of other States attended the meeting.

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM
President, Muslim University Muslim League

[1]See No. 600.

Enclosure to No. 610

RESOLUTION

A general meeting of Muslim workers of Indian States was held at Aligarh on 31 March 1946, under the chairmanship of Mr. Manzar-i-Alam to review the present political situation in the country with special reference to the position of Musalmans of Indian States in the future of India. Several members of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India States Muslim League participated in the deliberations. The meeting adopted the following resolution unanimously:

It is the considered opinion of this meeting that the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League embodies the only just and fair solution of India's constitutional problems and the Musalmans are entitled, as a separate nation, to independent and sovereign Muslim States in their majority areas.

The meeting noted with regret the statement made by Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons in which he said 'we cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of a majority.' The suspicion created by this unhappy statement has been removed to some extent by the press statement made

by Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the effect 'we regard the Muslims as one of the great communities of India and that they are a great deal more than a minority party'.

The meeting stressed that no discussion will bear any useful result unless it was pursued by the British Cabinet Mission with the determination to establish two sovereign states in India, one in the Muslim majority areas and the second in the Hindu majority areas, with freedom to enter into treaties of alliance and co-operation.

It is the considered opinion of this meeting that the Indian States represent a very important element in Indian political life and they cannot be ignored at the time of settlement of future constitution of India. The rulers of Indian States or the Congress organization in States alone cannot decide the future destinies of nearly ninety million peoples who inhabit these States. About thirty million of these people are Muslims, about fifteen Million are the Scheduled Castes and the rest are Hindus and others. The States and their subjects together have to contribute to and help the growth of India to its full stature. Representation of all important elements in the constitution-making bodies is essential through the principle of equitable representation and the representation of the Musalmans of Indian States can be secured only through their representative organization, the All India States Muslim League.

The Muslim workers of the Indian States are determined to resist any attempt that may be made to foist an unwanted constitutional settlement on the Musalmans of Indian States. This meeting, therefore, urges the British Cabinet Mission to take steps for the due consultation of the Musalmans and other elements in political life of Indian States.

This meeting reiterating its full confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah declares him as the sole representative of the Musalmans living in Indian States and authorises him to apprise the British Cabinet Mission of the view point of the Musalmans of Indian States in relation to the future constitutional structure of India.

[NAMES OF SIGNATORIES OMITTED]

611

M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad

SHC, Hyderabad II/23

31 March 1946

Your Exalted Highness,

You don't know how deeply disappointed I am in not being able to go to Hyderabad in response of your very kind invitation and I had to put off my visit to Hyderabad as your guest since July last, but you know that I have been facing unexpected developments which is the

real cause of my inability to accept the honour you have done by extending your invitation.

I am really anxious to have the pleasure of meeting you as soon as possible, but you know that British Cabinet Mission is here now and I am very glad you understand how difficult it is for me to get away. I was really relieved when you say in your wire that I may put off my visit to Hyderabad to July or August as there is no particular hurry of me to go there. In the end I assure you that I will be glad to go to Hyderabad as soon as it is possible for me to do so and will give you due intimation of the time of my arrival there.

Hope you are well; with very best regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

612

M. R. T. to M. A. Jinnah

F.883/250-1

MORI GUNJ, CHOWK FARID,
AMRITSAR,
31 March 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

You are meeting Cabinet Delegation shortly. The enclosed cutting from the *Tribune* of 22nd March[1] supplies population figures for British India as well as States of India, separately. Caste-Hindus form a bare majority of 51 per cent in British India and of 53.31 per cent in India as a whole. The Congress argument that it represents the solid majority of India's population is disproved by the clear facts that 13.50 per cent of Scheduled Castes and 26.83 per cent of Muslims deny its authority. The British Government has no reason to resist the transfer of complete political power into Muslim hands who form a majority of 66 per cent in the north-western zone and of 55 per cent in the eastern zone, when it is pressed to its notice that Caste-Hindus with a bare majority of 51 per cent cannot be entrusted with the destinies of 80 million Muslims in British India whose proportion of population is much higher than that of Caste-Hindus in these two distinct zones. If it is considered safe to leave under the domination of 51 per cent Caste-Hindus the whole of British India, there are more cogent reasons to separate from the domination of Caste-Hindus, Muslim

majority areas in view of their higher population ratio than Caste-Hindus.

The points to be emphasized are (1) that Muslims cannot live under the domination of 51 per cent Caste-Hindus who are exploiting Scheduled Castes and non-League Muslims in their own interest (2) that Scheduled Castes members are not Hindus and are outside the pale of caste system which has denied them political, social and economic equality (3) that Caste-Hindus have developed an exclusive outlook on life which brings them into conflict with Muslims in every phase of activity whether political, religious, economic or social.

Yours sincerely,
M.R.T.

[1]Not traceable.

613

Mrs. Jamila Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/247-9

104 SEA VIEW ROAD,
QUETTA,
31 March 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

As your humble follower I offer my hearty congratulations on the recent provincial results.

While rejoicing over the happy occasion I pondered why we were not so successful in the NWFP as in the other Pakistan provinces. As my husband belongs to the Frontier Province, we analysed some of the causes.

i. We did not have there leaders of the calibre of Abdul Ghaffar [Khan] who, though a traitor to the nation, is outwardly leading the life of a pious Muslim. He is wielding unlimited influence among the simple, ignorant and uneducated Pathans.
ii. Insufficient propaganda by the Muslim League.
iii. The League candidates were mostly title-holders or *Jagirdars*. This factor poisoned the mind of the voters.

Most respectfully I suggest the following remedies to retrieve the situation :

a. The Frontier people, mostly uneducated, are greatly under the influence of *Pirs*. As everyone knows, the *Pirs* of the Punjab did a great service to the community there. They can be used for the

same purpose in the Frontier. A vast majority of people in Peshawar and Kohat are the *murids* of *Pir* of Golra and *Pir* Jamait Ali Shah. If these *Pirs,* together with some others, visit the NWFP they can (by the grace of God) revolutionize the whole situation.

b. To assist these *Pirs,* persons like Maulana Akram Khan of Bengal and Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan of Assam should also visit NWFP. Their aim should be to try to bring not only the masses but also the non-Leaguer MLAs to the League fold. If these *Pirs* show to the public how by siding with the Congress they are leading their nation to utter destruction and perpetual slavery, they will force their respective leaders to join the League.

c. Lastly, I respectfully request the Muslim League leaders to make it a point to say Friday prayers in public mosques. We are fighting for Islam and if we do not carry out the fundamental orders of our religion we cannot impress our opponents with genuineness of our demand for separation.

I earnestly pray to God to guide you in the difficult times ahead and grant us our cherished goal of Pakistan.

With prayers for your long life and the success of your sacred mission,

Respectfully yours,
MRS. JAMILA SHAH

614

Amir Akbar Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 892/7-14

84 CANAL COLONY,
BAHAWALNAGAR,
[*Undated*] *March 1946*

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,
Sir,

I am a Punjabi Muslim and the serious election situation in my homeland, which is incidentally also the heart of our national home Pakistan, has greatly disheartened me. The nation has given its verdict against the traitor Khizar by refusing to elect his Unionists but our enemies have contrived to defeat the formation of a League ministry in the Punjab. This is my forecast in view of the election trend as picked up from the press. I need not go into the detail but the Unionist and others with Glancy's direction are already thinking of a coalition

ministry under the traitor Khizar. Such an eventuality will be a serious set back for us. Our humiliation will be immense. Under no circumstances, Sir, this Khizar be allowed to become premier of the Punjab. Never, never should the League parley with him. Many staunch Leaguers have suffered at his hands for no offence but the love of their fellow nationals. Khizar in power will avenge himself upon those who have opposed him. The League has won our hearts; it is the beacon in this dark storm. Its clarion call has for the first time since our fall brought us on one platform. Our nationalism has been awakened and we aspire to regain what we lost in this subcontinent after the death of Aurangzeb, the mastery of India. God has given us your fine leadership and today you are our beloved Quaid-i-Azam. The Punjab Musalman has been cheated, mishandled and dishonoured by the traitors. He looks up to you to safeguard him from the revenge of the traitors, a cancerous ministry of toadies. I am not in a position to give some definite suggestion but if we coalesce with the Sikhs, I think we can have a stable and working majority. The Sikhs are a very important minority in the Punjab and as a martial race they are dependable as allies. I was born amongst them and know them as honourable men. Besides, as a majority nation in the Punjab we have got a very good opportunity to confuse and defeat our enemies. We are, I should say, duty-bound to demonstrate to the world our toleration to minorities. We must therefore, with this aim, make some Sikh the premier in the Punjab and support him with our majority. The name of the ministry may be Muslim League-Sikh Union Ministry. I am confident the Sikh nation will be eternally won over by this generous move. All their dark fears about Pakistan will be dispelled and the toughest possible situation will be created for the Congress in this lovely land of the five rivers. On this sound foundation we can build further and one never can circumscribe political possibilities. It may be said that this suggestion throws into abeyance the right of some very good Leaguers who are veterans in this great struggle. It is so, but are these great heroes not fighting with the aim of bringing about Pakistan. To forgo premiership in a province so that we may have a national home is a paltry sacrifice. The moral gain is immeasurable if we convince the world of our sincerity. We set an example which has no parallel in the history of any nation but the Muslims in Egypt Saad's carte-blanche fades into insignificance as compared with it [*sic*].

It may also be argued that the masses will react unfavourably to a Sikh premier. They can be told of the true state of affairs and they will agree. Our line of action should be directed against Khizar and clique. If League informs the masses that this unhealthy group is more dangerous and untrustworthy than a Sikh, they will believe it and

this group will die for ever. There is another possibility that the Sikhs may not get an exaggerated notion of their importance and seek to revive their lost grandeur in the province. Such an idea on their part, we will see to it does not develop. This Sikh-Muslim League Union Ministry is a political expediency to rid this nation of traitors and have our hands free for future action. If there can be Russo-German Pact in 1939 to confound the western allies, I see no reason why we cannot be friendly towards Sikhs, without whose mollification in the Punjab we are likely to suffer very serious setbacks. Besides this, the League has always stood for the minorities: four million strong men with a culture which is nothing but a parody of Islam and has numerous affinities with our culture, should never be allowed to fall under the Congress spell. Such an opportunity does not arise in ages and should in my view be grabbed now.

I am confident that you, Sir, are fully cognizant of the serious disadvantages and dangers to our cause which a Unionist-Congress coalition will bring in its train. On the other hand the advantages of the move I have suggested are self-evident. At the worst my suggestion is the least of all the evils and hence commendable

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

AMIR AKBAR ALI

B. A.

APPENDIX I

ALIGARH STUDENTS' CONTRIBUTION TO THE MUSLIM LEAGUE DURING GENERAL ELECTIONS 1945-46

I. 1

M. A. Jinnah to A. B. A. Haleem

SHC, UP III/80

23 November 1945

Dear Mr. Haleem,

It has been brought to my notice that you people are organizing the Aligarh students to help, in different parts of India in the elections, the Muslim League and the official candidates that may be set up in the various provinces. May I in this connection make a suggestion that you should constitute a Committee of three: Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad, Mr. Ishrat Ali Khan (Vice-President of the Union) and yourself, and if you accept this suggestion and if the Committee is formed, then you can keep me informed from time to time, and I shall be glad to make such contribution as may be necessary from the Central [Election] Fund for the expenses that may be incurred, on condition that the Committee will be accountable to me and send me regular accounts from time to time. I would be prepared to send you rupees five thousand to start with.

Hoping that you will take steps immediately and let me know what you propose to do,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Professor A. B. A. Haleem,
Muslim University,
Aligarh

I. 2

M. A. H. Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/102

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
28 November 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

You will be pleased to learn that about twenty members of the

Aligarh Muslim University staff and four to five hundred students actively served the League during the Central Assembly elections. We have gone into the *mohallahs,* villages and even to the houses and have left some abiding impressions. I myself worked in three constituencies of the U.P. My impressions are [that] the Congress is out and free to offer its toughest fight and we need much better and larger organisation as well as propaganda for the provincial elections.

I suggest that immediate and total mobilization of Muslim students and teachers should be brought about. Kindly write to Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad to undertake it without any loss of time. The All India Muslim Students Federation needs your financial assistance and I trust it will be forthcoming. As the Convener of the All India Muslim League Education Committee, I can tell you that there are about one lakh of Muslim students of secondary and higher stages. More than 90% will turn themselves into active, unpaid, efficient and selfless workers who will train and inspire our masses and will liberate them from the reactionary influences of *mullas,* Govt., landlords, etc.

With best wishes and *salaam,*[1]

Yours devotedly,
M. A. H. QADRI
M.Sc., Ph.D. (Alig.)
Ph.D. (Cantab.)

[1]Thanking Qadri for the information, Jinnah was pleased to know that everything was going on well. See *SHC,* UP V/103. Not printed.

I. 3

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/81

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
1 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Now that the elections to the Central Assembly are over, let me congratulate you for the magnificent way in which the League has fared in the contest. The fight was the toughest in U.P., specially in Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's constituency. From all accounts supplied by competent observers it is now certain that the League has won all the six seats in U.P. and there is no doubt that the League's success in

other provinces also will be cent per cent.

You must have already heard and I have great pleasure in informing you that our students have played a splendid part in this campaign. No less than about five hundred student workers were supplied by our University Muslim League for all the provinces but largely for U.P., as the demand for workers here was the greatest. We opened a regular training centre for the workers about two months ago. The task of training and despatching workers to different centres was a very tough job. We worked under many handicaps, our chief problem being finance. You will be surprised to know that we accomplished all this work without any substantial aid from outside except for a sum of Rs. one thousand granted by the Committee of Action and a sum of Rs. five hundred and fifty given by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan from his own pocket. Our students incurred the minimum expenditure. They travelled third class; in rural areas, they travelled on bullock carts and *ekkas* [horse-driven carriage] but for the rest part they walked on foot. They have set a new record of endurance and self sacrifice of which our nation can be legitimately proud.

We are now faced with the task of preparation for the provincial elections. The requirements of these elections are much greater. It will be necessary to send out at least two thousand workers. The students have proved their resourcefulness and efficiency and we are already receiving demands from provinces. I therefore, beg of you to give a few moments of your precious time to the question of supply of workers from Aligarh. I suggest that you may appoint a special committee to deal with this question, guide and supervise us and attend to our needs. It should be a small business–like committee and I suggest the following personnel:

1. Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan
2. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
3. Qazi Mohammad Isa
4. Mr Manzar-i-Alam, President Muslim University Muslim League

They may be empowered to co-opt or call in for consultation any other person. The three members of our high command are in close touch with us and know our problems and needs. The university Muslim League is a recognised body. It now enjoys the status of a City League and is directly affiliated to the Provincial League. Its record of service in the past and in the recent election campaign warrants that it should be recognised as an authoritative body to deal with the task of supply of workers. I am afraid if any other persons in the university over the head of the University League are entrusted with the task it will not help in the achievement of the objective.

Firstly, the other persons do not enjoy the confidence of the general body of students and cannot enlist competent and sincere student workers. Secondly, it will have a very depressing effect on tried, trusted and loyal workers who have stood by the League through thick and thin ever since 1937 and have braved all storms.

I earnestly hope you will be pleased to give full consideration to my humble submissions which I have made from no other consideration but [*sic* for than] that of ensuring the maximum contribution from the University to the supreme struggle which lies ahead of us.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

I. 4

S. Mazhar Ali Zaidi and Others to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/83

3 MUMTAZ ANNEX (B),
ALIGARH,
2 December 1945

My beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I want to draw your attention towards the services done [*sic*] by our group, in working in the rural areas of Bengal. We addressed many meetings there, and individually canvassed a large number of voters for the Central Assembly candidates. In the same manner a very large number of our University League workers travelled to distant villages and served their nation as best as they could.

We were scantily financed by our President, Manzar-i-Alam, and we had to face a lot of difficulties in the villages quite new for us. It is due to the [word illegible] that our League does not possess any fund to finance the workers. How far the students, you might think better, can prolong [*sic*] Muslim League work in this manner.

There is a great enthusiasm among my brother university fellows, as they have recognized their duty fully on such an occasion. The holidays are ahead and we want to work in these holidays. Student workers are becoming disappointed when they notice that no arrangement is being made for their further expenses. If our own Muslim League,

or yourself can finance us, we shall work, otherwise we will go and sit idle in our homes during the coming vacations.

Hoping to be favoured with an early reply,

Yours sincerely,
S. MAZHAR ALI ZAIDI
S. ANWAR ALI ZAIDI
MOHAMMAD AKHTAR SIDDIQI
AHMAD NAWAZ KHAN DURRANI

I. 5

Mushtaq Husain Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/87

6 SHIBLI ROAD,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH,
2 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I met you the other day at Delhi. I gave you my impressions gathered from actual experience of the election campaign in Meerut. As you know very well by now, the student workers deputed by the Muslim University Muslim League have done wonderful work; in fact, they surpassed all expectations.

I returned to Aligarh on the 30th November so as to attend the Convocation as a member of the University Court on the 1st December. On my return here I learnt that some sort of a committee, with Mr. A. B. A. Haleem as the Convener, had been appointed to control and supervise the work of sending students for the election campaign and funds had been placed at its disposal. The news has caused perturbation among the student workers and they feel dismayed. The University League is a popular, influential and recognized body; it has so far actively organized the election work among the students and it enjoys their confidence. Mr. Haleem, I am sorry to say, is very unpopular among the students. He does not hold any responsible position now. As you know he was removed from the office of Pro-Vice-Chancellor due to his unpopularity and inefficiency. The motion for his removal from office was sponsored in the University Court by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan. Mr. Haleem cannot secure the whole-hearted cooperation of the students and also of the staff. There is a general feeling among the students that being [*sic*] dislodged from power he is manoeuvring to come into the limelight

by backdoor methods. Many people still doubt his sincerity in joining the League as they remember very well that only till the other day he did every thing in his power to suppress the League in the University. He is still very thick with those who are enemies of the League.

In the interest of Muslim League work itself I beg to suggest that you may please put Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan or Qazi Mohammad Isa in charge of Aligarh work. They are in close vicinity of Aligarh and they know local conditions very well. They will work in consultation with the President of the Muslim University Muslim League which is the right process, in principle.

Yours sincerely,
MUSHTAQ HUSAIN KHAN
Ex-President,
University Muslim League

I. 6

Ali Ahmad Faziel to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/84

GEOGRAPHY DEPARTMENT,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
2 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I take this opportunity to extend my heartiest congratulations to you on the consciousness that your able leadership has inspired in the masses in general and the youth in particular. This was fully displayed during the recent Central Assembly elections.

Aligarh youth, true to its traditions, has risen as one man in response to your call and staked its all for the struggle of Pakistan. Aligarh University Muslim League has already become the nerve centre of youth politics. It will not be inopportune if I mention here the wonderful work done by the University Muslim League workers in U.P., especially in Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib's constituency. The columns of [the] *Dawn* speak by themselves [*sic*] of the yeoman service rendered to the Muslim nation by the Aligarh youth. To quote Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, "University Muslim League saved the honour of the All India League in Meerut and won laurels for Nawabzada in the already lost battle of his constituency." This is the greatest testimony,

if ever it was needed, to establish the zeal and enthusiasm of the Aligarh students for the cause of Pakistan. In addition to two hundred workers sent to Nawabzada's constituency more than five hundred University League volunteers worked in almost all other constituencies wherever their help was needed.

Now that the first battle has been brought to a successful end, thanks to the untiring zeal of the Muslim youth, it behoves us to take stock of things and launch fresh offensive for the provincial elections with the experience that these seven hundred selfless warriors of Pakistan have gathered.

Quaid-i-Azam! All these seven hundred workers are students and surely they cannot be expected to balance [*sic*] the heavy expenses of electioneering every time, so it will be in the fitness of things that arrangements are made for their travelling expenses and they are encouraged to resume the onslaught with renewed vigour.

I hope you will be kind enough to advise the President of the Muslim University Muslim League in this connection at your earliest convenience. I may be allowed to repeat that the enthusiasm is overflowing though necessary funds [are] wanting. I wish these experienced and zealous young men could be availed again [*sic*] in the provincial elections.

Yours obediently,
ALI AHMAD FAZIEL
M.Sc. (Alig.)

I. 7

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/90

PERSONAL

8 ZAKAULLAH ROAD,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
3 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

As perhaps you know, the University Muslim League was this year granted the status of a City League in recognition of the services it has rendered ever since 1937 and it enjoys the confidence of both [the] students and members of the staff. The Vice-Chancellor, the Treasurer, all senior members of the staff as well as the Vice-President of the Students Union and almost all the students are the two-*anna* members of the Muslim University Muslim League.

Under the direction of the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League, our City Muslim League started a training centre at Aligarh and trained students for the Muslim League election campaign. The U.P. Muslim League Parliamentary Board also appointed a committee of which four members of the University staff, [figure illegible] students (including the Vice-President of the Aligarh Students Union) are members and I am the Convener. The Committee of Action authorised me to spend a sum of rupees one thousand for the training of workers. A copy of our training scheme is enclosed[1] for your kind perusal. The University City Muslim League successfully organised the Aligarh workers and we were able to send out more than six hundred students and twenty members of the teaching staff to help the Muslim League in the campaign of Central Assembly elections. My own pocket had to bear the expenses incurred in this connection. The only help received was a sum of Rs. 556-4-0 given by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. The humble contribution of our League can be judged from the letters of appreciation received from different parts of India. I am enclosing copies of the letters received from Qazi Mohammad Isa[2] and the Office Secretary of the U.P. Parliamentary Board.

Qazi Mohammad Isa, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan [and] Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan can tell you the results that we have achieved so far. Professor Dr. Mohamad Babar Mirza, Dean of the Faculty of Science, and President of the Aligarh Students Union, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad, Mr. Umar Ali Siddiqi, Mr. A. W. Kheiri, Mr. Faizul Ghani Khan, and many other members of the University staff and scores of students have been taking active interest in the work of our Muslim League. I met Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan at Muzaffarnagar and he told me that he had discussed the plan of organising the Aligarh workers with you. As Convener of the All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board, Nawabzada Sahib has also written letters to different provinces asking the Provincial League organisations if they would require the help of Aligarh workers in their respective provinces. Nawabzada Sahib had agreed to come to Aligarh on the 2nd of December to give final touches to our plan of work but his visit has been delayed owing to his engagements at Peshawar. Qazi Mohammad Isa Sahib is most interested in our work and has taken steps to supervise the work that will be done by the students and the staff of the Aligarh Muslim University. Qazi Mohammad Isa will come to Aligarh on his return from Peshawar and is expected to stay here for a couple of days.

I sent a group of fifteen senior students to wait upon you at Delhi while you were proceeding to Peshawar but they could not secure

access to you. Five of them met Nawabzada Sahib and returned with promises of help. No steps have been taken thereafter.

The University is closing down for *Moharram* and X-mas on the 7th of December and the services of a large number of students and members of the staff can be secured for the Muslim League work, especially for the rural areas where League message has not been effectively carried. If we have to win the battle of Pakistan we must strengthen our organisation in the rural areas. After leaving Gwalior, I accepted a part-time job on the staff of the University and also started my practice as a lawyer at the Aligarh Bar. I can devote all my time to helping the Muslim League election campaign, specially in the rural areas, and with the help of the students who are available here it will be possible to establish League branches in every such village as has a population of nearly one hundred adult Musalmans. If we are successful in the effort we will succeed not only in the provincial elections but also in winning the battle for Pakistan. It would be possible for me to secure six months leave from the University. Besides, I will have no hesitation in suspending my law practice for doing honorary work for the Muslim League. But our main difficulty is finance. Much of the time is lost in submitting proposals to League leaders. Excuse me if I say that very few of our leaders realise the importance of League work in the rural areas; those who realise the importance of the work cannot get educated workers easily. I have already spent nearly seven thousand rupees out of my own pocket and I do not want to strain my purse any more. My father left a legacy of over sixty thousand rupees in cash for me and I have spent nearly one-sixth of the total cash in the work of my own national organisation. I have not done it in the hope of any recognition from any quarter except that of *Allah*, the Almighty. The late Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur and almost all those persons who met you regarding the Gwalior affairs invariably narrated all that you think about me. Keeping your opinion about my activities in view I abstained from giving you trouble in any matter but I could not sit idle while Muslim India is involved in a struggle for its existence. This motive alone has encouraged me to write this letter to you. If you think that the services of the Muslim University Muslim League can be utilised for some useful purpose, I would request you kindly to take immediate steps in the matter.

I suggest that a small committee with Qazi Mohammad Isa Sahib as Chairman be appointed for the work. Prof. Mohammad Babar Mirza, President of the Aligarh Students Union, and Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad, Convener, Committee of Writers, will be glad to serve as members of this committee. The committee be authorised to co-opt two other members of the University staff and a few of the students

who are really interested in the work. Sufficient finances be placed at the disposal of the President of the Committee and the entire committee be made responsible directly to you for its accounts etc. From the letters of Qazi Isa Sahib I conclude that he will readily accept the work and do it wholeheartedly. The original committee that you may kindly appoint may not be of more than three persons and it may discuss the whole matter with you when you come to Delhi, I understand, after a week.

I may again impress [*sic*] that the University is closing down on the 7th of this month. The Vice-President of the Students Union has already gone out and is not expected to return in the near future. Other students will also leave for their homes if they are not immediately assured that their services will be required for the Muslim League work during the whole month of December. Once the students go out, it will be difficult to get them back and we will lose the whole month of December. Therefore, the matter is very urgent and I request you kindly to favour me with your decision by a telegram.

Soliciting your most sympathetic consideration,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM
M.A., LL.B. (ALIG.)
President, Muslim University Muslim League

[1]See *SHC*, UP III/92. Not printed.
[2]Qazi Isa's letters are not traceable; however copy of another letter is annexed.

Annex to Appendix I. 7
K. R. Khan to Manzar-i-Alam

SHC, UP III/91

MUSTAPHA CASTLE,
MEERUT,
28 November 1945

My dear Manzar-i-Alam,

I hasten to congratulate you on the sterling work done by the students of the Muslim University, Aligarh, in connection with the Central Assembly elections.

As Office Secretary of the U.P. Muslim League Parliamentary Board, I have been receiving reports from all corners of the province. They unanimously speak of the good work done by the workers sent by the Muslim University Muslim League. They had to travel long distances on foot, they had to go, time and again, without food, and occasionally

they had to face indifferent villagers. They put up with all these with remarkable courage and fortitude. They carried the message of the Muslim League to every nook and corner of the country, especially villages. Over four hundred of your students have worked in Meerut Division alone. I can say from my personal experience that they have practically combed the whole countryside and have not left a single voter whom they did not approach. At places the local *pesh imams* insisted on one of these young boys from Aligarh leading the prayers, saying, "you are the real leaders of *millat,* lead the prayers also."

People wondered if they were the very boys who were only recently painted by the so-called nationalist press as scoundrels and blackguards of the worst type. I can say with confidence that the students of the Aligarh Muslim University have won the hearts of Muslim public by their selfless work, untiring zeal, remarkable patience and extraordinary forbearance.

With these forces at our command we are confident that we would win the battle for Pakistan, *Insha Allah.*

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
K. R. KHAN
Office Secretary,
U.P. Muslim League Parliamentary Board

Mr. Manzar-i-Alam,
President, Muslim University Muslim League,
Aligarh

I. 8

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/93

8 ZAKAULLAH ROAD,
M.U., ALIGARH,
3 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Immediately after posting my letter of this date[1] to you I received a letter from Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib. I am enclosing a copy of Nawabzada Sahib's letter for your perusal. This will give you some idea of the achievements of our workers. I am quite sure that we will

be able to do some very useful work for the Muslim League if we are given proper financial facilities.

I shall be much obliged if you kindly inform us of your programme so as to enable a deputation of the Muslim University Muslim League to wait upon you at Delhi. The deputation will place before you a scheme of work for the rural areas.

With best wishes for your good health,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM

[1]Appendix I. 7.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 8
Liaquat Ali Khan to Manzar-i-Alam

SHC, UP III/94

GUL-I-RA'NA,
HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
2 December 1945

My dear Mr. Manzar-i-Alam,

I was hoping to visit Aligarh before the University closed for *Moharram* holidays to express personally my grateful appreciation of the excellent work which the University student workers did in the Central Assembly elections, but I have to go to N.W.F.P. and [am] leaving for Peshawar today. Everyone has nothing but praise and admiration for their zeal, selfless work and devotion for the cause of *millat* and we are proud of our youth. It is no exaggeration to say that the students have contributed largely towards the success which we have achieved in the elections. I shall take the earliest opportunity to come to Aligarh and meet our young friends.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

I. 9

Zia-Uddin-Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/96

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
3 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall feel obliged if you will kindly let me know your programme as I would like to meet you either in Delhi or Bombay and discuss particularly the question of election in U.P. which is in a very precarious position.

I am sending you a copy of the note[1] which I have addressed to the members of the Parliamentary Board. It is the common experience of every candidate for Central Legislature that the organisation of the Muslim League in rural areas is almost non-existent. The work is confined only to cities and towns. In some places people have not even heard the name of Muslim League. Unless we wake up and take timely action we are likely to lose about eight seats out of sixty-four in U.P. but good organisation set up immediately may perhaps enable us to capture all the seats.

I had a talk with Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman. He will now lead the Muslim League in U.P. Assembly and you may please relieve him from all-India work as there is no one who can take his place. The all-India work may be given to Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan and Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad who are now in the Central Legislature.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant is sitting tight in U.P. and is regulating all the elections in U.P. It is rumoured that in the provincial election the Congress will directly set up its own candidates for the Muslim seats. If so, this will be to our advantage. There are two classes who have been captured by the Congress, viz. (1) *Momins* (weavers) and (2) *Maulvis*. I am trying to win over the *Momins* who are sometimes called *Ansaris*. In this connection I am sending you an article[2] on handloom industries. This article had a good effect in my constituency.

We are trying to bring in all these Arabic institutions within the influence of the University by permitting them to appear at the High School Examination and our influence will greatly help to modify their outlook. I will discuss both these points when we meet.

The students of this University have greatly helped in the present election but without any set purpose. They did excellent work in the

final canvassing in the constituency of Nawabzada where, of course the contest was the keenest, but I got no help in my constituency and Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan also had very little help. There is a branch of Muslim League in the University which is really controlled by Manzar-i-Alam, Ahmad Wahab Kheiri and Jamilud Din Ahmad. They practically fought the election of Nawabzada.

The Students Federation in the University has not done any work of practical value in the last election. Some of the students delivered lectures in cities and towns where lectures were not needed at all and none of them went to villages. The Federation in the University is insignificant on account of the existence of a powerful branch of the Muslim League which naturally attracts the students to a greater extent for Muslim League election. Outside Aligarh there is no Muslim League in any institution and students work under the name of Federation. The co-ordination of the work is very necessary, otherwise time, money and energy will be wasted and this continuation [*sic*] may be done by a person other than the members of the staff.

I spoke to Khaliquzzaman and he and myself both agreed that the finances for the work by the students should be placed at the disposal of K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan, the Treasurer of the University.

I wrote to you sometime ago that we will capture all the seats for the Central Legislature but our work for Provincial Legislature is very difficult and we have now been able to realise our weak points.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA-UDDIN-AHMAD

[1]Enclosure.
[2]See *SHC*, UP III/98. Not printed.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 9
Note by Lt. Col. Dr. Sir Zia-Uddin-Ahmad

SHC, UP III/97

I have just been through my constituency. The Muslim League is well-organised in bigger towns and not so much in smaller towns. There is no organisation worth the name in rural areas and even in the rural areas of bigger towns. In half of my constituency's southern divisions, the Muslim League exists only in name. No person had ever approached the people in rural areas on behalf of the League. The people in rural areas are mostly illiterate, and they are very much under the influence of local *mullas* and their Hindu landlords. The office-bearers of the Muslim League in several towns have hardly any

influence and persons of influence did not take any interest in Muslim League. Those who hold offices in the League do not seek the cooperation of influential persons.

The District Leagues had no funds. The divisional organisers in many places did not send any money till 26th of November. I had really to start the work at many places and I provided funds for carrying on the work. I am glad, however, that the situation now is better and we can face the provincial elections with greater confidence.

I had my old organisation in several towns. In many cases the present office-bearers of the Muslim League have no influence because they never worked. They had no funds and resented the help of my previous workers. I had to spend much more than I did on previous occasions. In any case, we have now to work with our present organisation and give them sufficient training. In each case, I attempted to work through the Muslim League organisation.

The Congress organisation is complete. Every single voter was approached individually by half a dozen Congress workers. The Hindu landlords exercise undue influence over the voters and in one district they kept them under supervision the whole night.

It was difficult to get taxis and other conveyance as the Hindus refused to let out their conveyances. In Allahabad they refused to let out or even sell their loud-speakers and one of the Muslim League workers had to go to Lucknow to purchase one. Conveyance difficulties, lack of workers and the absence of enthusiasm of office-bearers are the chief difficulties. My own difficulties were the greatest as my constituency is mostly rural and is widely spread. In Basti, I secured 98% votes on the last occasion but this time I am afraid the number of votes I get there will be the lowest in the whole of my constituency. It is the only place which has three complete seats. In most cases my election was fought not on my issue [*sic*] but on the issue of the local Assembly candidates. We are also handicapped by the fact that our opponents know their constituencies and have been working in them for over a year. They have enlisted their own voters and set up their complete organisation. Our candidates for the local Assembly are handicapped by the fact that they do not know whether they will be the candidates or not.

SUGGESTIONS

1. A central office should immediately be organised in Lucknow and it should be under the charge of the person who is likely to be the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Provincial Legislature. He should sit tight at Lucknow till the local Assembly elections are over. There should be a paid secretary and the other assistants may either be

honorary or paid.

2. Arrangements should be made for speedy publication with some good press. These publications should also be handed over in person to every voter. This will incidentally serve as a lever of personal contact with the voters which unfortunately does not at present exist in rural areas and is weak in small towns also.

3. We should also appoint one person or a small committee of three persons who should arrange lectures at different places, and especially where they are needed, by *'ulama* and other persons. The programme will also be fixed by this committee and slogans will also by devised by them. The headquarters of this committee should be at Lucknow.

4. We should appoint two or three inspectors who may visit various towns and scrutinise the organisation of the District and Town Muslim Leagues and give them advice and help them in the improvement of the organisation. We should lay before them the methods for the more efficient working of the Muslim League organisation. The number may be left for the Parliamentary Board to fix but I believe we should have at least three inspectors for the whole province.

5. We should appoint a legal adviser whom we will call the legal remembrancer of the Muslim League. He should study the electoral rules and regulations and every district officer of the Muslim League may consult him on all legal difficulties. Many such difficulties have been brought to my notice. They were interpreted in different ways by different Returning Officers and it my lead us to trouble at the last minute.

6. It is very important that money should be supplied direct to the District Muslim League and not through divisional organisation. Double transaction is unnecessary. The divisional organisers may function as auditors but not as treasury officers. The payment should be made by the Headquarters direct.

7. Special help should be given to certain districts for the purchase of motor cars or lorries which may be sold after the elections and we will be able to get at least 75% of the money advanced for this purpose. In many cases they will be purchased by the candidates themselves. I suggest that lorries and cars may be provided in the following districts of my constituency, i.e. Basti, Azamgarh, Ballia and Jhansi. Others may arrange to have conveyance locally. I am trying to arrange for the purchase of lorries through the Disposals Directorate of the Supply Department but wherever second-hand cars or lorries are available, they may be purchased at once.

8. A special reserve should be kept for places which are especially backward.

9. The local weekly papers should be encouraged and should be

made bi-weekly by giving them subsidy, and they may be subsidised for publishing additional copies. Ten copies of the *Dawn* and ten copies of the *Manshoor* may be sent to each district and more where the campaign is in full swing.

10. Arrangements for uniform for League volunteers should be made.

11. Muslim League should be organised not only in towns but also in villages having a population of 400 Muslims or more and the neighbouring villages may be associated with this League. In the case of Basti, it should be considered, as I believe, the weakest place in the whole of the province. There is not a single individual who can give even correct information. The organisation should be carried out by an external agency. In my opinion, the organisation may be supervised by Mr. Rizwanullah who is quite close and who has plenty of time at his disposal. All of us will continue to give our quota in the organisation of Basti.

12. Mr. Qazi Shakil Abbasi, the brother of Mr. Qazi Adil Abbasi, may be appointed a paid Assistant Secretary for Basti and he is willing to give three months for this work. He is a very enthusiastic Muslim Leaguer himself and in any society he can also pass off as a *maulvi*. Terms may be settled with him easily.

13. The people of Basti are willing to support the League and we should in every way encourage them to hold a District Muslim League Conference on or about the 25th December 1945. Some local men, especially Mr. Abul Khair, are prepared to make all arrangements and also to meet the expenses of the Conference.

14. Volunteers should be sent to induce villagers to attend this local conference.

15. We should invite to this conference good speakers, good *wa'iz* [preachers] and a few persons of reputation. Hafiz Jallandhari's name was suggested and we can induce him to come.

16. There should be a batch of volunteers with a loud-speaker and they should go from village to village. They should recite poems which should be specially prepared and published. I have already pointed out that lectures should be arranged in order to remove the ignorance of the villagers.

17. It is desirable that the selection of the candidates for the local Assembly should be made as early as possible. The delay is working against us. In making selection, care should be taken that the candidate may command at least one-third votes by his personal influence and by his popularity among the voters. It will not be profitable if we set up a person who is unpopular. The weakest points in my constituency are three seats in Basti, one is Azamgarh where Mr. Iqbal Suhail is contemplating to stand. Care should also be taken in putting a man in

Ballia and Ghazipur where Mr. Sulaiman Ansari defeated Haji Mohammad Yaqub of Cawnpore but this time he (Haji Sahib) is in a better position. In other places, the Muslim League candidate will have a walk-over if sufficient assistance is given to him.

18. There are other points which I would not like to put down here but I am taking action on them (probably with success).

I. 10

Khwaja Adil Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/102

25 MACDONELL HOSTEL,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
4 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

A large number of Aligarh students worked in the Central Assembly elections in the constituencies of K. B. Ghazanfarullah Sahib and Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan Sahib. Jalalee area was allotted to us and we worked there during our training period. Thereafter we were sent to Moradabad villages; twice on the polling date we were stationed at the Dhampur polling booth. My group controlled all the polling stations in the Bijnor District. This was a very tough place and we had to counter the malicious efforts of Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Pandit Jawaharlal [Nehru] and Maulana Husain Ahmed [Madani] but by the grace of God our group of workers defeated the combined efforts of all anti-Muslim League forces. We were twenty-two workers only in the whole district and the Congressite workers were more than three hundred in number. All the zamindars, *patwaris* and *masjid mullas* helped with Birla and Tata money were pitched against us. The polling results all prove our worth and achievements.

In the provincial elections, Bijnor district will prove a very hard nut to crack. Muslim League must make preparations to organise provincial elections immediately. All of my friends were quite willing to work again in Bijnor or even in another place as was allotted to us by the President of our Muslim League, Mr. Manzar-i-Alam, upon whom we entirely depended for financial help. [He] has openly declared that no money was now available. He was kind enough to provide our previous expenses out of his own pocket and we also realize that we would not tax his purse too much. Surely his bank balance is not

unlimited. He has not been able to secure any financial help from the funds that you have collected for the election work. All of my friends wanted to work for another two months continuously, but now there is nobody to accept our services. All of us are therefore going to our homes day after tomorrow for enjoying the holidays. We can of course come back if Mr. Manzar-i-Alam asks us to do so. Our President had applied, on our behalf, to the Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League, the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League, [and] the Provincial Muslim League, and he had also approached League leaders for financial help. Our President really deserves to be congratulated for boldly spending his own money for the Muslim League work. I think that he provided our group as well as nearly seven hundred other students with travelling and other expenses and has not even asked us to submit accounts. He sent large numbers of Aligarh students to different provinces of India. The total expenses must have reached the figure of rupees sixteen thousand. The help given by the Committee of Action and by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib is reported to be a paltry amount of rupees fifteen hundred only, which is not even one tenth of the total expenditure. Some enthusiastic Aligarh students belonging to N.W.F.P. could not get money from Mr. Manzar-i-Alam and I know it for certain that they have gone to work in their province at their own expense and would work there throughout the holidays. Those who have returned after finishing the work of the Central Assembly elections are now feeling disappointed because the Central or the Provincial Muslim League has not yet helped our University Muslim League.

Let me tell you the truth. There is a general regret among the students of Aligarh at the slackness of our central organization. They have not so far learnt to help even in the legitimate and pressing needs. I fail to understand when that time would come when people would really feel their responsibilities. It is sad indeed that Muslim League is not supporting the sincere efforts of our sincere workers. Exploiters dominate everywhere and selfless workers are being ignored.

Now we are going to our homes completely disappointed. We had no personal motives. We offered our services selflessly but to our great disappointment and disgust the League High command has failed to make use of our offers. My dear Quaid-i-Azam, excuse me if I say that time is not far off when the youth of Aligarh will revolt against the existing slackness in the Muslim League. Far-sighted persons may not tell you these facts for fear of offending the Rajas, the Nawabs, the Knights but I fear no one but *Allah*. Let me also make it clear that our revolt will not be destructive but shall have a purging effect and

by our revolt only a more powerful Muslim League will emerge. I am confident that God will grant you long life and health to guide the destinies of that powerful Muslim League which will lead us to our cherished goal of Pakistan.

You had said in your last speech before the Aligarh youth that Aligarh was the arsenal of Muslim India. We are twenty two in number who worked in the Bijnor District. If your speech was correct then I beg to mention that twenty-two mighty swords are now going to rust in their homes during the month of December because there is no one to wield them.

Before going to our homes we wish you good health and long life to guide the nation and assure you that all of my friends will do what little they can for Muslim League in their respective towns.

I am, Quaid-i-Azam,
A humble soldier of Pakistan,
KHWAJA ADIL AHMAD

[1]Similar complaints about lack of funds were also made by other students of Muslim University, Aligarh. See *SHC*, UP III/45, 46, 85 & 101. Not printed.

I. 11

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/103

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
4 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already written to you about the question of sending out workers from Aligarh to the various provinces for the forthcoming elections.

Yesterday I was verbally informed by Mr. A. B. A. Haleem that he had received a communication from you asking him to form a committee consisting of himself, the Vice-President of the Students Union, and myself, to control the work of sending out batches of student workers and the funds would be placed at the disposal of this committee. I repeat here what I told Mr. Haleem about this matter.

As you know well there is a branch of the Muslim League in the University. It is a recognized body and is very popular and influential. It has on its rolls a very large majority of the students. Its past record is

creditable and is known to you. It has made a remarkable contribution to the election campaign of the Central Legislature. It conducted a regular training centre and sent out more than five hundred workers to various constituencies. The President of the League has worked with great zeal and devotion for the last two months. In fact, he has practically suspended his legal practice ever since the election campaign began. I and other old workers of the League have actively assisted him in his selfless efforts. The general feeling in League circles is that if other people who have hardly done anything in connection with the training and sending of workers, are now put in charge of the work it will cause great disappointment to the League workers and the purpose will not be fully served. I for one am, of course, always ready to obey any instructions you give. But I may be permitted to submit that the Committee in question will not be able to secure the willing and enthusiastic cooperation of the League workers and the majority of the students.

I would, therefore, make two definite suggestions to ensure smooth working: firstly, the president of the Muslim University Muslim League may be appointed on the Committee and preferably he should be Convener of the Committee, as he has already acquired very good experience of the work; secondly, one of the members of the League High Command living in close vicinity of Aligarh should be associated with the Committee. He should be the chairman of the Committee as he alone can command the respect and confidence of the general body of workers and students. It is also important that he should control funds.

I earnestly hope you will give full consideration to my suggestions and take early action.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

I. 12

A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/104

9 UNIVERSITY ROAD,
ALIGARH,
4 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter dated 23 November 1945,[1] which was

delivered to me by Mr. A. T. Mustafa on the 1st of December. Mr. Ishrat Ali Khan (the Vice-President of the Union) is out of station but I am sure he will be willing to work on the committee nominated by you. I have had a talk with Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad and he is also prepared to work on the committee but suggests that Mr. Manzar-i-Alam, President of the Muslim University Muslim League, be co-opted. If the principle of co-option meets with your approval I should also like to suggest the co-option of Dr. Afzal Husain Qadri, so that the strength of the Committee may be raised to five. As the University is closing on the 7th of December, I am calling a meeting of workers (i.e. those who have already worked in our election campaign for the Central Assembly as well as those who are willing to participate in the forthcoming campaign for the Provincial Legislatures) tomorrow evening and shall prepare a list of suitable young men in consultation with the other members of the committee. I shall send out some batches of workers to those districts of the United Provinces which form the weak links in the chain. As for the other provinces of India the only method which I can think of for the present is to write to the Presidents of the Provincial Muslim League and ask them how many student workers they require. I hope the committee will have the benefit of your advice and guidance and shall feel grateful if you will kindly send me your directions from time to time to sustain our efforts. May I suggest that the Honorary Treasurer of the Muslim University be appointed Treasurer of the fund which you propose to entrust to the committee. He has a trained staff of accountants at his disposal and is in a position to keep proper accounts of the income and expenditure. A sum of Rs. 2,500 will suffice for the present.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. B. A. HALEEM

[1]Appendix I. 1.

I. 13

M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad

SHC, UP III/82

5 December 1945

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

I have received your letter of December 1st,[1] and I thank you for giving me all the information. Provisionally, I am sending you herewith a cheque for rupees five thousand for training and other expenses of our young

Aligarh friends, but you must appoint some responsible committee of at lease three with a chairman as the head, and I shall certainly keep myself in very close touch with that committee and help it in every way I can, including necessary finance. You must work as one united, organized body systematically, and I know after that we shall come out victoriously everywhere. Please acknowledge receipt.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Jamilud Din Ahmad, Esq.,
4 A Nazir Ahmad Road,
Aligarh

[1]Appendix I. 3.

PS. We cannot spare for this committee Isa or any other member of [Committee of] Action or [of] Parliamentary Board.

M.A.J.

I. 14

M. A. Jinnah to Zahid Husain

SHC, UP III/86

5 December 1945

Dear Mr. Zahid Husain,

Many thanks for your letter of December 2nd.[1] I have been following the wonderful work that the Aligarh boys have done. You have proved what I said, that Aligarh is the arsenal of Muslim India, and I agree with you that we have to face the provincial elections with redoubled vigour and energy. I have already sent rupees five thousand to Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad for such expenses as may be considered necessary. If you people there appoint some responsible committee or at lease three persons who can remain in communication with me, I assure you that I shall willingly help you in every way possible, including finance, but you must work like disciplined soldiers under one head, who should be chosen by you as your local leader.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See *SHC*, UP III/85. Not printed.

I. 15

M. A. Jinnah to A. B. A. Haleem

SHC, UP III/89

5 December 1945

Dear Mr. Haleem,

I am in receipt of your telegram of December 3rd,[1] and I have already sent rupees five thousand to Mr. Jamilud Din as I did not get your reply to my letter to you. Please form a proper committee and let me know their names. You must all work as a team under one local leadership with a chairman chosen by you all. As soon as this committee is formed and I am informed of its personnel, I shall have no hesitation in giving it all the support I can, including reasonable financial help.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Prof. A. B. A. Haleem,
Muslim University
Aligarh

[1]See *SHC*, UP III/88. Not printed.

I. 16

M. A. Jinnah to Zia-Uddin-Ahmad

SHC, UP III/99

6 December 1945

Dear Sir Ziauddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 3rd,[1] and as suggested by you, I am sending herewith a cheque for rupees five thousand in favour of Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman Khan, Treasurer of the Aligarh University. This sum, as explained by you, is to be utilized for the training and other expenses of those students of the University who are willing to volunteer themselves to help in the election work. Of course, they have done splendidly, from reports that I have received, in the UP and even in some other parts of India. I may inform you that I have already sent rupees five thousand to Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad, and I paid rupees fifteen hundred to Aga Khan Baba Khan, the leader of the batch of about twenty-five students who were in Peshawar, in

the presence of the students. I shall be very glad indeed to send you any more money that may be needed in this connection.

I am enclosing herewith a letter to Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman Khan, requesting him to undertake this responsibility, which may please be delivered to him. The cheque is enclosed with his letter.

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

Lieut. Colonel Dr. Sir Zia-Uddin-Ahmad,
Vice-Chancellor,
Muslim University,
Aligarh

[1]Appendix I. 9.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 16
M. A. Jinnah to Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani

SHC, UP III/100

6 December 1945

Dear Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman,

It has been suggested to me by Sir Ziauddin and Mr. Khaliquzzaman that I should put you in funds for the training and other expenses of those students of the University who are prepared to volunteer to help in the work of the forthcoming elections in the various provinces. I do hope that you will be good enough to undertake this extra burden and see that this money is properly used for the purposes for which it is intended. I enclose herewith a cheque for rupees five thousand and shall be very glad to give further financial help as may be advised by you and other friends at Aligarh.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan,
Treasurer,
Muslim University,
Aligarh

I. 17

M. A. Jinnah to Manzar-i-Alam

SHC, UP III/95

10 December 1945

Dear Mr. Manzar-i-Alam,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 3rd.[1] I have already sent financial help of rupees five thousand to Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad and rupees five thousand to Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman, Treasurer, Aligarh University. All that you have to do now is to work harmoniously and appoint a representative committee that can draw up a proper scheme of work for operation in the rural areas and prove what I said long ago, that Aligarh is the arsenal of Muslim India.[2]

My going to Delhi is not yet fixed, and there is no time now for a deputation to wait on me. Let each one of us work, and work hard, and get a verdict from Muslim India for Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Manzar-i-Alam, Esq.,
8 Zakaullah Road,
Muslim University,
Aligarh

[1]Appendix I. 8.
[2]In a speech to the Muslim University Union on 10 March 1941. See Yusufi, *Speeches and Statements*, II, 1350.

I. 18

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/105

4-A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
11 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am extremely grateful to you for your kind letter dated the 5th[1] and I acknowledge receipt of the cheque of rupees five thousand enclosed therein. As desired by you we have formed a responsible committee after full consultations with the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, and all others who are genuinely and actively interested in

Muslim League work. The committee consists of the following:

1. Prof. Dr. M. B. Mirza (Chairman)
2. K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani
3. Mr. Manzar-i-Alam, President, Muslim University Muslim League
4. Jamilud Din Ahmad (Convener)

Prof. Mirza holds a very responsible position in the University. He is the Dean of the Faculty of Science and a member of the Executive Council of the University. He invariably officiates for the Vice-Chancellor during his absence. Besides he has been taking very keen interest in the Muslim League and has given great encouragement and support to our workers. As regards K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan, you know him well. He is the Treasurer of the University and he has always been sympathetic to us. I understand you have also written to him. The accounts of the funds will be kept by him and his assistant, the Chief Accountant. The President of the University Muslim League, as I have already written to you, obviously should be on the committee. The main burden of the work of training and sending out batches of workers has been borne by him and he is continuing the work with great zeal and self-sacrifice.

This committee will meet from time to time. It will carefully examine the plans of training and sending out of workers and then authorise expenditure according to an approved scale. The accounts will be kept by the Chief Accountant under the direction of K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan. All moneys received form you will be deposited with the Chief Accountant. I wish to assure you that the committee will take the greatest care to see that the national money is properly spent on the work for which it is meant.

I am very much obliged for your kind assurance that you will keep in close touch with our committee and that you will give us further assistance, financial and otherwise [*sic*]. I will keep sending you periodical reports of our work.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]Appendix I. 13.

I. 19

Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/107

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
13 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your kind letter dated December the 6th.[1] together with a cheque for rupees five thousand on account of the training and other expenses of those students of the University who are prepared to volunteer to keep in the work of the forthcoming elections in various provinces. As desired by you I shall see that this money is properly used for the purposes for which it is intended and shall submit accounts to you as soon as it is spent in full. I am asking the Chief Accountant to open a separate account with the Imperial Bank of India, Aligarh, and maintain a register for the account of the money.

I offer my sincere congratulations on success of the Muslim League candidates in the Central Assembly elections and pray for its success in the forthcoming provincial elections too.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
OBAIDUR RAHMAN

[1]Enclosure to Appendix I. 16.

I. 20

Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/113

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
15 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Jinnah,

I am extremely thankful to you for your letter dated 3rd of December[1] 1945. I am happy to learn that you have fully realized the significance

of Aligarh contribution to the League's election campaign and have set up a committee for sending batches to propagate League's ideals in various parts of India. I humbly suggest that a really sound committee should be formed to coordinate the various local organizations working with utter disregard to each other. Aligarh requires special care to draw up its list for you and I request you kindly to appoint either Nawabzada Sahib or Nawab Ismail Khan Sahib to undertake this work personally at Aligarh. I assure you, Quaid-i-Azam, that Aligarh's list will be different as well as much superior to what is being offered to you at present. Only one point I humbly suggest in this connection. It is that the entire staff is prepared to serve the League. If they are taken into confidence by you they will certainly mobilize the entire institution. They know how to make the best use of the students in the interest of the League as well as the students themselves. I have contacted with [*sic*] quite a large number of the members of the University staff and since I am leaving Aligarh shortly for League's work in the U.P., you please take up the matter with Professor Haleem. I do not know if Dr. Sir Ziauddin will be prepared to associate with that organization formally and publicly.

Trusting this letter will find you in the best of health,

Yours devotedly,
M.A. H. QADRI
M. Sc., Ph.D. (Alig.), Ph.D. (Cantab.)

[1]See *SHC*, UP V/103. Not printed.

I. 21

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/111

8 ZAKAULLAH ROAD,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH,
17 December 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter dated 10th December[1] and in reply I have sent the following telegram to you:

> Your letter I approve committee suggested by Mr. Jamilud Din. Please wire approval and appointment with right of co-option so that work may be started. Preparing plan for rural areas.
>
> The money sent by you to Mr. Jamilud Din and K. B. Obaidur

Rahman Khan is still intact. When you appoint a committee, as suggested by Mr. Jamilud Din, a formal procedure will be laid down for spending, accounting, and auditing of the money that will be sent by you from time to time. A fortnightly or monthly report, properly audited, shall be sent to you.

The University closed on 7 December 1945, and shall reopen on 2nd January 1946. This was the best time for utilizing the services of Aligarh youth. Therefore, I have sent 225 students to Punjab, 25 students to NWFP, 22 students to Sind, 10 students to Assam, 7 students to Bengal, and nearly 75 students to United Provinces and to other provinces of India. These students are working in the rural areas of the respective provinces. Some members of the University staff very kindly agreed to help our City League in the task. With their help, branch offices for controlling the work to be done by the Aligarh students and the staff have been opened in the Punjab and NWFP. Professor Umar Ali is in charge of our office at Lahore and Prof. S. A. Ismaili is in charge at our office at Peshawar. I hope to establish similar offices in Karachi and at the headquarters of other provinces. Professor Zahirud Din Alavi shall leave Aligarh, *Insha Allah,* on the 20th instant to organise the offices and also to coordinate the work that is being done by the members of the staff and the students of this University. I am also taking steps to inquire from different provinces the areas which are worst organized. As soon as I get a reply, I shall request my young friends to devote their time and to concentrate their efforts on the villages in the marked areas. Most of the work shall, however, be done in the rural areas of the Pakistan provinces. I am fully conscious of your remark that Aligarh is the arsenal of Muslim India and *Insha Allah* Aligarh will be able to justify it provided we are given financial assistance from time to time. Mr. Jamilud Din has already sent his suggestions and I fully support them., I shall be glad to serve as an humble member. Kindly send your final orders and we shall obey as the humblest soldiers of Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,

MANZAR-I-ALAM

[1]Appendix I. 17.

I. 22

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. H. Qadri

SHC, UP V/105

21 December 1945

Dear Mr. Qadri

I have received your letter of the 15th instant[1] and thank you for it. I have been paying attention to the Aligarh contribution to the Muslim League election campaign and have been informed that a committee has been set up consisting of Prof. Dr. M. B. Mirza as chairman, K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani, Mr. Manzar-i-Alam (President, Muslim University Muslim League) and Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad as Convener, and it is now for them to work with all others in harmony and concord for the sake of our cause. I don't think it is necessary that an outsider like Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan or Nawab Ismail Khan should do anything more than advise and guide this Committee. I hope to be in Delhi by the end of this month and will be only too glad to do likewise. Aligarh can certainly offer its best if you people will work in the spirit of discipline, unity and faith. I am glad to note that the entire staff is prepared to serve the Muslim League and I hope that they will do so wholeheartedly. Now is not the time for us to see faults and defects but to work for our cause and our goal of Pakistan. I have already sent rupees ten thousand for the expenses of training and what might be considered necessary to enable the students to do their work in an efficient manner. Let those who want to work and help us do so unreservedly and those who cannot and have any difficulty in their way, let them help us in such manner as they can.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. H. Qadri, Esq.,
Department of Zoology,
Muslim University,
Aligarh (U.P.)

[1]Appendix I. 20.

I. 23

M. A. Jinnah to Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani

SHC, UP III/115

21 December 1945

Dear Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman Khan,

I have received your letter of December 13th,[1] acknowledging the receipt of a cheque for rupees five thousand. Another cheque for rupees five thousand was sent to Mr. Jamilud Din, and he informs[2] me that this amount has also been handed over to you and that a committee has been formed. I am glad to hear that you people are working in right earnest. Thanking you and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman Khan,
Treasurer,
Muslim University,
Aligarh.

[1]Appendix I. 19.
[2]Appendix I. 18.

I. 24

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/114

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
21 December 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

We have started systematic work in right earnest. The Committee which you asked me to constitute and whose personnel I have already communicated to you met on the 19th instant and laid down a methodical and comprehensive procedure for co-ordinating the plans and financing the batches of workers for the election campaign. All persons and bodies willing to help the campaign have been invited to co-operate and their services will be fully availed of in such a manner as to avoid overlapping and to derive the maximum advantage. A copy of the proceedings of the meeting of the Committee is enclosed for your perusal.[1]I shall be much obliged

for any advice or suggestion you may be pleased to give in this matter.

K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani has kindly agreed to serve on the Committee. He has directed the Chief Accountant of the University to open a separate account of our funds. The Chief Accountant also has agreed to do the work entrusted to him. The cheques which you sent to me and Khan Bahadur sahib have been deposited in the bank and payments will be made according to the process approved by the committee.

We have already sent about 250 students to the Punjab and other batches to NWFP, Sind and UP. Batches are being prepared and will be sent to other provinces when their demands are received.

At the special request of the Punjab Muslim League, I and three other experienced workers are leaving today for Lahore for a week's tour. We will contact and assist the leaders, give further directions to our workers, and take stock of the situation with a view to providing fresh batches in January on the reopening of the University. We will also address meetings. I will send you my impressions of the situation in the Punjab when I have been there for a few days.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

PS. We have been informed by our workers, who worked in Meerut Division, that a lot of mischievous and misleading propaganda was carried out by misrepresenting and distorting your speech[2] on the Civil Marriage Act in the Imperial Legislature at Calcutta in 1912. Certain remarks were attributed by Congress workers to you which we knew could never have been made by you. But it is necessary that in order to counteract the propaganda effectively, we should have documentary proof. I, therefore, request you kindly to direct your secretary to send us an authentic copy of your speech delivered on that occasion.

[1]See *SHC*, UP III/112. Not printed.
[2]See Riaz Ahmad, *The Works of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Vol. I (1893-1912), Islamabad, 1996, 369-5.

I. 25

M. A. Jinnah to Manzar-i-Alam

SHC, UP III/109

21 December 1945

Dear Mr. Manzar-i-Alam,

I have received your telegram of the 17th instant.[1] I thank you for it. I understand that committee has already been formed and that the two sums of money that I had sent by cheque, viz. rupees five thousand, to Mr. Jamilud Din and rupees five thousand to K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan, will be deposited with the Chief Accountant and that the expenditure will be sanctioned from time to time by the committee appointed. I do hope that you will all work in a spirit of comradeship and harmony.

I have already written to Mr. Jamilud Din a detailed letter as the Convener of the committee.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Manzar-i-Alam, Esq.,
8 Zakaullah Road,
Muslim University,
Aligarh (U.P.)

[1]See Appendix I. 21.

I. 26

M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad

SHC, UP III/106

21 December 1945

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

I have received your letter of the 11th instant[1] and I am glad that you have appointed a committee and I note that a cheque for rupees five thousand which I sent you will be deposited with the Chief Accountant along with rupees five thousand, which I have sent to K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani, making the total of rupees ten thousand. As you are the Convener of the Committee, I hope you will keep me in

touch with you all from time to time and I shall certainly help you in every way I can.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Jamilud Din Ahmad, Esq.,
4A Nazir Ahmed Road,
Aligarh (U.P.)

[1]Appendix I. 18.

I. 27

A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/116

9 UNIVERSITY ROAD,
ALIGARH,
24 December 1945

Mr. dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter dated 5th December 1945,[1] regarding the formation of an election committee at Aligarh. In my previous letter,[2] which must have crossed yours, I have already suggested the co-option of Mr. Manzar-i-Alam, President of the Muslim University Muslim League, and Dr. Afzal Husain Qadri, a prominent Muslim League worker, and the appointment of K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan Sahib, Honorary Treasurer of the Aligarh Muslim University, as treasurer of the fund which you propose to entrust to the committee. Kindly let me know whether these suggestions meet with your approval. If they do, I shall call a meeting of the gentlemen concerned and request them to take the direction of the election campaign, so far as the Aligarh Muslim University is concerned, in their hands. Mr. Ishrat Husain Qaisar, Vice-President of the Union, is still out of station and I am told that he has secured a post under some European firm. If the news is correct, I hope you will kindly nominate his successor, ex-officio, to the committee. The committee may also be given the power to co-opt two or three fresh members, if necessary. An unlimited right of co-option may make the committee an unwieldy body. The chairman, in my humble opinion, should be nominated by you rather than elected. I had a talk with Dr. Sir Ziaud Din Ahmad and requested him to take the lead in organizing the election campaign, but he seems to be reluctant to come

to the forefront. I feel, however, that he would be the best chairman for a committee of this kind, if he can be induced to take up the work.

The sum of rupees five thousand sent by you to Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad is still with him. I have not drawn upon it nor do I propose to do so until the committee has begun to function.

I shall endeavour to carry out whatever directions you may issue approving of or overriding the suggestions outlined above.[3]

Yours sincerely,
A. B. A. HALEEM

[1]Appendix I. 15.
[2]Appendix I. 12.
[3]Jinnah replied that a committee had already been constituted and hoped that those on the committee would work in harmony. See *SHC* UP III/118. Not printed.

I. 28

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/119

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
24 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 21st December 1945[1] in which you have approved the procedure to be adopted for the deliberations of the Election Committee of which Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad is the Convener. I thank you for the same.

Aligarh students and members of the staff did their bit in the election work during these holidays and will continue their efforts unabated till the University reopens in January 1946. All these and many more wish to continue this work on this very scale even after the reopening of the University. For this we require some facilities to be granted by the University and an assurance to the students that their interest too will be looked after when they go out electioneering. In this connection I suggest the following measures:

a. University Examination be postponed for two months or so,
b. minimum percentage of attendance which the students are required to put up for being allowed to appear in the examinations be reduced so that the loss of attendance which our workers may incur be made up, and
c. leave facilities be granted to the members of the staff proceeding on election work.

I request you to kindly draw the attention of our University authorities to these suggestions and persuade them to make such arrangements without which our election work is sure to be considerably slowed down and hampered.

Soliciting an early acknowledgment of this letter and appropriate action in this connection,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM

[1]Appendix I. 25.

I. 29

A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/122

9 UNIVERSITY ROAD,
ALIGARH,
12 January 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter dated 28th December 1945.[1] I am prepared to work with anybody and everybody in the interest of the League and shall be glad to serve on any committee appointed by you. So far I have received no notice of a meeting of the committee from the Convener.

As you are aware, the Muslim Students Federation and the Muslim University Muslim League have been sending out batches of students to different parts of the United Provinces, the Punjab, the North Western Frontier and other provinces to help in the League election campaign and there is no doubt that the deputationists have worked with zeal and enthusiasm. I have been feeling, however, that the work could be carried on more systematically if their efforts could be pooled together and some from of co-ordination established between them. My endeavours in the beginning were not successful but I have succeeded at last in persuading all those who are interested in the League election work to set up a committee for the purpose of establishing harmony and co-operation between the Federation, the Union and the local League. At a meeting of members of the staff and senior students, Dr. M. B. Mirza, Mr. Manzar-i-Alam, and myself were authorised to set up a committee representing the three organisations concerned and including some members of the staff. The following committee has now been constituted:

1. Dr. M. B. Mirza
2. Dr. Afzal Husain Qadri
3. Dr. Aziz Ahmad
4. Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad
5. Mr. Manzar-i-Alam, President, Muslim University Muslim League
6. Secretary, Muslim University Muslim League
7. Mr. M. M. Haq Choudhury, General Secretary, All India Muslim Students Federation
8. Mr. Ghayural Islam, President, Muslim University Muslim Students Federation
9. Vice President, Muslim University Union
10. Secretary, Muslim University Union
11. [Prof.] A. B. A. Haleem

Dr. M. B. Mirza is in charge of the funds subject to the supervision of the Treasurer.

I hope the step we have taken will meet with your kind approval and that the committee will be able to function harmoniously.

Trust this will find you in the best of health.

Yours sincerely,
A. B. A. HALEEM

PS. I am herewith enclosing two pamphlets[2] brought out by the U.P. Muslim Students' Federation (one on the personality [*sic*] of Pakistan and the second on the problem of Palestine) for your kind perusal.

[1]See *SHC*, UP III/118. Not printed.

[2]Not traceable.

I. 30

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/123

ALIGARH,
13 January 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

After my meeting with you in New Delhi on Tuesday, the 8th instant, I have been making serious efforts to organize batches of workers for Sind and the Punjab. I am glad to be able to inform you that 128 trained workers left for Sind on the 10th instant and they must have started work in different constituencies from the 12th. They have instructions to concentrate on the three constituencies which you

mentioned to me. After the polling is over in Sind, they will go to some western districts of the Punjab and work there. Batches of workers have also gone to Assam.

As for the central and eastern districts of the Punjab, a big rally of workers is being held to-day at which workers will be selected. They will leave tomorrow and start work at different places by the 16th at the latest.

Within the next three or four days we will also arrange to send workers to N.W.F.P.

I enclose herewith a copy of the proceedings of our Finance Committee[1] which will give you an idea of the extent and nature of the work we are doing. The expenditure of the Punjab batch will be sanctioned to-day at an emergent meeting of the Committee. It will probably come to about rupees three thousand. Besides providing the travelling and other expenses of workers we have to keep a sufficient amount to meet all sorts of sundry expenses for the maintenance of office, a meeting centre of workers, badges, flags, imprest money for the Convener and the President of the University League, also money to provide for emergency cases when we have to send one or more workers on special errands. Roughly, we have so far spent or provided for the following amounts Rs 10,095-5-0.

[*Accounts omitted*]

I therefore request you kindly to provide us with a further sum of Rs. 10,000.

The cheque may be drawn in favour of Mr. Manzoor Ahmad Khan who keeps our account and operates on our behalf with the bank.

I am busy drafting the memorandum for the M. P. [Members of Parliament] Delegation and will send it over to you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]See *SHC*, UP III/120. Not printed.

I. 31

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/125

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
16 January 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

We have deputed more than 150 students in Assam and Sind. Two members of the staff have been sent to supervise the work of the Aligarh students in different constituencies of Sind. More students were ready to go to Sind but we could not do so [*sic*] for want of finances. The funds placed by you at the disposal of our election committee have been exhausted. Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad must have informed you to that effect. The account of expenditure is with the Chief Accountant of the Aligarh Muslim University. We can send another 500 students to N.W.F.P. and the Punjab and 50 students to U.P. We are receiving very pressing demands for the Aligarh students from a large number of Muslim constituencies. Several members of the staff are also willing to undertake the work of supervision. Travelling and other expenses of one student who is deputed to work for 15 days roughly amount to Rs. 50. The election committee appointed by you has desired me to lend a sum of Rs. 5,000 for the first group of 100 students drafted for the Punjab and the N.W.F.P. I can lend this amount to the committee. The committee proposes to send these students tomorrow or the day after. I hope that you will kindly send more money to the committee so that it may repay the money it will borrow from me and also be able to manage the expenses of sending more batches of students to the Punjab and other provinces.

I hope you will kindly pay immediate attention to this matter on your return from the Punjab.

Wishing you good health,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM

I. 32

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/126

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
17 January 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your telegram[1] addressed to K.B. Obaidur Rahman Khan was referred to me because he had gone out to Habibganj owing to the illness of his daughter. Mr. Jamilud Din is also out of station. Prof. Dr. M. B. Mirza, the Acting Vice-Chancellor, can inform you of the financial position. I made inquiries from the Chief Accountant, Muslim University. A sum of Rs. 405 has been left out [*sic*] in the Election Fund that was kept with him. We are in urgent need of further financial help. I suggest that a crossed cheque for Rs. 25,000 be kindly sent to Prof. Dr. M. B. Mirza, K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan, or for Mr. Jamilud Din. You may send the cheque to anyone. It shall be deposited with the Chief Accountant.

I could send only 128 students and two members of the staff to Sind. I wanted to send 200 more students but could not do so for want of finances. I can send 200 students every week to Punjab and N.W.F.P. The weekly expenses would be, at a rough estimate, as follows:

1. Travelling, railway fare, etc., per head–Rs. 25
2. Food, tea, *coolie, tonga,* etc.–Rs. 15
3. Miscellaneous expenses for a stay of one week–Rs. 10

Total expenses per head–Rs. 50

If three hundred students are sent every week the weekly expenses would amount to nearly 15,000 rupees. We must start the Punjab work immediately. I could have started the work two weeks earlier but financial difficulties prove to be a hitch at every step.

Second item of expenses would be for the travelling and other expenses of senior students who go to supervise the work. 20 supervisors for every 300 students for one week would roughly cost Rs. 2000. Members of the staff are sent to control the work. For a group of 300 students, 5 members of the staff are deputed. Their expenses per week would come to Rs. 750. For each group of 300 students, some preparatory expenses are required. This would cost approximately Rs. 250 per week. Thus the total weekly expenses according to my plan come to Rs. 16,000. You may kindly send this amount from week to week or in a lump sum. If you help Aligarh financially, I am quite confident to

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Natural Gas As a Valuable Asset to the Nation 333
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prove as you said in your previous letter[2] that Aligarh is the real arsenal of Muslim India.

As approved by the Election Committee appointed by you I will start the work of [the] Punjab elections from today. I shall send small parties of 10 to 15 students at present. The first three parties will leave Aligarh, *Insha Allah*, tomorrow at 12.15 p.m. I shall pay their expenses out of my own pocket, for the Committee has assured me that I shall get back my money as soon as the Committee receives further financial help from you.

I may also impress [*sic*] that N.W.F.P. and U.P. also need our help. We are receiving pressing demands from Bijnor and Basti in U.P. and other places. If we have to start our work in these provinces as well, we would require some more money. I am confident that you will kindly favour our Election Committee with a crossed cheque at an early date.

Wishing you good health,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM
M. A., LL.B. (Alig.)

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Appendix I. 17.

I. 33

Saiyed Mohammad Sarwar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/124

85 AFTAB HOSTEL,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
19 January 1946

Sir,

I would like to draw you attention towards the following facts:

2. That the Election Committee consisting of the following responsible members of the staff, aided by enthusiastic students, is carrying on the League work as well as making arrangements for sending deputations of students to various provinces in connection with the election campaigns:

i. Dr. M. B. Mirza
ii. Prof. A.B.A. Haleem
iii. Prof. M.M. Sharif

iv. Dr. Aziz Ahmad
v. Dr. Afzal Husain Qadri
vi. Dr. S. Moinul Haq
vii. Mr. Enayat Ali Khan

3. That in spite of the fact that this unofficial Election Committee has been responsible for training students and for sending deputations of students, they have never tried to take credit for this work and have, like sincere and honest League workers, remained behind the curtain.

4. That Mr. Jamilud Din, Mr. Ahmad Wahab Khairi and Mr. Manzar-i-Alam who [*sic*] have been doing nothing but making propaganda on their own selves [*sic*] through the columns of the *Dawn*, as one of them happens to be a correspondent of the paper.

5. That these three persons are self-seeking adventurers and have been exploiting the name of the League for their personal advancement and have been creating obstructions in the way of sincere workers of the League in the University area.

6. That in the interest of Muslim League I earnestly request you to declare officially the above-mentioned Election Committee as in charge of conducting the election campaigns, training students and sending deputations to various provinces. Any one of them may be appointed as Secretary of the Committee and the Secretary may be financed directly from the Central and Provincial Muslim League due to the tactics of these three unpopular figures in the University.

Yours faithfully,
SAIYED MOHAMMAD SARWAR
Student of IV year

I. 34

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/127

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
20 January 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you have received my previous letters[1] on your return from Lahore. The money advanced by you for the Muslim League election work has been exhausted long ago. In addition to the workers deputed

to in Assam and Sind I have sent more than one hundred students to the rural areas of the Punjab. Workers in the Punjab have been deputed in the different constituencies of Ferozpur, Khushab, Sargodha, Sialkot, Gurgaon and Kasur. A group of 40 workers is leaving today. I have paid the expenses of these workers out of my own pocket on the assurance that this sum of money will be returned to me as soon as you send more money to the Committee. The workers who have been sent to Punjab cannot stay there for more than 10 days. Fresh batches shall have to be sent before the former return to Aligarh. Thus the Aligarh students and members of the staff shall continue their election effort by a process of rotation. We are in urgent need of more money. K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan usually remains out of station. His work is done by the Chief Accountant of the Aligarh Muslim University. Therefore, I request you kindly to send more money either to Prof. Dr. M.B. Mirza[2] or to Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad who will deposit the money with the Chief Accountant of the University. As I informed you previously, our main difficulty is finance. You promised to give us more financial help and it is on the basis of that promise that we been able to carry on the election work successfully. I am quite confident that we will be provided with facilities to enable us to prove that Aligarh is the arsenal of Muslim India.

Wishing you good health,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM

[1]See Appendices I. 31 & I. 32.
[2]M. B. Mirza wrote to Jinnah twice for sending Rs. 10,000 for the purpose. See *SHC*, UP III/133 & 134. Not printed.

I. 35

M. A. Jinnah to Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani

SHC, UP III/128

21 January 1946

Dear Mr. Obaidur Rahman Khan,

As a result of our interview today and after discussing the matter with you, I have handed over to you a cheque for Rs. 10,000 on the assurance that you will send the account of the monies spent out of the previous financial help of Rs. 10,000 already given, consisting of one cheque of Rs. 5,000 given to Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad and the other in your favour making a total of Rs. 10,000. Similarly you will keep the

account of this amount of Rs. 10,000 for which I am handing over a cheque to you on express condition that this account should not be operated without your signature on the cheque.

Thanking you for all the trouble that you have taken.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

I. 36

Obaidur Rehman Khan Sherwani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/130

HABEEB MANZIL,
MARRIS ROAD,
ALIGARH,
24 January 1946

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of a cheque for Rs. 10,000 which you handed over to me on January 21, 1946.

As desired by you, I am sending account[1] of the monies [Rs. 9,594-1-0] spent out of the previous financial help of Rs. 10,000, already given by you. In future, the account will not be operated without my signature on the cheque.

A meeting of the Election Fund Committee was held at 3 p.m. today. According to the calculation rupees forty three are to be spent per worker for sending him to the Punjab and rupees fifty seven per student for sending to the N.W.F.P. It has been decided to send sixty workers to the Punjab and fifty to the N.W.F.P. A group of ten workers and a supervisor will visit each constituency. Rs. 4,860 are being advanced to them. One hundred and three workers were sent to the Punjab on the 18th and 19th January 1946, to whom Rs. 3,899-7-0 were paid by Mr. Manzar-i-Alam as so much amount was not available in the fund at that time. More batches will have to be sent.

Further instructions are solicited.

Yours sincerely,
OBAIDUR REHMAN

[1]See *SHC*, UP III/131. Not printed.

I. 37

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/132

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
25 January 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

On Wednesday evening I had a talk with you over the phone. K. B. Obaidur Rahman returned from Delhi yesterday morning and we had an emergent meeting of the Muslim League Election Fund Committee in the afternoon. We had already sent 103 workers to the Punjab a week ago. Yesterday we decided to despatch 60 workers more to the Punjab and 40 workers to the N.W.F.P. These batches will be leaving today and tomorrow.

The expenditure incurred on the above-mentioned batches is as follows:

103 workers for the Punjab–Rs. 3999
60 previously sent workers for the Punjab–Rs. 2580
40 workers for N.W.F.P.–Rs. 2280
Total–Rs. 8859

K.B. Obaidur Rahman Khan also has written to you about this matter. The demand for workers for many other constituencies in the Punjab and the NWFP remains to be met. More batches will be sent in a day or two; they are in the course of formation.

I have received a letter from a friend of mine who had been specially deputed to work in Sayed's constituency in Sind. He writes that if the election work had been properly organized by provincial leaders, Sayed's defeat was absolutely certain. The popular feeling against him was very intense. Unfortunately Provincial leaders did not pay proper attention to the constituency. The official League candidate in the nature of things was not very enthusiastic when he found that financial assistance was not forthcoming. He became indifferent and finally ran away from the contest. Our workers searched for him for two days and nights but he was nowhere to be found. It is even alleged that he was bribed and made to sit down [*sic*]. From the report we have received, I am led to believe that we lost this seat mainly because of the negligence of provincial leaders. Of course, the news otherwise from Sind is quite heartening and it appears we will

win 30 out of 35 seats which, under the circumstances created by Sayed's treachery, would be a creditable achievement.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

I. 38

M. A. Jinnah to M. B. Mirza

SHC, UP III/136

31 January 1946

Dear Dr. Mirza,

I thank you for your letter of the 30th January,[1] delivered to me by a special messenger this morning, and I am enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs. 10,000 as requested by you in favour of K. B. Obaidur Rahman. Give all help you can to the Punjab and the N.W.F.P. without any delay.

Thanking you for all the information that you have given me and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Prof. Dr. M. B. Mirza,
Muslim University,
Aligarh

[1]See *SHC*, UP III/135. Not printed.

I. 39

M. B. Mirza to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/137

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
1 February 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am most grateful to you for sending us a cheque for Rs. 10,000 for fighting the elections.[1] So far you have very kindly placed an amount of Rs. 30,000 at our disposal. Tomorrow is a bank holiday and the day

after tomorrow is Sunday. As K. B. Obaidur Rahman is in Habibgunj, his *jagir*, we cannot cash the cheque without his signatures. I am arranging to borrow money until Monday in order to send out [at] least 50 volunteers to the Punjab by the evening.

We are very much against the title-holders and *nawabs*. They want to have all the honour for themselves without doing any work. I personally do not mind giving such honour without work only if they abstain themselves [*sic*] from putting obstacles in our way. Believe me that it is only for you that we stand united and shall leave no stone unturned to give you as much help as you require from us.

Praying for your long life, health and prosperity,

I remain,

Obediently yours,
M. B. MIRZA

[1]See Appendix I. 38.

I. 40

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/140

ALIGARH,
5 February 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already sent you a letter on the 4th February.[1] I herewith enclose proceedings of an emergent meeting of the Muslim League Election Fund Committee held last night. This meeting, as you will note, was held at the urgent request of K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan Sahib Sherwani but he himself did not care to attend the meeting.

He is very often absent from Aligarh due to the illness of his daughter and his own election campaign. His frequent absence causes very great inconvenience and difficulty and often it becomes impossible for us to transact any business for we can neither draw money from the Bank nor send for money from you. I therefore invite your attention to the requests made in resolution No. 2 of the proceedings enclosed.

I wonder whether Khan Bahadur Sahib has sent you any accounts. I asked for a copy of the accounts from one of his clerks who keeps the accounts but he declined to do so without Khan Bahadur Sahib's permission. As he is away I cannot get his permission.

I hope you will consider our request sympathetically.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]Not traceable.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 40
Meeting of the Muslim League Election Fund Committee

SHC, UP III/141

4 February 1946

A meeting of the Muslim League Election Fund Committee was held on Monday, the 4th February 1946, at Prof. M. B. Mirza's residence at 6.15 p.m.

PRESENT

1. Prof. Dr. M. B. Mirza (in the chair)
2. Mr. Manzar-i-Alam
3. Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad

Resolved that the following note be placed on record about this meeting:

This meeting was convened at the urgent request of K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan Sahib Sherwani at the time and place suggested by him. The three members present waited for him for about an hour, but they regret to record that he did not come to attend the meeting.

2. This meeting is of the considered opinion that in the interest of speedy despatch of business, which is so essential during election campaign, the Chairman of the Committee should be authorised to communicate direct with the Quaid-i-Azam regarding financial assistance from time to time and the Quaid-i-Azam be requested kindly to send cheques to the Chairman drawn in his favour, so that they could be deposited and utilised without loss of time. Further, the Committee requests the Quaid-i-Azam that in view of the frequent absence of K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan Sahib Sherwani from Aligarh which paralyses election work, the Quaid-i-Azam may very kindly permit the previous system, which worked so smoothly and expeditiously, to operate again, namely Mr. Manzoor Ahmad Khan, Chief Accountant of the University, be allowed to operate on the Fund and draw cheques in his name as hithertofore.

3. The Committee requests K. B. Obaidur Rahman Khan Sahib Sherwani to send up-to-date accounts of the funds disbursed by the Committee immediately to the Quaid-i-Azam[1] and also to send a copy

of the accounts to the Convener, Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad.

4. Considering all the circumstances of the case the Committee is of opinion that no further batches need now be sent to the Punjab and N.W.F.P.

5. The Committee note that Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Sahib has directed that no workers be sent to constituencies of U.P. unless instructions are received from the Secretary, U.P. Muslim League Parliamentary Board. The Committee wishes to bring to the kind notice of Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Sahib that the President of the Muslim University Muslim League is receiving pressing demands for workers from many candidates in U.P. The committee requests Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Sahib to advise the Committee as to what steps it should take to comply with the said demands. The Committee also wishes to inquire as to what financial assistance would be provided by the U.P. Muslim League for the workers to be sent out from Aligarh to the constituencies of U.P.

M. B. MIRZA
Chairman
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD
Convener

[1]See *SHC*, UP III/143-4. Not printed.

I. 41

M. B. Mirza to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/142

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
6 February 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I should like to keep you in touch with what is happening here. So far all the students were united and working under one leader, one party and one flag but Prof. Haleem, in order to achieve his own object, created a gulf between our students. A very small minority is being led by him. They are bringing out objectionable pamphlets and going to Delhi to represent Prof. Haleem's case to you. I appreciate the Muslim students forming a Federation in the Universities of Lucknow, Allahabad, etc., where there is a majority of Hindus and a few Congressite Muslims but there is no point in

establishing a Muslim Students Federation in Aligarh where all the students are members of the Union and are 99% Leaguers. This Federation has become [*sic*] power politics in our institution. In sending workers to various parts of India, we made it a point to select students from the M.S. Federation also. We cannot possibly send all those who desire to take part in the election campaign. We have to be extremely careful in our selections for the good name of our alma mater. A few students are going to Delhi to lodge complaints with you and I thought it better to inform you that we cannot satisfy all the students.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours obediently,
M. B. MIRZA

I. 42

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/145

MUSLIM UNIVERSTY, ALIGARH,
7 February 1946

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

As desired by the Election Committee appointed by you, I am not sending more students to the Punjab and N.W.F.P. But the election work shall have to be continued in U.P. and other provinces. A plan of work in U.P. and Bihar is under my consideration. The election work in U.P. by the Aligarh students and members of the staff can be much facilitated if three lorries fitted with loud-speakers can be placed at our disposal. This would enable us to rush immediate help to the dark districts of U.P. I understand that a large number of lorries will be released from the Punjab and N.W.F.P. after the elections in these provinces are over. If it is true I would request you kindly to give us three lorries fitted with loud-speakers for a period of one month. Our election effort will be at least doubled if these lorries are placed at our disposal. Next time soliciting an early reply[1] and wishing you good health,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM

[1]See Appendix I.44.

I. 43

M. A. H. Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/104

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
8 February 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have just returned after a ten days' tour in the rural Punjab. I travelled there with a team of University professors and students in a lorry and reached some of the remotest and most outlying villages of the Punjab. It is unfortunate that I could not arrange an interview with you previously and therefore could not have more than a minute's talk with you on the morning of the 6th instant. I hereby submit the following for your kind perusal:

i. In the Punjab there is no leader to organise the election as a whole. We could secure almost all seats. Whatever we shall lose will be mainly due to lack of organisation and direction and nothing else.
ii. There is a great change in the mentality of our masses. The Muslim masses in every village have been aroused and inspired by the message of Pakistan and are prepared to offer any sacrifice for the realisation of their national objects.
iii. Almost every Muslim student and young man is burning with great passion for struggle on behalf of the Muslim League.
iv. Sir, under your leadership but with different and better provincial leaders the Muslims can go to any length for any kind of struggle leading to the achievement of Pakistan.
v. So great is the upheaval among our masses, that frankly speaking the Muslim Leaguers and the present type of the Muslim League is rather incapable for giving real guidance and direction to it. I can think of only three measures to deal with this situation. They are as follows:
   a. Immediately after the elections we must start a nation-wide drive for social, educational and economic reconstruction on a gigantic scale.
   b. We must have a first rate and effective organisation for giving political and social training to our students.

c. There should be a strong group of such men in all the Muslim League Councils and Working Committees, both Provincial as well as Central, who should not run after ministries and offices but should devote themselves to work among the Muslim masses and intelligentsia. There is no dearth of these men now. They will flock around you whenever you desire and create an opportunity for it.

With best wishes to you,

Yours devotedly,
M. A. H. QADRI

I. 44

M. A. Jinnah to Manzar-i-Alam

SHC, UP III/146

12 February 1946

Dear Mr. Manzar-i-Alam,

I have received your letter of the 7th February 1946.[1]

As regards the work in U.P. and other provinces, the matter stands on somewhat different basis. Those provinces have already received or have been promised help as an emergency from the Central Fund, and, therefore, they should make direct arrangements with you for their requirements. I think you can well understand I cannot attend to the details of supplying lorries or loud-speakers and so on. The proper course for these provinces is to get in touch with the President of the Central Parliamentary Board, who can deal with this matter as it lies in their sphere.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Manzar-i-Alam, Esq.,
Aligarh, U.P.

[1]Appendix I. 42.

I. 45

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/151

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
1 November 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have posted a letter[1] yesterday apprising you of the names of the members of the Committee that will supervise the election work by Aligarh students in the forthcoming Sind Provincial Assembly elections.

Mr. Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, informs me in his letter No. 326 dated 25th October 1946, received by me today, that he would require the help of 350 workers for election work in Sind. He wants these workers from Aligarh students and members of the staff. It will be possible for us to depute 35 groups of 10 each (including some Sindhi-speaking students in each group) for Sind election, provided we get the necessary funds for the task.

When we met you last time, it was suggested that we would be required to send nearly 100 workers only. But Mr. Yusuf Abdoola Haroon wants 350 workers. If we are to comply with his demand of 350 workers we shall require much more expenses than the amount you had kindly promised to give us. I am therefore writing to seek your orders. Should I write to the Sind Provincial Muslim League that if they want more than 100 workers they should provide us with the funds. I shall be much obliged for your kind instructions in this connection. We shall start our work as soon as we receive the money that you very kindly promised to send us.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM

[1]Not traceable.

Glossary

Aaeen	Constitution
Aage Qadam	Step forward
Aameen	So be it; said specially at end of prayer
Achhoot	Untouchable
Aadab	Salutation; form of address in writing and speaking
Adibasi	Aboriginal
Akhand	Undivided
Akhuwwat	Brotherhood
A'la Hazrat	Most revered
'Alam	Banner; flag
Allaho Akbar	*Allah* is the greatest
Amirul Momineen	Commander of the faithful; title of caliphs
Anna	A coin of the value of 1/16th of a rupee (no more in circulation)
Asl	Real
'Asr-i-Jadid	Modern age
Assalaamo 'Alaikum	Peace be upon you (Muslim salutation)
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu	Peace, mercy and blessings of *Allah* be upon you
Avtar	Spiritual guide; incarnation of a Hindu god
Auqaf	Charitable endowments
Azad	Free; independent
Bait al-Maal	Public treasury in an Islamic state
Bajra	Millet
Bania	Shopkeeper; grocer; merchant
Bhai	Brother
Bikrami	The Hindu calendar
Bismillahir Rahmaanir Rahim	In the name of *Allah*, the Beneficent, the Merciful
Bizan	Order to kill
Bulbul	Nightingale
Chandiwala	Owner of silver
Charkha	Spinning-wheel
Charpoy	Bedstead; bed
Cheen o 'Arab Hamara	China and Arabia are ours
Chela	Disciple; follower
Coolie	Porter; labourer
Daal	Pulse
Dak	Post; mail

Du'a	Prayer
Darbar	Court
Dargah	Shrine
Eiman	Faith; belief
Faqir	Beggar; dervish
Fateha	Prayer for the dead
Firqa	Sect
Ghaddari	Treachery; betrayal
Gita	Religious book of Hindus
Gol Maal	Dubious dealing
Goonda	Hooligan
Gupti	Sword conceded in a wooden stick
Hadis	Saying and deed of the holy Prophet [PBUH]
Haji	One who has performed the *Haj* in Makkah
Haqiqat	Fact; reality
Hukumat-i-Ilahiyya	Divine rule
Haque	Just; right; true
Hartal	Strike; cessation of work
Hazrat	Dignified
'Id/'Id al-Fitr	Muslim festival observed at the end of *Ramazan*
'Id al-Azha	Muslim festival observed on the day following the *Haj*
'Idi	Present or money usually given to children on *'Id* day
'Idgah	Place for *'Id* prayer
Ihsan	Conferred benevolence; doing good to others
'Ilaqa	Region; area
Imam	Muslim religious leader
Insha Allah	God willing
Isna-i-'Ashari	Sect of Shia community which follows twelve *Imams*
Jadid	New; modern
Jagir	Land given by government as reward

	for services; fief
Jagirdar	Landholder; holder of a *Jagir*
Jai Hind	Victory for India
Jalsa-i-'Aam	Public gathering
Janab	Sir
Janaganamana	Opening words of Indian national anthem
Janaza	Funeral; corpse
Janbaz	Daring; intrepid
Javeed	Eternal; undying
Jihad	Struggle for a just cause; religious war against non-believers
Jirga	Council of tribal elders
Ka'ba	The house of *Allah* in Makkah
Kabira gunah	Major sin
Kafan	Shroud for the dead
Kafir	Non-believer; non-Muslim
Kafiristan	Land of non-believers
Kalima	Affirmation of Muslim faith
Kalimago	Muslim
Karamallahu wajhu	On whom *Allah* bestows His kindness
Karkun	Worker
Khadi	Hand-loom
Khan Bahadur	A title of respect for Muslims
Khilafat	Caliphate
Khuda Hafiz	May God protect you; Goodbye
Kothiwala	Owner of a big house
Laila	Dark complexioned; name of the celebrated beloved of *Majnu*
Lambardar/Lumbardar	Village headman
Lathi	Baton; truncheon; heavy iron-bound bamboo stick
Ley key rahain gey	We will achieve
Madrassa	School; academy, seminary
Mahatma	Wise and holy person
Maidan	plain; open field; ground
Majnu	Insane; name of the lover of *Laila*
Maktab	School; academy
Masjid	Mosque

Maulana/Maulvi/Molvi	Muslim theologian; title of respect accorded to Muslim judges; heads of religious orders and persons of great learning
Millat	Nation
Mofussil	Countryside
Mohalla	Part of town; locality; ward
Mohalladar	Person living in the same locality
Mubarak	Congratulation
Mufti-i-A'zam	Grand jurist
Mujawar	An attendant at a mosque or a shrine
Mujtahid	Interpreter of Islamic law
Mukhadimi	Landlordism
Mulla	Priest; Muslim preacher
Mullaism	Priesthood
Munshi	Secretary; title of respect
Murdabad	Death to someone (a slogan)
Murid	Disciple of a religious guide
Na'at	A hymn in praise of holy Prophet [PBUH]
Na'at Khwan	One who recites a *Na'at*
Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'Ala Rasulihil Karim	We praise *Allah* and invoke His blessings for the noble Prophet [PBUH]
Naib	Deputy
Namaz	Prayer
Nawab	Title denoting a Muslim ruler or noble
Patwari	A village official dealing with land holdings
Pesh Imam	One who leads the prayers
Phuphi	Father's sister; paternal aunt
Pie	1/12th of an *anna* (no more in circulation)
Pir	Holy man; spiritual guide
Pucca/Pukka	Settled; durable; solidly built
Puran Chapati	A kind of loaf
Purdah	Veil
Qasbah	Town
Qazi	Judge

Qaumparasti	Nationalism
Qibla	The holy *Ka'ba* in Makkah to which Muslims turn in prayer; a form of address
Quaid-i-Islam	Leader of Islam
Rabi	Spring harvest
Raj	Rule; especially British colonial rule in India prior to the partition
Ramazan	Ninth month of Islamic calendar; month of fasting
Ram raj	The rule of Rama in ancient India
Rashtrapati	Head of state
Sada-i-'Aam	Voice of the public
Sada-i-Millat	Voice of the nation
Sajjada Nasheen	Hereditary head of a shrine
Salaam	Greeting; Muslim salutation
Salaam-i-Masnoon	Traditional Muslim salutation
Salar-i-Suba	Provincial commander
Singh	Lion; title used by Hindus and Sikhs
Samachar	News
Sardar	Chieftain
Sarhad	Frontier
Sari	A female (unstitched) dress
Satyagraha	Passive resistance
Sayyedna	A title of reverence
Shari'at	Islamic code of law
Sheikh-ul-Islam	A scholar in Islam
Sherwani	Knee-length buttoned-up coat
Sirat-i-Mustaqim	The right path
Sona	Gold
Sufaidposh	Of or belonging to white-collar group
Sufi	Muslim devotee; mystic
Sutra	Pithy Hindu religious literature
Talaaq	Divorce
Talwar	Sword
Taluqa/Taluka	Unit of a subdivision of a district in Sindh
Tarana	Song
Tasleem	Salutation

Ta'zia	Model of the tombs of Imams Hasan and Hussain etc., in *Moharram* processions
Thana	Police Station
Tola	Approximately 11.5 grams [exactly 11.664 grams]
Tonga	Light two-wheeled horse-drawn carriage
'Ulama	Muslim religious scholars
Upanishad	Philosophical expositions of the *Vedas*
Vakil	Pleader; advocate
Vatan	Country; native country
Veda	Hindu scripture
Wahid	One; alone; unique
Wa'iz	preacher; adviser
Wassalaam	And peace be upon you (written at the end of a letter)
Zaildar	Revenue Officer
Zakat	A fixed rate of obligatory payment by a Muslim possessing assets of a specified value
Zamindar	Landholder; landlord
Zindabad	Live long (a slogan)

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